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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

# WORLD HISTORY

Edited by  
Marsha E. Ackermann  
Michael J. Schroeder  
Janice J. Terry  
Jiu-Hwa Lo Upshur  
Mark F. Whitters



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

AGE OF REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE  
1750 to 1900



VOLUME IV

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

Volume I  
THE ANCIENT WORLD  
Prehistoric Eras to 600 C.E.

Volume II  
THE EXPANDING WORLD  
600 C.E. to 1450

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THE FIRST GLOBAL AGE  
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1750 to 1900

Volume V  
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1900 to 1950

Volume VI  
THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD  
1950 to the Present

Volume VII  
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MASTER INDEX

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## Encyclopedia of World History

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# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY

## Volume IV

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## FOREWORD

The seven-volume *Encyclopedia of World History* is a comprehensive reference to the most important events, themes, and personalities in world history. The encyclopedia covers the entire range of human history in chronological order—from the prehistoric eras and early civilizations to our contemporary age—using six time periods that will be familiar to students and teachers of world history. This reference work provides a resource for students—and the general public—with content that is closely aligned to the *National Standards for World History* and the College Board’s Advanced Placement World History course, both of which have been widely adopted by states and school districts.

This encyclopedia is one of the first to offer a balanced presentation of human history for a truly global perspective of the past. Each of the six chronological volumes begins with an in-depth essay that covers five themes common to all periods of world history. They discuss such important issues as technological progress, agriculture and food production, warfare, trade and cultural interactions, and social and class relationships. These major themes allow the reader to follow the development of the world’s major regions and civilizations and make comparisons across time and place.

The encyclopedia was edited by a team of five accomplished historians chosen because they are specialists in different areas and eras of world history, as well as having taught world history in the classroom. They and many other experts are responsible for writing the approximately 2,000 signed entries based on the latest scholarship. Additionally each article is cross-referenced with relevant other ones in that volume. A chronology is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events in the given era. In each volume an array of full-color maps provides geographic context, while numerous illustrations provide visual contexts to the material. Each article also concludes with a bibliography of several readily available pertinent reference works in English. Historical documents included in the seventh volume provide the reader with primary sources, a feature that is especially important for students. Each volume also includes its own index, while the seventh volume contains a master index for the set.

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# HISTORICAL ATLAS

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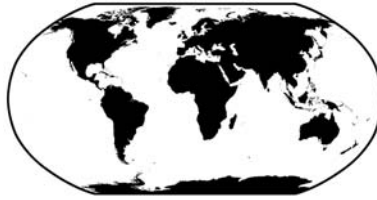
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## CHRONOLOGY

### 1754 French and Indian War Begins

For almost nine years, a war rages between British and French soldiers in North America.

### 1756 The Seven Years' War

The Seven Years' War includes all the major Western powers. It begins when Prussia under Frederick the Great invades Saxony.

### 1757 British Establish Sovereignty

The British establish their sovereignty in India when they defeat the Bengalese nabob at the Battle of Nabob.

### 1762 Treaty of St. Petersburg

On May 5 the Treaty of St. Petersburg is signed between Prussia and Russia. The treaty brings about a switch in the alliances in the war.

### 1763 Treaty of Paris

The Treaty of Paris is signed, bringing to an end the French and Indian War in North America and the Seven Years' War in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

### 1765 Stamp Tax Passes

In an effort to raise additional revenue, Britain imposes a tax on all documents issued in the colonies.

### 1770 Cook Claims Australia

James Cook, the English explorer on board the *Endeavor*, sights the east coast of Australia. He lands at Botany Bay and claims the land for Britain.

### 1770 Parliament Repeals Townshend Acts

The British parliament repeals the Townshend duties on all but tea.

### 1770 Boston Massacre

A group of British soldiers fires on a mob of colonial protesters killing five and wounding another six.

### 1772 First Partition of Poland

Russia, Prussia, and Austria agree on the partition of Poland.

### 1772 Colonists Burn the *Gaspee*

On the afternoon of June 9, the British revenue schooner *Gaspee* runs aground. That night eight boatloads of men led by merchant John Brown storm the ship. After overwhelming the crew, they burn the ship.

### 1773 Boston Tea Party

Boston colonists begin boycotting tea. The governor refuses to allow arriving merchants to leave the harbor



with their tea. On the night of December 16 Patriots dressed up as Native Americans board the merchant ships and throw the tea into Boston Harbor.

#### 1774 Coercive Acts

The British parliament gives its speedy assent to a series of acts known as the Coercive Acts or, in the colonies, the Intolerable Acts. These acts include the closing of the port of Boston.

#### 1774 Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji

On July 21 the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji is signed between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, ending the conflict between them.

#### 1774 First Continental Congress

The First Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia, from September 5 to October 26.

#### 1775 Lexington and Concord

Forewarned by Paul Revere, American militiamen fight 700 British troops on April 19. This marks the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

#### 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill

The Americans occupy Bunker Hill overlooking Boston, and the British respond by attacking. While the British are victorious, they suffer heavy losses.

#### 1775 King George Declares the Colonies in Revolt

On April 23, King George III of Great Britain declares, "The colonies are in open and avowed rebellion. The die is now cast. The colonies must either submit or triumph."

#### 1776 Watt Builds Steam Engine

James Watt develops a steam engine, enabling the advent of the Industrial Revolution.

#### 1776 Declaration of Independence

Twelve American colonies vote in favor of the Declaration of Independence. New York abstains.

#### 1777 Battle of Saratoga

A British force commanded by General Burgoyne is defeated by American forces at Saratoga, New York.

#### 1778 War of Bavarian Succession Begins

The War of Bavarian Succession breaks out when Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, declares war on Austria and invades Bohemia.

#### 1778 France Signs Treaty of Alliance

On February 6 France signs a treaty of alliance with the United States of America. France recognizes the independence of the country and offers further aid.

#### 1779 Cook Dies

James Cook is killed by natives in Hawaii. Cook is considered the preeminent explorer of his time, and by introducing a regime of fresh fruit he eliminates scurvy from his ships.

#### 1780 Tupac Amaru Revolt

The natives of Peru revolt under the leadership of Tupac Amaru. Tupac Amaru declares himself the liberator of his people. The Spanish crush the revolt, and Tupac Amaru is killed.

#### 1781 Battle of Yorktown

British forces are obliged to surrender to converging American and French forces. The surrender at Yorktown marks the last major campaign of the Revolutionary War.

#### 1781 Articles of Confederation

The Articles of Confederation are first approved by the Continental Congress in 1777. They are sent to each state for ratification.

#### 1782 Rama I Rules Siam

The Chakri dynasty is established in Siam. Its first ruler is Chao P'ya Chakri, who rules as Rama I. The dynasty rules to this day (2008).

#### 1782 Russia Invades Crimea

The Russian army invades Crimea in December.

#### 1783 Treaty of Paris

The Treaty of Paris is signed between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain. It brings an end to the American Revolutionary War.

#### 1784 India Act

Under the terms of the India Act, the reorganized East Indian Company cannot interfere in native Indian affairs or make a declaration of war unless in self-defense.

#### 1786 Shays's Rebellion

Daniel Shays, a farmer and Revolutionary War veteran, leads other farmers to revolt. Shays and 1,200 followers demand relief from various taxes and debts.

**1787 States Approve Constitution**

On September 17, after weeks of debate, the Constitution of the United States is approved. It calls for a strong central government. Thirty-nine delegates, representing 12 of 13 states, sign the document.

**1787 Amar Singh's Reign Begins**

During the reign of Amar Singh in southern India, three Brahman musicians reform the art of Carnatic music and establish a new heritage for future generations of southern Indian musicians.

**1789 Washington Becomes President**

George Washington becomes the first president of the United States, after being unanimously elected by the members of the electoral college.

**1789 French Revolution**

A revolt breaks out in France, overturning the monarchy. When it ends, both Louis XVI and Mary Antoinette will have been executed.

**1789 Judiciary Act Passes**

This act establishes the U.S. federal court system and sets the size of the Supreme Court. It also gives the Supreme Court the right to review state court decisions.

**1791 Blacks Gain Full Rights in Saint-Domingue**

The French National Assembly grants free blacks in Saint-Domingue full French rights. The white colonists refuse to implement the decision, and the blacks revolt.

**1791 National Assembly**

The French National Assembly passes a new constitution. Under its terms France becomes a limited monarchy.

**1791 Bank of United States**

Alexander Hamilton urges the founding of the Bank of the United States. Thomas Jefferson opposes the idea.

**1792 France Declares War on Austria**

On April 20 France declares war on Austria, beginning the War of the First Coalition. The French suffer initial defeats on the battlefield.

**1792 French National Convention**

On September 21 the French National Convention meets for the first time. There are 749 members at the convention.

**1792 Russia Invades Poland**

On May 19 Russia invades Poland. The Russians fear the strengthening of Poland under its new constitution.

**1793 Whitney Invents Cotton Gin**

Eli Whitney, a young New Englander, invents a cotton gin that automatically cleans cotton.

**1793 Second Partition of Poland**

The second partition of Poland divides Poland between Prussia and Russia.

**1793 Reign of Terror Begins**

Maximilien Robespierre, the leader of the Jacobins, the most radical faction of the National Convention, begins the Reign of Terror in France.

**1794 Whiskey Rebellion**

The Excise Tax of 1791 incites many U.S. western settlers, who begin a rebellion against the central government.

**1794 Haiti Independent**

After defeating a 5,000-man army sent by Napoleon, Haiti is declared a black republican government. All slaves are freed and almost all whites still on the island are killed.

**1794 Uprising in Poland**

After Poland is partitioned for the second time, the Poles, led by Thaddeus Kościuszko, rise up against the Russians. They are ultimately defeated.

**1795 Siam Annexes Western Cambodia**

King Rama I of Siam extends his kingdom by annexing parts of Cambodia, including the ruined Khmer capital.

**1795 Treaty of Basel**

The French and Austrians reach a peace agreement at Basel, Switzerland, on April 5.

**1795 Jay's Treaty**

Under Jay's Treaty, the British agree to leave areas in the U.S. Northwest Territory, which they had been required to leave earlier under the Treaty of Paris.

**1796 Battle of Arcole**

The French, led by General Napoleon Bonaparte, invade Italy. Napoleon successfully defeats the Austrians at the Battle of Arcole (Arcola).

- 1797 Treaty of Campo Formio**  
Austria and France sign the Treaty of Campo Formio, ending the War of the First Coalition.
- 1798 Battle of the Nile**  
The Battle of the Nile between the French and British fleets occurs in Aboukir Bay near the mouth of the Nile River. All of the French ships are either captured, destroyed, or run aground.
- 1798 Battle of the Pyramids**  
The Egyptian Mamluks are easily defeated by Napoleon at the Battle of the Pyramids on July 21. Napoleon occupies Cairo on the next day.
- 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts**  
The Alien and Sedition Acts mark an attempt by U.S. Federalists to strengthen the federal government and suppress opposition from the Republicans.
- 1798 War of the Second Coalition Begins**  
In December Great Britain and Russia sign a treaty of alliance against France, beginning the War of the Second Coalition.
- 1800 Act of Union**  
Great Britain annexes Ireland in the Act of Union on May 5. The Irish parliament is dissolved and Ireland gains representation in the British parliament.
- 1800 Peace Treaty with France**  
The United States signs the Convention of Paris with France. Under this treaty, France accepts U.S. neutrality rights at sea.
- 1802 Treaty of Amiens**  
The War of the Second Coalition comes to an end with the Treaty of Amiens. The British give up all claims to the French Crown and territory.
- 1803 War of the Third Coalition Begins**  
The War of the Third Coalition begins when, on May 18, Great Britain declares war against France believing that Napoleon is violating the Treaty of Amiens.
- 1803 Louisiana Purchase**  
The United States purchases the vast Louisiana Territory for \$15 million from France.
- 1804 Lewis and Clark Expedition**  
On May 14, the Lewis and Clark Expedition sets off from St. Louis to the Pacific.
- 1804 Serb Uprising**  
In February Serbs, under the leadership of Kara George, rise up against the Ottomans.
- 1805 Battle of Trafalgar**  
The Battle of Trafalgar establishes British naval superiority for over 100 years.
- 1807 Invasion of Portugal**  
Portugal refuses to participate in Napoleon's continental system that was designed to deny food and other products produced on the continent to Great Britain. Napoleon sends an army to conquer Portugal.
- 1808 Beethoven Completes Fifth**  
Ludwig van Beethoven composes his Fifth Symphony.
- 1809 Napoleon Occupies Vienna**  
On May 13 Napoleon's forces occupy Vienna. His initial victory is short-lived, and he is soon forced to withdraw across the Danube after his defeats at the Battles of Aspern and Essling.
- 1810 Argentina Independent**  
A provisional junta is established in the provinces of the Río de la Plata (Argentina). The leaders declare their independence from Spain.
- 1811 Colombia Independent**  
On August 7 Simón Bolívar wins a decisive victory over Spanish forces at the Battle of Boyacá in present-day Colombia. The Congress of Angostura is then convened to declare the Republic of Colombia.
- 1811 Paraguay Independent**  
On August 14 Paraguay proclaims independence from Spain.
- 1811 Venezuela War of Independence Begins**  
A congress of the *criollos* (Creoles) declares independence, starting a process that ends in 1823.
- 1812 War of 1812**  
The war between Great Britain and the United States lasts for more than two years. It ends in a stalemate, but confirms American independence.

- 1812 Battle of Borodino**  
Napoleon defeats the Russian army at the Battle of Borodino. The Russians withdraw, opening the road to Moscow for Napoleon. On September 14, the French occupy the nearly deserted city.
- 1812 Napoleon Retreats from Moscow**  
Napoleon maintains his army in the burned Russian capital for five weeks in the hope of bringing the Russians to terms; finally on October 19, with winter setting in and his armies far from home, Napoleon retreats from Moscow.
- 1812 Treaty of Bucharest**  
On May 28 the Ottomans sign the Treaty of Bucharest with Russia, ending their six-year war.
- 1812 Spanish Regain Control of Venezuela**  
An earthquake in Venezuela is used by the clergy to claim that heaven opposes the revolution. With support weakened, the rebel forces capitulate to the Spanish under the terms of the Treaty of San Mateo. The treaty calls for the granting of clemency to the rebels; however, the Spanish renege.
- 1812 Mexico Independent**  
After a victory at Cuautla, 45 miles south of Mexico City, José María Morelos y Pavón captures Orizaba and Oaxaca from the royalists. The next year Acapulco is captured and independence is declared.
- 1812 Treaty of Ghent**  
British and American negotiators meet in August at Ghent, Belgium, to negotiate a settlement in the War of 1812. They reach an agreement that restores all territory as it was before the war, without resolving the territorial issues.
- 1814 Hartford Convention**  
Delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island convene in Hartford from December 15, 1814, to January 5, 1815. The majority vote for a platform demanding a change in the Constitution, requiring a two-thirds vote by Congress to impose an embargo, admit a western state into the Union, or begin a war, except in the case of an invasion.
- 1814 Congress of Vienna**  
One of the greatest international assemblies in history takes place in Vienna between September 1814 and June 1815. It successfully works out the various claims of the nations of Europe and establishes a framework that avoids a major European war for 50 years.
- 1814 Napoleon Abdicates**  
Napoleon is defeated in a series of battles, each bringing the allies closer to Paris. On March 31 a victorious allied army enters Paris. On April 11 Napoleon abdicates and is sent to the island of Elba.
- 1814 Steam Engine**  
In 1814 George Stephenson develops his first locomotive, which was called the Blücher.
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo**  
Napoleon once again seizes power. The other nations of Europe unite to fight him. On June 18 at the Battle of Waterloo Napoleon's forces are defeated, and he flees back toward Paris. On June 22 he surrenders to allied forces.
- 1815 German Confederation**  
One of the results of the Congress of Vienna is the establishment of the German Confederation. The Confederation consists of 39 member states.
- 1815 British Establish Colony in Sierra Leone**  
The British establish a Crown Colony in Sierra Leone.
- 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty**  
Under the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty, the United States acquires Florida from Spain. In return, the U.S. government assumes \$5 million worth of Spanish debts.
- 1820 Revolts in Spain and Portugal**  
A revolt breaks out in Spain when Colonel Rafael del Riego demands that the French constitution of 1812 be restored. On August 24 a revolt against British regency in Portugal occurs. A liberal constitutional monarchy is created and João VI, living in exile in Brazil, is invited to head it.
- 1820 Missouri Compromise**  
Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, Missouri is admitted as a slave state, while Maine is admitted as a free state. Slavery was prohibited in the former Louisiana Territory north of the 36°30' parallel.
- 1821 Greek War of Independence**  
The Greek revolution breaks out when Greeks in Moldavia begin a revolt against the Ottomans.

**1822 Ashanti War Begins**

The Ashanti War begins in West Africa between the Ashanti and the Fante.

**1822 Brazil Independent**

On September 7 Dom Pedro, the Portuguese regent, declares Brazil independent from Portugal.

**1822 Ecuador Free from Spain**

On May 24 Antonio José de Sucre, Simón Bolívar's lieutenant, defeats the Spanish at the Battle of Mount Pichincha near Quito.

**1823 French Forces Restore Ferdinand VII**

The French intervene in the Spanish revolution. They invade Spain and force the rebels to hand over King Ferdinand VII, whom they then restore to power.

**1823 Monroe Doctrine**

The Monroe Doctrine issued by U.S. president James Monroe states: "The American continents are henceforth not to be considered the subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

**1824 First Anglo-Burmese War**

On February 24 the first Anglo-Burmese War begins when the British declare war on Burma.

**1825 Decembrist Uprising**

Young Russian aristocrats stage a brief uprising against Romanov rule. The revolt is short-lived but is a sign of things to come.

**1828 Uruguay Independent**

Uruguay becomes independent under a peace treaty between Brazil and Argentina over Banda Oriental.

**1829 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad**

On December 22, the first passenger railroad in the United States opens for business.

**1829 Treaty of Adrianople**

The Russian-Turkish War that had begun in 1828 ends with the Treaty of Adrianople.

**1830 The July Revolution**

The July Revolution breaks out in Paris when Charles X, king of France, attempts to suspend the constitution to overturn the recent French election. The revolutionaries gain control of Paris and force Charles X to abdicate.

**1830 Belgium Adopts a Constitution**

The July Revolution in France inspires Belgian revolutionaries to rise up against Dutch rule. They demand independence. In late September the Dutch are forced out of Brussels, and Belgium is declared independent.

**1832 First Reform Act Passes in Britain**

The Reform Act of 1832 passes the House of Lords. It doubles the number of eligible voters to 1 million. This begins a series of reforms that will eventually lead to universal suffrage.

**1833 The First Carlist War Begins**

A civil war fomented in Spain when Ferdinand VII dies.

**1835 Second Seminole War**

Under the leadership of Chief Osceola, the Seminoles refuse to move to the Oklahoma Territory. They retreat to the Florida Everglades.

**1835 The Great Trek**

The Dutch settlers of South Africa, known as the Boers, begin a Great Trek northward. Now known as the Voortrekkers, they leave the Cape Colony to free themselves of British control.

**1836 Texas Independent**

The settlers of Texas, a Mexican territory, declare their independence in 1836.

**1837 Deere Invents Plow**

John Deere invents the steel plow, which greatly improves the ability of farmers to plow fields.

**1838 First Anglo-Afghan War Begins**

The First Anglo-Afghan War begins when the British governor of India launches an attack on Afghanistan. He fears growing Russian influence in Afghanistan.

**1838 Underground Railroad Begins in United States**

The Underground Railroad starts as a means for escaped slaves to be moved through the North until they reach sanctuary in Canada.

**1839 Opium War**

The Opium War between China and Great Britain begins when the Chinese order the destruction of illegal opium stored by foreign merchants. The East India Company had promoted the use of opium by its Chinese workers.

**1842 British Are Massacred**

A revolt against the British in Kabul forces them to agree to withdraw from the city and return to India. The Afghans instead attack the British and massacre 4,500 soldiers and 12,000 civilians.

**1844 Treaty of Wanghia**

Under the terms of this treaty negotiated by Caleb Cushing, the United States gains the right to trade in Chinese ports as well as additional legal rights inside China.

**1844 Franco-Moroccan War**

The French begin a war with Morocco, which had refused to recognize the French conquest of Algeria and provided refuge to the Algerian rebel leader.

**1844 Telegraph Becomes National**

The first intercity telegraph is demonstrated by Samuel Morse. A telegraph line was built for \$30,000 between Washington and Baltimore.

**1845 U.S. Annexes Texas**

After the landslide victory of James Polk, who ran on a ticket supporting annexation of Texas, the U.S. Congress approves the annexation of Texas by joint resolution.

**1846 First Sikh War**

The First Anglo-Sikh War ends with a British victory at the Battle of Sohraon in the Punjab.

**1846 Mexican War**

The U.S. Congress votes overwhelmingly to declare war on Mexico despite initial Whig opposition. Over the course of the two-year war, the United States defeats the Mexicans and captures the capital, Mexico City.

**1846 Oregon Treaty**

The United States and Great Britain end disputes over the Oregon Territory with a compromise.

**1847 Liberia Independent**

Liberia declares its independence on July 26. Former American slaves had founded Liberia. It is Africa's first independent republic.

**1848 Revolution in France**

King Louis-Philippe of France refuses to institute political reforms and extend suffrage. In response, riots led by workers and students break out. They force the king to abdicate in February.

**1848 The Viennese Revolution**

Viennese students and workers inspired by events in France begin in March to protest the policies of the Austrian government. Conservative elements, however, gain control and brutally put down the revolt.

**1848 Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty**

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ends the Mexican-American War. Under the terms of the treaty, the border is set at the Rio Grande. The United States gains most of California, New Mexico, Nevada, Wyoming, Colorado, and Texas.

**1849 Hungarians Announce Independence**

In response to a repressive constitution promulgated after the failed Viennese revolution, the Hungarian Diet (parliament) on April 14 formally declares its independence from Austria.

**1849 Second Sikh War**

The British defeat the Sikhs at Chillianwalla and Gujart. This forces the Sikhs to surrender at Rawalpindi.

**1849 Gold Rush Begins**

In January President Polk announces that gold has been found in California. This sets off the gold rush, in which 80,000 people head for California to seek their fortunes.

**1850 Taiping Rebellion**

The Taiping Rebellion in China begins, led by Hong Xiuquan. The revolt against the Manchus lasts for 10 years and ends in failure. The revolt takes the lives of 20 million Chinese peasants.

**1850 Compromise of 1850**

The Compromise of 1850 holds the Union together for another 10 difficult years. The dispute concerns the admittance of additional states into the Union, while maintaining the balance between free and slave states.

**1852 Second Burma War**

The Second Burmese War begins when the Burmese oust their king, Pagan Min, after a six-year reign. The British capture Rangoon as the war begins.

**1852 South African Republic**

The British government recognizes the independence of the Boer Republic of the Transvaal under the terms of the Sand River Convention of 1852.

**1854 Perry in Japan**

U.S. commodore Perry arrives in Japan to attempt to open trade relations, as well as provide a safe haven for shipwrecked sailors. Perry's successful mission to Japan quickly ends the Japanese self-imposed isolation and heralds a rapid industrialization of the economy of the island nation.

**1855 Livingstone Discovers Victoria Falls**

David Livingstone, a Scottish explorer, departs from South Africa to explore the interior of Africa. In 1855 he discovers Victoria Falls.

**1856 Arrow War**

The second Anglo-Chinese war, known as the Arrow War, begins when the Chinese force a British-registered ship (the *Arrow*) to lower the British flag.

**1857 Sepoy Mutiny**

The Sepoys, native Indian troops employed by the British, revolt and kill their British officers. The Sepoys manage to capture Delhi.

**1859 John Brown Leads Revolt**

John Brown leads a group of 18 to attack the arsenal in Harpers Ferry. His goal is to foment a slave rebellion. The revolt is subdued by the U.S. Army under the command of Robert E. Lee. Brown is hanged.

**1859 Darwin Publishes *On the Origin of Species***

Charles Darwin publishes *On the Origin of Species*, in which he posits the theory of evolution. That theory states that humans descended from apes and that only the fittest species survive and evolve.

**1859 Italian War**

The Italian War starts when Austria tries to extend its already extensive control over the Italian Peninsula. On May 12 the French declare war on Austria.

**1860 Second Maori War Begins**

The second Maori war is fought from 1860 to 1872 between British colonists and native New Zealanders on North Island.

**1861 Fort Sumter**

Fort Sumter refuses to surrender to the Confederates. At 4:30 A.M. on April 12, General Pierre Gustave Toussaint Beauregard gives the order to open fire. The next afternoon Major Anderson surrenders. The American Civil War begins in earnest.

**1861 Battle of Bull Run**

In July Union troops are defeated in the first major battle of the Civil War.

**1862 Battle of Antietam**

Confederate general Robert E. Lee leads his army into Maryland in a gamble to win the war. Both sides lose an equal number of men. The smaller Confederate force withdraws. In the aftermath of the battle, President Abraham Lincoln announces the Emancipation Proclamation.

**1863 Battle of Gettysburg**

The Battle of Gettysburg takes place in Pennsylvania, where Lee has led his army to invade the North following his success at Chancellorsville.

**1865 Civil War Over**

In April General Lee's surrounded army is forced to surrender to the forces of Ulysses Grant, ending the Civil War.

**1865 Booth Assassinates Lincoln**

Just six days after the South surrenders, President Lincoln is shot by John Wilkes Booth while attending a play at Ford's Theatre.

**1865 Thirteenth Amendment Passes**

On December 18 the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution is officially ratified. This amendment states that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude can exist in the United States.

**1867 Alaska Purchase**

Secretary of State William Seward negotiates the U.S. purchase of Alaska from Russia for \$7 million.

**1868 Meiji Restoration**

The Meiji Restoration begins when the newly established emperor, Mutsuhito, ousts the shogunate (military regime) of the Tokugawa clan that had ruled Japan in fact since 1603.

**1868 Revolution in Spain**

On September 18 the officers of the Spanish fleet foment a revolution. They march on Madrid and defeat government forces.

**1869 Suez Canal Opens**

On November 17 the Suez Canal opens to traffic. The canal links the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

**1869 Transcontinental Railroad**

On May 10, at Promontory Point, Utah, a golden rail spike is struck, completing the first U.S. transcontinental railroad line.

**1870 Italy Is Unified**

Italy is unified when Italian troops enter Rome after the withdrawal of French troops. The Italians strip all temporal power from Pope Pius IX, whom they imprison in the Vatican.

**1870 Franco-Prussian War**

The Franco-Prussian War begins at the instigation of Prussian minister Otto von Bismarck, who believes the war will help unify Germany. On January 28, 1871, Paris falls and the French surrender.

**1871 Paris Commune**

When word spreads in Paris that the legislative assembly is considering restoring the monarchy, students and workers take to the streets. The Commune of Paris controls the city from March 18 until May 28.

**1871 Second Reich**

With the German victory in France complete, the German Reichstag (parliament) proclaims the creation of the Second Reich.

**1872 Second Carlist War**

The Second Carlist War begins in the spring of 1872 when Don Carlos III tries to reestablish the Bourbon reign in Spain. The war continues for two years until 1874 when a coalition declares Alfonso XII king.

**1874 Japanese Invade Taiwan**

The Japanese invade Taiwan—their pretext is the killing of an Okinawan seaman after a shipwreck.

**1876 War in Ottoman Empire**

In May the Bulgarians begin an insurrection against the Ottomans. The insurrection is brutally quelled, and thousands of Bulgarians are slain.

**1876 Korean Independence**

Japan recognizes Korean independence from China. Under a treaty with Korea, trade between Japan and Korea opens. China does not object to the treaty.

**1879 Edison Invents Electric Light**

Thomas Edison overcomes the obstacle to finding a lightbulb that will burn long enough to become com-

mercially viable by developing a bulb based on carbonized cotton.

**1879 Zulu War**

The Zulu nation that was founded in 1876 ends when the British defeat it in battle. On January 22 the British are defeated at the Battle of Isandhlwand. The British, however, decisively defeat the Zulu at the Battle of Ulundi.

**1881 Alexander II Dies**

A bomb in St. Petersburg kills Alexander II, czar of Russia, on March 13.

**1881 Assassin Shoots President Garfield**

U.S. president James Garfield is shot on July 2 as he walks through the waiting room of the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad in Washington, D.C. His assassin, Charles Guiteau, had been rejected for a position in Garfield's administration. The president dies on September 19.

**1881 French Invasion of Tunisia**

Tunisian tribesmen raid Algeria, which provides the French with a pretext for attacking Tunisia. The French withdraw after signing the Treaty of Bardo.

**1882 Britain Invades Egypt**

The British invade Egypt in response to antiforeign riots. The British defeat the army of Arabi Pasha at Al Tell.

**1882 Triple Alliance**

The Triple Alliance is created when Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary promise mutual support.

**1883 Anglo-French Punitive Expedition**

The French and the British launch a punitive expedition against Sudan that is decisively defeated by Muhammad Ahmad at the Battle of El Ubbayid.

**1883 Brooklyn Bridge Opens**

On May 25 the New York boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn are linked with the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge.

**1883 Sino-French War**

The French and the Chinese fight in the Sino-French war. The French occupy most of Annam (Vietnam and Cambodia), but their trade is disrupted by Chinese in northern Vietnam.



- 1884 Congo Free State**  
Belgium declares the Congo a free state, open to settlement and trade by all nations.
- 1885 Germany Claims Tanzania**  
The German East Africa Company gains a charter to administer Tanzania. The same year Germany claims South-West Africa and Togoland.
- 1886 Anglo-Egyptian Agreement**  
The British and the Germans agree to recognize Sayid Barghash as sultan of Zanzibar.
- 1887 Ethiopian-Italian War Begins**  
The Italians are defeated in the first battle of the Italian-Ethiopian War at the Battle of Dogali.
- 1889 Japan's First Written Constitution**  
Under the terms of the constitution, the emperor's legislative power can be exercised only with the consent of the Imperial Diet.
- 1890 Bismarck Resigns**  
Emperor William II of Germany forces Bismarck to resign. This ends the career of the man singlehandedly responsible for the unification of Germany.
- 1890 Britain Occupies Uganda**  
The Germans and the British resolve their differences in Africa when the Germans give up claims to Uganda.
- 1893 Panic of 1893 in the United States**  
A growing credit shortage creates panic, resulting in a depression. Over the course of this depression, 15,000 businesses, 600 banks, and 74 railroads fail.
- 1895 First Sino-Japanese War**  
The Japanese defeat both the Chinese army and navy in the Sino-Japanese War.
- 1895 French West Africa**  
The French organize their territorial holdings in West Africa into French West Africa.
- 1895 Sun Yat-sen Revolt**  
Sun Yat-sen organizes a secret revolutionary society in Canton in 1894. In 1895 he attempts to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. His first attempt fails.
- 1896 Battle of Adwa (Adowa)**  
Ethiopia defeats the Italians at the Battle of Adwa.
- 1896 Great Britain Captures Ghana**  
The Ashanti capital of Kumasi is captured by a British expeditionary force. The area, which is in present-day Ghana, becomes a British protectorate.
- 1898 Spanish-American War**  
The Americans decisively defeat the Spanish, capturing the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.
- 1898 Fashoda Incident**  
British and French expeditions simultaneously reach Fashoda in present-day Sudan. The crisis ends when France recognizes British claims to the Nile basin, while Britain recognizes French claims to the Sahara as well as western Sudan.

# MAJOR THEMES



## 1750 to 1900

### FOOD PRODUCTION

Between the mid-18th century and the dawn of the 20th, the ancient and essential work of feeding the world was dramatically transformed to varying extents in different parts of the world. Despite astonishing changes in mechanization, transport, agricultural science, and food preservation techniques, farmers everywhere were still at the mercy of weather and pestilence. As agriculture became internationalized, farmers were also affected more than ever before by crop and price fluctuations. The world's overall supply of food increased spectacularly, yet many still starved or were undernourished.

Most countries were still predominantly rural in 1750. In the countryside, families and communities tried, even on the tiniest plots, to grow enough food to sustain themselves. In emerging cities, most residents used available open spaces for cows, pigs, goats, or chickens and perhaps a fruit tree or vegetable patch. The wealthiest and most important people in most societies did not usually farm themselves but controlled quantities of fertile land and could compel laborers—slaves, serfs, or peasants—to farm it.

Agricultural change was already afoot. In the Americas, where settlers from Spain, France, and Britain had appropriated land formerly controlled by Native peoples, commodity agriculture built wealth for the colonizers and their homelands. By 1750, Chesapeake planters who had built a thriving economy on tobacco were diversifying into grains and other crops. After the American Revolution, cotton became king in the southern states.

Slaves were used to raise the crop that fed the textile mills of the Western world's Industrial Revolution. Even as farming became commercialized, the New World's enormous land resources seemed to promise agricultural independence to generations of farmers. U.S. president Thomas Jefferson, himself the owner of dozens of slaves, advocated an agrarian nation that would feed the world while maintaining the sturdy self-reliance of virtuous small farmers.

Mexico and Central and South America remained overwhelmingly rural until the later 19th century and continued to rely almost entirely on traditional Indian crops, such as corn and squash, and agricultural methods including burning the residual stalks and roots after harvesting. Wars of

independence between 1808 and 1824, followed by frequent outbreaks of regional civil war, led to crop and livestock destruction and great instability for farmers. In the 1830s coffee beans became a wildly successful commodity. Coffee enabled many wealthy landowners, especially in Brazil, Venezuela, and Guatemala, to enlarge their holdings at the expense of small farmers, although some small farmers in Costa Rica and Colombia were able to hold their own. In Argentina, commercial beef production grew explosively late in the century. Similarly, Australia and New Zealand, settled by British immigrants, became major exporters of grain and meat.

North America became a magnet for agricultural immigrants as land became scarcer in Europe due to population pressures and other political and economic factors. Millions of Scandinavian and German farmers headed to the Great Plains, helping to make the United States and Canada the world's most bountiful source of grains such as wheat and corn. Not all rural immigrants found agricultural opportunities: Irish peasants displaced from their lands by harsh British policies and the devastating potato famine of the late 1840s mostly resettled in Canadian and American cities. In the 1890s a worldwide decline in sugar prices caused famine in Spanish-controlled Cuba and helped bring about the Spanish-American War.

In China, even though acreage devoted to agriculture increased after the 17th century, the population rose much faster, tripling to 430 million by 1851, thanks to a period of internal peace, increased crop yields, and medical advances such as widespread smallpox vaccination. Since little additional land was available for cultivation and there were few opportunities for emigration, livelihood became difficult, leading to widespread rebellions in the mid-19th century. Japan's population also grew rapidly in the late 19th century, straining limited land resources. The adoption of chemical fertilizers somewhat improved agricultural yields.

Imperialism played an important role in reshaping agricultural economies. Subsistence farming in much of Asia, Africa, and South America was disrupted by Western demands for profitable cash crops and a growing need for cheap, nonagricultural labor. Egypt under Muhammad Ali moved away from self-sufficient farming of foodstuffs to cash crops, especially tobacco and cotton. During the U.S. Civil War, when demand was high and production low, the Egyptian economy prospered, but once U.S. production resumed, Egypt was caught in a web of indebtedness for costly development projects begun during the short boom. In India, the British undertook many irrigation projects, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal. These improvements facilitated the cultivation and exportation of various cash crops. Famines continued to occur, but agricultural and transportation improvements lessened their severity. Over the course of the 19th century, prices of commodity crops such as wheat, corn, tobacco, sugar, and cotton fell significantly. This was a boon for consumers, but difficult for small independent farmers.

**Agricultural Mechanization and New Techniques.** For millennia, agricultural labor had been provided by the muscle power of men, women, and children, assisted when possible by draft animals such as horses, donkeys, oxen, water buffalo, or yaks. The number of hands and hoofs available dictated the size of most farms, which were small. Most farmers produced food required by their own families, selling any extra production locally for cash to buy what they could not grow or make.

Two American innovators, John Deere and Cyrus McCormick, introduced important advances in the 1830s that made plows stronger and reapers more reliable. At first this new equipment used horse or oxen power; eventually steam power would run these labor-saving machines. Although Deere and McCormick became international names in agriculture, farmers were slow to adopt the new machinery, due to expense and tradition. As more farmers after the U.S. Civil War acquired larger farmsteads on the Great Plains, they found that it was almost impossible to cultivate the prairies without the new technology, including the tougher chilled iron plow, introduced in 1869, and seed drills that promised uniform rows for crops such as wheat and corn. The "plow that broke the Plains" would have serious ecological consequences wherever it was used, leading to soil erosion and other long-term effects.

By the 1880s most North American agriculture was specialized. In the arid West, barbed wire was the key invention that helped ranchers control their livestock, keeping cattle and sheep safe from both

animal and human predators. A swath of states from New York to Wisconsin and Minnesota provided most of the nation's dairy foods. The cotton gin, a device patented in 1794 by New Englander Eli Whitney, removed seeds from cotton fibers, making cotton a viable commodity. Cotton raised in Mississippi, Alabama, and elsewhere in the South was the United States's most important export before the Civil War, but was challenged afterward by cotton from Egypt and India. Between 1860 and 1900 the number of active farms in the United States almost tripled, and 32 million people lived on them.

Scientific agriculture began to reshape, if not always improve, traditional farming practices. Advances in crop rotation, new seed varieties, fertilizers, and pesticides began to help farmers overcome some traditional dangers to their livelihood, despite potential loss of variety and environmental harm. Mechanical irrigation could overcome drought, but at a high economic and ecological cost. In the United States in 1862 Congress authorized college-level agricultural education and created a federal Department of Agriculture. National efforts to educate and encourage farmers emerged even as new techniques and machinery began to make labor-intensive small farming obsolete. Lack of capital and conservative political and social policies prevented the vast agricultural lands of Russia from adopting efficient farming methods.

**Agricultural Markets and Trade.** As localized subsistence farming gave way in most of the world to international commercial agriculture, transportation and processing facilities took on the highest importance. For most countries, navigable waterways were the best option for moving crops to port cities. In the United States the Mississippi River played an especially important role, as barges carried farm goods to the port of New Orleans. Smaller streams could provide power to turn grain into flour; by the 1780s automated water mills were in use in North America. In the early 1800s localities searched to create water access. The Erie Canal, a state-financed project that opened in 1825, connected New York City to the Great Lakes, dramatically enhancing agricultural trade options. Canals were also widely used in Europe. Ocean shipping by clipper ships, and later steam-powered vessels, helped greatly in the worldwide distribution of agricultural products.

Roads good enough to accommodate heavily loaded farm wagons under a variety of weather conditions were slow to develop, but the advent of railroads in the 1830s was a major boon to farmers and their customers, because they were more reliable and cheaper than canals or rivers. Cattle and other livestock destined for urban slaughterhouses would be delivered to railroad depots by cowboys on horseback. By the 1870s refrigerated freight cars were hauling meat and other perishable foodstuffs to distant cities.

This gradual switch from food grown locally to products from the world over changed human dietary habits. Ancient preservation techniques, including smoking, salting, and pickling, were augmented by sanitary canning, developed in France and Britain in the early 1800s. French scientist Louis Pasteur's heat treatment of milk overcame serious dangers of microbes in many foods, although mandatory pasteurization only caught on widely in the 20th century. Refrigeration and new methods for providing large quantities of ice for home use were, by the end of the 19th century, making it safe to eat foods out of season.

Although these new methods promised food that was more plentiful, nutritious, and varied, standardization and new packaging had a downside. Practices that counterfeited freshness and healthfulness became endemic in the 19th century. Food-processing firms often cut corners in regard to hygiene and mislabeled their products. Cheap additives, artificial taste and coloring agents, and even known poisons made their way into packaged products. Crusades against food adulteration, led by mothers and public health professionals, gained momentum, culminating in 20th-century inspection and labeling laws in many nations.

**Land and Money: Agricultural Politics.** Peasant unrest frequently afflicted societies across the globe; even in more developed nations, farmers were often unhappy. In the 19th century farmers facing higher machinery and transportation costs while crop prices plummeted made their grievances known. In the next century millions of them would give up farming entirely.

In 1807 U.S. farmers, not for the first time, experienced the instability of farming as an export business. Facing attacks on shipping by both France and England in the run-up to the War of 1812,

President Jefferson, the champion of agrarianism, persuaded Congress to include farm products in his embargo of trade with the warring European powers. Since agricultural sales were a major component of U.S. trade, this proved to be a disaster. Tobacco became almost worthless, while wheat prices fell from two dollars to 10 cents a bushel, setting off a general recession.

The distribution of western lands mostly seized by the U.S. government from Indian tribes was a major issue leading up to the Civil War. In 1862 a Homestead Act was signed by President Abraham Lincoln at a time when 75 percent of Americans were farmers or lived in rural communities. It was a way to reward Union supporters during the war, although former Confederates would later share its benefits. The act promised 160 acres of free land in specified areas to families who would spend at least five years improving their new homesteads. Some 2 million families claimed free federal lands, while millions more bought surplus land from railroad companies building transcontinental lines with government assistance. Persuaded that “rain follows the plow,” many of these homesteaders would eventually give up farming after enduring droughts, blizzards, and insect infestations later in the century.

After the Civil War much of southern agriculture was based on sharecropping, a system that put landless farmers to work on the large landholdings of others. Poor whites and former slaves were most likely to farm under these circumstances. Despite promises that they might someday own the land they cultivated, sharecroppers were often exploited by high-priced “company stores” and were prey to the usual disappointments of farming. Like Russia’s serfs, emancipated by Czar Alexander II in 1861, sharecroppers often found greater opportunity in urban factories than by continuing to farm lands they might never actually own.

Farmer disappointment and unrest soon took political form. In the United States, the National Grange was founded in 1867. This fraternal organization encouraged rural families to support one another and create cooperative facilities such as grain silos. By the 1870s farmers were joining more overtly political farmers’ alliances. Millions of farmers in the Midwest, Great Plains, and South were politicized by uncontrolled rail freight charges, high seed costs, and agricultural price instability. In 1892 the new People’s Party ran former Iowa general James B. Weaver for president. This movement, whose members were called Populists, had some regional success and won electoral votes. But after their central issues, including currency reform, were embraced by 1896 Democratic Party nominee for president William Jennings Bryan from Nebraska, Populists gradually retreated into political oblivion, and their tentative efforts to build a biracial movement were swept away. In 1750 most of the farming population in Europe were either serfs or worked under conditions that had survived from serfdom. Political and social changes brought on by the French Revolution in 1789 would result in the emancipation of farmers in France and later across Europe. The last and largest group to achieve freedom was the rural population of the Russian Empire, in the 1860s. Peasant unrest and revolts characterized Russia throughout this period.

## SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the 18th century Europeans, later joined by North Americans, brought about a scientific, technological, and social movement that reshaped work, wealth, and environments around the globe. Over this 150-year period, the Industrial Revolution changed power generation, transportation, and communication. It also generated important breakthroughs in pure science, as physicists, chemists, and biologists developed theoretical explanations for technologies often already in use.

On the most basic level, what the Industrial Revolution did was replace ancient energy sources—human and animal labor, wind, fire, and water—with new systems of power, initially the use of coal to run steam engines that were massively more powerful than hundreds of human workers. In 1765 Scotsman James Watt, building on the earlier work of Thomas Newcomen and others, developed the first efficient steam engine. Among its earliest applications were steam-powered machinery for turning wool, cotton, and flax into finished textiles, a process previously done

almost entirely by hand. This transformation of work from a home-based system to centralized factories relying on complex machinery was the central element of the Industrial Revolution.

Britain's newly automated spinning and weaving machinery quickly propelled the island nation into the forefront of economic production and soon set off efforts by competing nations, including the new United States, to equal Britain's industrial achievements. Bribes paid to British mechanics and industrial espionage were among the tactics used. In 1793, with the invaluable assistance of British immigrant and skilled textile machinist Samuel Slater, a limited but successful textile factory opened in Rhode Island.

In the early 1800s growing conflict between Britain and the United States, resulting in the War of 1812, had the effect of making America's home-grown industrialization even more crucial. After 1807 the number of U.S. textile mills sextupled. The most important of the new mills was Francis Cabot Lowell's Boston Manufacturing Company of Waltham, Massachusetts, where both spinning and weaving processes were automated under a single factory roof and a workforce, consisting primarily of young women from struggling New England farm families, provided low-cost labor.

In the earliest days of the Industrial Revolution, water wheels competed with the new steam engine. But as the reliability of steam power increased and its siting flexibility became obvious, energy-dense coal became Europe's and, later, North America's major industrial fuel source. At the U.S. centennial celebration in Philadelphia in 1876, George H. Corliss's steam engine, the largest in the world, was both a major attraction and sole power source for the entire exhibition. Within 40 years, steam engines would be largely replaced by electrical devices, although the electrical power these new machines used would, in most cases, still be generated by burning coal.

Some of the earliest experiments with static electricity were done by American Benjamin Franklin, whose 1751 article, "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," made him a Fellow of Britain's Royal Society. By 1753 Franklin had developed the protective lightning rod. Between the 1780s and 1800 Italian scientists Luigi Galvani and Alessandro Volta would discover electrical current and how to produce electricity chemically through the medium of the battery. In 1831 Englishman Michael Faraday's discovery of electromagnetism, scientifically refined by James Clerk Maxwell, paved the way for practical uses of electrical power. George Westinghouse, who first gained fame in 1873 as the inventor of air brakes for trains, soon thereafter became fellow U.S. inventor Thomas A. Edison's chief rival for the implementation of commercial electric power. Westinghouse's alternating current, developed for him by Nikola Tesla, became the standard. Edison, inventor of the incandescent lightbulb and many other devices powered by electricity, lost his bid for direct current but nevertheless profited mightily.

**Spread of Industry.** As the Industrial Revolution spread, the need to provide fuel and raw materials to new factories and ship their finished products helped set off a transportation revolution in many industrializing nations. Efforts were made in Britain and elsewhere to improve road surfaces to facilitate safer passage for wheeled vehicles, at first drawn by horses or other draft animals. In 1819 Scotsman John Macadam developed a crushed stone surface, significantly smoothing roadways. The United States began building a National Road, starting in Baltimore after the War of 1812, but regional squabbles and high costs meant that, after 44 years, the road project ended 65 miles short of its projected St. Louis terminus. Similarly, imperial powers in Africa, Muhammad Ali in Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire in western Asia all financed projects to enlarge ports and build roads and railroads to facilitate the transport of cash crops and raw materials.

In 1757 and 1764 two canals built in England made it easier to move coal to emerging factories. Other European nations and the United States soon joined in the canal-building boom. In 1825 New York State's Erie Canal, a water route connecting New York City to the Great Lakes and beyond, became one of the most successful projects in what would prove to be the brief golden age of canal transport.

The major transport successes of the early 19th century were steam-powered ships and railroads. In 1807 on the Hudson River Robert Fulton demonstrated a new kind of water-going vessel,

powered by an English steam engine. Its success led to steamboats on most large U.S. rivers and the Great Lakes. In 1800 Englishman Richard Trevithick devised a much smaller, high-pressure steam engine ideal for railroad transportation. Locomotives were used for industrial freight hauling in Britain for some years before the first public passenger line between Liverpool and Manchester opened in 1830. A worldwide frenzy of railroad construction ensued. With their dedicated trackage and modular assembly, railroads, powered by coal-fired steam engines, were well suited to hauling huge loads of both goods and people.

Major increases in the fabrication and use of iron and steel provided the sinews of the Industrial Revolution, especially the building of rail tracks. Developed in Britain, the Bessemer steel process was widely adopted in the United States and helped steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish-born immigrant, become one of the world's wealthiest men.

The late 19th century saw the first examples of transport based on internal combustion engines—the automobile, bus, and truck. Although the Swiss inventor Nicholas Cugnot is credited with making such a device as early as 1769, European experiments that led to workable internal combustion engines began in the 1860s. The Germans Gottlieb Daimler, Wilhelm Maybach, and Carl Benz produced workable prototypes in the 1880s, while France's Peugeot firm began to perfect auto design in 1890. In 1897 the German Rudolf Diesel produced a new type of engine that now bears his name. By the end of the century Americans, too, were making cars, notably the 1893 Duryea. Ransom Olds's first Michigan auto factory opened in 1899, but the United States lagged behind European engineering by a decade.

Instantaneous communications were essential to the business and technical needs of the Industrial Revolution. Weather events, wars, and other crises could easily disrupt, even derail, factory production. Charles Wheatstone's early telegraph of 1837, systematized and improved in 1844 by Samuel F. B. Morse, made it possible to circulate information much faster than mail systems. By 1866 telegraph signals could be reliably sent and received across the Atlantic; by the end of the century, much of the world had access to telegraph communication. The Canadian Alexander Graham Bell displayed his telephone at the 1876 U.S. Centennial Exposition; within a few years it became an important business tool. In 1899 the Italian Guglielmo Marconi sent his first radio signal across the English Channel. Both telephone and radio later made the telegraph obsolete.

**Mechanical Geniuses.** Western science developed dramatically during the heyday of the Industrial Revolution, sparked by "untutored" mechanical geniuses like Thomas Edison, as well as growing cadres of university-trained scientists and engineers. Major breakthroughs in chemistry in the later 1700s included Frenchman Antoine Lavoisier's and Englishman Joseph Priestley's identification of oxygen and other atmospheric components, and Russian Dmitry Mendeleev's development in 1869 of a systematic table of chemical elements. In physics, discoveries in thermodynamics were spearheaded by such theorists as William Thomson, Lord Kelvin, who postulated a temperature of absolute zero at which all motion would cease. Thermodynamics provided theoretical underpinnings for methods of creating and preserving cold conditions. By the 1870s refrigerated train cars were in wide use, preserving and enhancing food products traveling from farms to distant urban areas.

Some important innovations in biological science, especially as applied to health and medicine, included Swede Carolus Linnaeus's (Carl von Linné's) 1753 classification of biological organisms, a system still in use today. The discovery of anesthetic agents such as ether and chloroform in the 1830s and 1840s soon radically improved outcomes of painful and invasive surgeries. In 1896 X-rays were first used to diagnose human ailments.

But the two most spectacular breakthroughs in this period would be evolutionary theory and the germ theory of disease. Made public in 1858, evolution was an explanation of the diversity and complexity of living organisms, reached almost simultaneously by two English naturalists, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace. Both men had relied heavily on the early 19th-century geologic and fossil findings of Charles Lyell. In 1859 Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* in which he postulated natural selection as the mechanism that allowed some species to survive while others disappeared. His direct challenge to most religious explanations for the development of human life,

evolution, was labeled blasphemous and, outside scientific circles, remains embroiled in controversy to this day.

In the 1870s biologists Louis Pasteur of France and Robert Koch of Germany proved that microorganisms—germs—were responsible for most human, animal, and plant diseases. This rethinking of disease transmission revolutionized medical practice and gave new credibility to the emerging practice of sanitation.

Although the Industrial Revolution took place mostly in the West and helped it dominate other sections of the globe in the years between 1750 and 1900, it would be a mistake to see this burst of technological and scientific growth as an unchallenged success. From its inception, the new factory system was strongly criticized for making humans interchangeable and also forcing them to adapt to ever-faster and more complex machines. Opposition by a group of early challengers, the Luddites, reached its peak in England in 1812 when highly skilled workers, concentrated in the woolen industry, smashed installations of new machinery destined to implement the new factory system of production. By 1867 in their work *Das Kapital*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, both German-born, had developed a broad critique of the Industrial Revolution and the laissez-faire capitalism that underpinned it. Engels was particularly qualified to evaluate the factory system; his father was an owner of a textile factory in Manchester, England.

A result of the Industrial Revolution less often mentioned during its 19th-century zenith was massive pollution created by industrial processes based on the unfettered burning of coal, soon to be supplemented with the combustion of petroleum products. It is no wonder that U.S. writer Edward Bellamy, in his 1887 utopian best seller and critique of industrialism, *Looking Backward: 2000–1887*, recalled 1887 Boston as squalid and “malodorous,” and reeking of “fetid air” compared to the shiny, bright, and clean Boston of a postindustrial future.

## SOCIAL AND CLASS RELATIONS

This period of world history, 1750–1900, was an age of revolutions, both military and social. Although social and class upheavals were most evident in the West, other major societies also experienced important changes that affected relationships between rulers and subjects, capitalists and workers, men, women, and children. A process of globalization, spearheaded by imperialism and huge migrations within and between nations, created new political and social interactions.

The American Revolution helped bring an end to the phase of European colonialism that had begun with Spain’s 16th-century expansion into the New World. It inspired independence movements in Central and South America and eventually led to autonomy for Canada. In Europe, the republican ideas expounded in the United States’s revolution and 1789 Constitution helped spark political ferment that would produce liberalism, socialism, and communism in the 19th century. The French Revolution marked the beginning of the end of monarchical power in France, Britain, and many other Western countries, although the final demise of this ancient system of hereditary rule did not occur until World War I. As deference to royalty faded, some class barriers began to come down, especially in Europe between the 1830s and 1848, when failed revolutions in France and Germany ended in repression of dissident voices. The impact of European imperialism across Asia from the Middle East to Japan would also inspire not only nationalistic awakening but also political and social revolutions that continued into the 20th century.

These political changes would have been unlikely without the almost simultaneous eruption, first in the West and later worldwide, of the Industrial Revolution. This dramatic economic transformation hardened existing class identities but also held out promises of greater freedom, wealth, and power for people on lower and middle rungs of the social order. This new way of financing and organizing the production of goods was theoretically justified by *The Wealth of Nations*, an anti-mercantilist, pro-capitalist economic philosophy articulated in 1776, the year of American independence, by Scottish thinker Adam Smith.

Aristocratic French observer Alexis de Tocqueville, who toured the United States in 1831, was astonished by the relative equality of masters and (white) servants, but worried that even in this new



democracy, manufacturing might be dominated by a tiny group of capitalists who could “fix the rate of wages as they please,” thereby oppressing their “exceedingly numerous” workers. His observation presaged the insights of German-born journalist and philosopher Karl Marx, who articulated a fundamental critique of social and class relationships.

Marx and Friedrich Engels published their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848. The workers who poured into new factories (called “Satanic Mills” by English poet William Blake) were, said Marx, the real producers of the world’s wealth. This proletariat, he insisted, should control their work and apportion its benefits. Instead, he said, an emerging cadre of capitalists, assisted by a new bourgeois managerial class, were enriching themselves at the proletariat’s expense.

Indeed, as people moved from farms and workshops into new industrial cities, labor unions expanded and increased in militancy. Skilled, or craft, workers, almost always men, had for years found ways to extract pay and hours concessions. Men, women, and often children working in factories, however, did less skilled work and could be easily replaced. Although Britain banned unions shortly after the French Revolution, by the 1860s coal miners and textile workers had formed powerful unions. In 1871 unions in Britain were officially recognized; in 1893 unionists and socialists combined to create Britain’s Labour Party. German printers and cigar makers unionized after the 1848 unrest. By 1900 strong industrial unions played important political roles in most European nations.

In the United States, the path to worker organization was difficult. Craft workers had long been protective of their skills and membership but began to lose ground as factories proliferated. Cyclical economic downturns led to factory layoffs; assertive workers might not be rehired. Courts were hostile, seeing most union demands as restraint of trade. As immigration surged in the 1850s and after the U.S. Civil War, manufacturers had their pick of presumably docile workers. In 1869 the Knights of Labor began to organize both skilled and unskilled workers and, for their time, were unusually inclusive of workers who were female, immigrant, or nonwhite. The Knights were eclipsed in 1886 when Samuel Gompers established the craft-focused American Federation of Labor, with a 40-hour workweek as its main goal.

Americans and Britons who opposed unions and other socialistic reforms often invoked the precepts of Social Darwinism to justify their defense of class inequality, including the growing gap between rich and poor. This misapplication by sociologists Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner of Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution held that in the unceasing struggle for existence only the strongest humans and human groups would survive. Simplistically, most understood this to mean that society’s richest and most powerful men had been chosen to succeed by nature’s own laws. Social Darwinism bolstered the economic tenet of *laissez-faire*—the idea that government must not interfere in the marketplace—and also was used to justify Western imperialism.

**Latin America.** In Latin American societies, deep class and race inequalities from the colonial period persisted after most nations had thrown off Spanish and Portuguese rule. Absent social revolution, stark divisions between rich and poor continued well into the 19th century. New social classes did emerge eventually. In Mexico, for example, the rule of Porfirio Díaz saw the rise of middle-class professionals, as well as consolidation of a working class, especially miners, without access to land. Massive immigration by Spaniards and Italians into Argentina created a large urban working class in Buenos Aires and other growing cities that would link Argentina to the global economy and inspire working and middle-class demands for greater political participation.

Doctrines of racial and ethnic inequality blossomed during this period. Even though U.S. slavery and Russian serfdom came to an end in the 1860s, Western nations justified their domination of Asia and Africa on racial grounds and gloried in assuming “the white man’s burden” to better the lot of the dominated. In the United States, the end of the Civil War produced three constitutional amendments that outlawed slavery, extended equal rights to all former slaves, and granted the right to vote to African-American men.

Although some African Americans restored their families, found work, and even won public office, hopes for true equality did not materialize. Instead, the federal government looked away as

former slave states (and some states outside the Confederacy) instituted new codes of inequality, known as Jim Crow laws, enforcing them with terror tactics, including lynching. Czar Alexander II's emancipation of the serfs, who represented one-third of Russia's population, created problems of land distribution that would feed unrest leading to revolution in 1917.

Worldwide pressure on agricultural land and commodity prices pushed many millions to emigrate for economic survival. Those who continued to farm often found themselves in a spiral of debt and threatened with foreclosure. In the United States, farmer campaigns, including the Populist political movement of the 1890s, brought white and black, midwestern and southern, together to propose bold solutions to these problems—most of which required state or federal government activism. The movement ended after the elections of 1896 with recriminations over currency reform and an upsurge of racism that tore apart the fragile coalition.

Anti-Jewish prejudices, long traditional in Christian Europe, intensified, especially as Jews left their ghettos to pursue education and professions long closed to them. As anti-Semitism, in the form of terror attacks called pogroms, increased in Russia and eastern Europe, thousands of Jews fled, mostly to the United States, where some became active in socialist movements. In France, the 1894 court-martial and deportation of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a French-Jewish army officer who proved later to be innocent of treason, revealed persecution of Jews amid rising nationalism.

Despite these “worst of times,” as British Victorian novelist Charles Dickens described the French revolutionary era, there were also advances—for a growing middle class, for children, and for women—in Western nations. Although aggressive nationalism was an increasing problem, religious tolerance generally expanded despite such setbacks as the Dreyfus affair. Victorian elites clung to a stratified class structure with rigid rules of etiquette and clear divisions between upstairs and the servants below, but class relationships were changing. The Industrial Revolution fueled a major expansion of the bourgeoisie. Emerging along with a substantial professional class were greater comfort, better education, lower birthrates and infant mortality, and new respect for childhood. Calls for women's suffrage, by both women and men, increased. Immigration, often the choice of desperate people, did offer mobility and opportunity to many millions, even if their new streets were not paved with gold.

Although women and children were still viewed as property in much of the world, there were strong indications that attitudes were beginning to change. In the Ottoman Empire there was considerable upward mobility and religious tolerance; minorities fared quite well, especially in contrast to much of the rest of the world. Women in the Islamic world had property rights and legal standing, but traditional mores often took precedence over religious laws regarding women's status.

In British-ruled India, Hindu reformers began reexamining the traditional caste system. Modernizing educational practices produced Western-oriented Indian men and women, many of whom began to demand participation in their government. India's Muslims were slower to adopt modern education. In China, failure of the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in the late 19th century led to the emergence of modern Chinese nationalism in opposition to the Manchu, the ethnic minority that had established its dynastic rule in 1644. Oriented toward modern Western political forms, nationalists began to demand the emancipation of women even as they struggled with incursions of Western and Japanese imperialism. In Japan, the Meiji Restoration ended the feudal system, abolished the traditional hierarchy of classes, and created universal conscription. Some male taxpayers were allowed to vote after 1889. Girls' schooling was made mandatory, and some professions were opened to women, although they did not win the vote.

## TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

By 1750 improved transportation and aggressive exploration by Western countries had dislodged the Ottoman Empire's long-standing monopoly on East-West land trade routes. New sea routes, established by the Portuguese and others, focused on Africa and the New World and helped to shift the economic balance of power toward Europe and away from Asia. So did the extraction of large quantities of silver and gold from the Western Hemisphere that, for a time, made Spain Europe's wealthiest and most powerful nation.

Trade competition led not only to new kinds of exchanges and rivalries between equals but also created opportunities for exploitation of newly encountered populations. Europeans famously tried to fool America's Indian tribes by trading trinkets for valuable land and other resources. Not all Natives were losers in these exchanges. Such manufactured items as knives and firearms helped tribal groups defend themselves against settler attacks and enhanced their advantages in inter-tribal warfare. A booming trade in alcoholic beverages, however, proved especially dangerous to American Indians, causing disease and social disruption and often giving whites an advantage in trade negotiations and treaties.

Slave trading between Africa and the Americas continued to decimate West African populations while enriching some African kings and traders with guns, textiles, and other manufactured goods. At least 15 percent of approximately 8 million kidnapped African men, women, and children died during the so-called Middle Passage, reduced to cargo in crowded, filthy ships that carried them across the Atlantic Ocean into slavery. Most were destined for Brazilian and Caribbean sugar plantations where life was brutal and short. Portugal, the Netherlands, and Britain competed for slave-trading dominance; after 1713, Britain became the world's top merchant of slavery. The African slave trade remained legal in the United States until 1809. In 1853 Brazil became the last New World nation to end slave importation.

As European nations carved out New World spheres, colonists dispatched there from home countries soon found themselves faced with both trade opportunities and restrictions. The so-called triangular trade—actually an overlapping series of trade routes connecting Europe, Africa, and the Americas—enriched both colonials and the native lands they had left. For example, the New England colonies became a center of shipbuilding and also sold fish, lumber, and grain to sugar plantations. Another trading triangle linked Britain, India, and China. Western demand for Chinese goods, notably porcelain, silks, and tea, and the lack of European goods desired by Chinese consumers, eventually led British entrepreneurs to grow poppy and refine it to opium in British-controlled India. The opium was traded to China, where it fed a growing population of addicts. The problem this trade created would lead to war between Britain and China and to growing British and European domination of the failing Qing Empire. Growing British port cities like Bristol and Liverpool, as well as colonial New York and Boston, were awash in formerly exotic and expensive goods, such as tea, silk, and china tableware, once available only to the very wealthiest people. But a series of British Navigation Acts, including the 1750 Iron Act, prohibited Americans from buying goods from other nations or making locally goods that British merchants could more profitably sell them.

At the end of the Seven Years'/French and Indian War in 1763, British colonists in North America became restless when Britain significantly tightened policies that limited internal trade with Indian tribes and with other colonies and nations. Rules that required Americans to buy most products from British companies, while forbidding local manufacturing initiatives, were central issues leading up to the American Revolution. Even after independence was won, the right to trade freely continued to cause conflict between the new nation and Britain and France, eventually becoming a major cause of the War of 1812.

**More Resources.** In the 19th century the rapidly industrializing nations of Europe and America aggressively sought new raw materials, markets, and trading opportunities around the world. Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch, and British had traditionally traded with the countries of the Pacific rim. Trade-driven imperial ventures intensified and also attracted the United States, which by 1848 had expanded to the Pacific Ocean's eastern shore. U.S. whaling ships regularly plied the Pacific and required refueling stations in places like Hawaii. In 1853 and 1854 U.S. naval vessels under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Edo (Tokyo) Bay using both diplomacy and a display of military might to persuade the Japanese to open their isolationist society to the trading nations. Japan's embrace of industrial development and its participation in world trade were major results of this initiative.

Despite the U.S. Monroe Doctrine's dreams of dominating the Western Hemisphere, Latin American nations developed strong trade ties to many European powers. Throughout the 19th

century Britain was a major trading partner, providing textiles and clothing. Britain, France, and Germany were especially significant partners for the southern republics of Chile, Brazil, and Argentina. The United States was more dominant in Central America and northern South America, even before seizing Puerto Rico and Cuba from Spain in 1898's Spanish-American War. Although Mexico lost territories in the Mexican War with the United States in 1848, it became linked to the U.S. economy by mining, agriculture, and railroads. Mexico maintained strong trade ties with European powers. Such Euro-American ideological imports as socialism, communism, anarchism, and syndicalism found fertile ground among Latin America's growing working and urban classes.

Imperialism had very different consequences in India and Egypt, where Britain held sway. Attempts at local industrialization were discouraged. Instead, these regions were obliged by their colonial masters to provide cheap agricultural products and other raw materials. These policies enriched quasi-private trade groups like the British East India Company and protected European and American manufacturing. During the U.S. Civil War, Egyptian cotton mostly replaced Confederate cotton in French and British textile factories, with long-term consequences for one of the United States's most successful agricultural commodities. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further marginalized Ottoman trade power and enhanced European influence and trade in the Middle East and Asia.

China, the world's most populous country, was viewed by imperial powers as a vast potential market for all manner of manufactured products. By 1900 European powers and Japan had essentially carved China into spheres of influence within which each country hoped to control trade and exploit natural resources. Meanwhile, enterprising traders from China and the Indian subcontinent became important agents of commerce in such regions as South Africa, the Caribbean, Indochina, and the East Indies (later Indonesia). Mohandas K. Gandhi, a London-educated lawyer, spent 20 years in South Africa, fighting for rights of this Indian diaspora of traders and workers before shifting his freedom quest to his own colonized nation.

**Cultural Imperialism.** Cultural exchange accompanied growing world trade. To a great extent, Western imperial agents attempted to impose their culture and educational values on people they believed to be backward or inferior. Christian missionaries, some Roman Catholic, but most from Protestant denominations, played an important role in spreading Western culture, even when, as in China and India, they were not successful in making many converts. Among Native tribes in the Americas, and in Hawaii, the Philippines, and some African regions, groups like the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) spread the word of God, and, if that failed, the benefits of modernization and education. Although the missionaries themselves often returned home with a deeper knowledge of other cultures, it rarely translated into greater respect. "Our little brown brothers" was how Americans defined the Filipinos who rose up against Spanish colonialism only to find themselves wards of the United States after the Spanish-American War.

Missionaries and government and corporate agents of imperialism did sometimes provide useful training and information. Many Indians (like Gandhi) and a number of Africans received modern English educations in new schools and universities in India or in England. Missionaries made modern schooling available to girls in China and India for the first time. After 1895 thousands of Chinese men and women chose to study in Japan because of that country's success. Japan's universal educational system was based on the German model, as was its constitution. Westerners also introduced modern medicine, which contributed to lowering mortality rates.

In the 19th century greater wealth and mobility encouraged tourism as well as artistic and intellectual exchanges. Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville was the most famous of the dozens of curious European observers who visited America to report back on the new nation's progress. The transatlantic Grand Tour became a rite of passage for young Americans looking for Old World culture. More important, artists who gained fame through such media as newspapers, photography, the telegraph, and the telephone brought their talents to international audiences. Writers and musical and theatrical stars such as British novelist Charles Dickens, Hungarian pianist Franz Liszt, Swedish

soprano Jenny Lind, French actress Sarah Bernhardt, and Australian soprano Nellie Melba performed before enraptured crowds across Europe and America.

World's fairs and expositions became popular in the mid-19th century, beginning with London's Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace on view in Hyde Park from April to October of 1851. Blending technology and art, powerful machines and homey kitchen tools, 13,000 international displays attracted more than 6 million visitors and trumpeted the achievements of the British Empire and its colonial domains.

The Crystal Palace exhibition set a new standard for the promotion of trade and agriculture and inspired similar extravaganzas in Paris, Vienna, Brussels, Barcelona, Melbourne, and cities in the United States. Held in Philadelphia in 1876, America's Centennial Exposition highlighted the nation's manufacturing power and, indirectly, its recovery from the recent Civil War. A 40-foot Corliss steam engine, the world's largest, powered the entire exhibition; Alexander Graham Bell introduced his new telephone to fairgoers from around the world, including the French sculptor who was in the process of crafting the Statue of Liberty. At France's 1889 exposition in Paris, commemorating the French Revolution, the Eiffel Tower was unveiled. "Exotic" natives of colonized countries, like Samoa, or natives set apart within their own countries, like American Indians, were displayed at various fairs as examples of the progress Western civilization had made in manufacturing, trade, and culture and was now bringing to the world's "backward" peoples.

## WARFARE

Improvements in weapons technology, fueled by the Industrial Revolution, helped make warfare in the late 18th and 19th centuries more deadly and sophisticated. Civilians were drawn into wars more deeply than before, both as targets of enemy forces and as conscripts bound to military service. As traditional military powers, including the Ottoman Empire and China, lagged, Western nations expanded their global imperialistic aims. Although most of this period's wars pitted nation against nation, warfare against internal foes, including America's indigenous people and nomadic peoples and rebels in China, was also widespread.

**Weaponry Trends.** Although the ballistics revolution did not fundamentally change the tools of Western warfare, it significantly improved their effectiveness. Guns, artillery, and warships continued to be the basic components of combat, but all benefited from innovations linked to the developing sciences of engineering, physics, and chemistry. Smoothbore muskets began to give way to rifled guns that permitted much greater accuracy and impact. Cannons with rifled interiors and shapes that took account of air resistance could propel their payloads farther more precisely. As steam power replaced sails, and steel hulls replaced wooden ones, warships became stronger, faster, and more dependable. The development of interchangeable components by American Eli Whitney and others made it easier for even inexperienced soldiers to set up, load, fire, and repair both cannons and guns. Gunpowder, invented much earlier in China, was also reengineered for greater force and reliability.

**Manpower Trends.** Wars became bigger in the 18th and 19th centuries, partly because of new military and political systems for conscripting huge numbers of soldiers and supplying their battlefield needs. In the process, the use of cavalry—soldiers on horseback—began to wane, while the use of infantry—men on foot—expanded, as did women's roles in supporting troops with laundry, food preparation, medical aid, and weapons repair and service. During the Crimean War, Englishwoman Florence Nightingale helped pioneer a new standard for nursing injured soldiers. Slowly, battlefield improvements in medical care (including anesthesia) and food safety would help reduce military casualties from causes not directly related to combat.

By 1750 the feudal concept that vassals were obliged to fight for the interests of their overlords was already in decline, even though the British Royal Navy for many years continued to use impressment to force citizens and colonials into naval service, when volunteers fell short. In the American colonies, especially Massachusetts Bay, men aged 16 to 60 were required to join local militias during times of threat, usually from Native tribes. In the American Revolution, these mili-

tias played a vital role in repulsing attacks in their home territories, even as George Washington, leader of the new Continental army, struggled to find and keep volunteers. Meanwhile, Britain paid millions for the fighting services of 23,000 Hessians, mercenary soldiers essentially purchased from the landgrave (lord) of the German principality of Hesse-Kassel.

The idea of mandatory service of limited duration grew in the 19th century. Conscription was represented as an opportunity for patriotic male citizens to respond to national threats, service that might be sweetened by sign-up and retention bonuses. If neither of these worked, threats of punishment for draft dodging and desertion were invoked. Revolutionary France was among the first nations to impose a draft; later, Emperor Napoleon I used conscription as well as volunteers to field some of the largest armies in history. Prussian military success in the 19th century also depended heavily on the conscription of citizen-soldiers. During the U.S. Civil War, both the Confederacy and the Union adopted draft laws, which the United States had rejected in its past wars. These were extremely unpopular, in part because wealthy men could buy exemptions from service. An 1863 antidraft riot in New York City raged for days, destroying property and causing more than 100 deaths.

The increased size and changing composition of armies required officers and professional soldiers to create new methods of training, disciplining, supplying, and deploying their inexperienced forces. Once traditional military practices, such as marching in tight formations and retiring to quarters during the winter, gradually declined in this period, while more flexible tactics, some of them modeled on the methods of guerrillas and tribal peoples, began to inflect wars conducted by major national powers.

**150 Years of Warfare.** Four overlapping themes run through the warfare of this era. From 1754 to 1815 a series of wars to determine the future of North America altered the international balance of power. Revolutionary upheaval in France after 1789, followed by Emperor Napoleon's military ambitions and his ultimate defeat in 1815, reshaped Europe. Civil wars throughout this period tested political and social order. Near the end of the 19th century, a European (and American) scramble for non-Western colonies touched off wars of imperialism. By 1900 the overall outcome seemed to assure the triumph of Western domination in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, as well as the pacification of minority and ethnic groups that had defied or ignored nationalist agendas.

Some historians have dubbed as a "Sixty Years' War" the period of conflict that began with 1754's hostile encounter between Virginians seeking Ohio lands and French troops protecting France's claims in North America. It ended with U.S. general Andrew Jackson's victory over British troops at New Orleans weeks after the Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812. At stake was the future of North America, which for centuries had been a colonial possession of various European powers. When this 60-year period ended, U.S. independence was secured, and Canada's continuing connection to the British Empire reaffirmed. The French, who lost Québec in the French and Indian War, Haiti in an uprising begun in 1791, and sold Louisiana to the Americans in 1803, were no longer significant in North America. Spain had lost all but a tiny remnant of its once-huge empire in both North and South America. North America's Native peoples now found themselves and their lands major targets of expansionism.

Napoleon's voluntary exit from the Louisiana Territory was part of his plan to consolidate French power in Europe. In well-planned and executed battles against forces that included Britons, Austrians, Italians, Russians, and Prussians, Napoleon for a time seemed to be able to control much of Europe. But overextension and the severe Russian winter forced Napoleon's troops to withdraw from Moscow in 1812; within two years, European forces, with crucial help from Britain's dominant Royal Navy, had sent Napoleon into exile on an isolated Atlantic island.

Between 1815 and the 1870s numerous civil conflicts created serious problems for some nations, and opportunities for others. After Napoleon's defeat, uprisings broke out in Greece, the Italian states, Spain, and France, while militarily stronger European nations, including Austria and Russia, tried to take advantage. In China, the religiously inspired Taiping Rebellion against Manchu rule raged for 14 years, weakening China and helping Western imperialist powers to further weaken it in

later decades. Elsewhere in the 1850s and 1860s Italian nationalism culminated in the unification of Italy. Semiautonomous German states unified to form a single German nation, spearheaded by Prussia. These unifications did not occur without conflict from both internal and external opponents.

The U.S. Civil War of 1861–65 pitted 11 seceding southern slave states against the rest of the nation. It was a total war in which more than 1 million Americans died; it also offered some tantalizing opportunities to U.S. rivals. Both Britain and France considered diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy, hoping thereby to dilute the United States's growing industrial and political power, but were dissuaded by clear evidence that the Union was likely to prevail. Nevertheless, France, under Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, used America's distraction to try to gain control of Mexico. That plan failed.

Prior to about 1830 many non-Western powers successfully held their own against European incursions. Even the Indian subcontinent, where Britain had established trading rights as early as 1619, did not come fully under British control until the 1850s. Some Western states collaborated with some Asian and African states by selling them superior weaponry. For example, the French helped Egypt build a modern naval fleet. Persian leaders and the Ottoman sultans hired Westerners to train their armies. The Japanese, watching with alarm as Western navies encroached on the Pacific, began in the 1860s, with some help from Germany, France, and Britain, to modernize their military forces and upgrade their weaponry. These steps would help Japan escape the fate soon to befall China and make Japan an Asian imperial power.

By the 1880s European competition for colonial control was at its height. In the United States, a century-long effort to “pacify” Native Americans had almost reached its goal of restricting the remaining tribes' landholdings and occupations. Britain, with its unrivaled naval power, gained dominance in Egypt and China. The British also asserted control over great swaths of Africa, defeating the Zulus and the white Dutch-descended settlers in South Africa called the Boers, in the Boer War that began in 1899. French imperial activity focused on North Africa and the Southeast Asian region that came to be known as Indochina. Germany, Italy, and Belgium also competed for colonial opportunities in Africa. Russia was especially successful in Asia, conquering the Muslim khanates in Central Asia and acquiring lands formerly under the Qing Empire on the Pacific coast.

With its four-month Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States acquired Spain's remaining American colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the Philippines in Asia, joining Europeans in the imperial land rush by claiming new territory beyond its own borders. Sixteen years later, the rivalries the new colonialism had provoked among the great imperial powers and the seething millions they claimed the right to control would trigger the greatest war in world history to that point.



## abolition of slavery in the Americas

The history of chattel slavery in the Americas, from its beginnings in 1492 until its final demise in Brazil in 1888, has spawned a vast literature. So, too, has the process by which the institution of chattel slavery was formally and legally abolished. A highly contentious, nonlinear, and uneven process that unfolded in different ways and followed distinct time lines in various parts of the Americas, abolition must be distinguished from manumission, in which slave owners granted freedom to individual slaves, which is not examined here. Especially since the 1960s, historians have examined many different aspects of abolition in the Americas, including the intellectual and moral impulses impelling it; the history of diverse social movements devoted to compelling colonial, state, and national governments to implement it; and the role of various individuals and groups—including merchants, planters, bureaucrats, and colonial, national, and imperial governments, and slaves themselves—in retarding or accelerating the process.

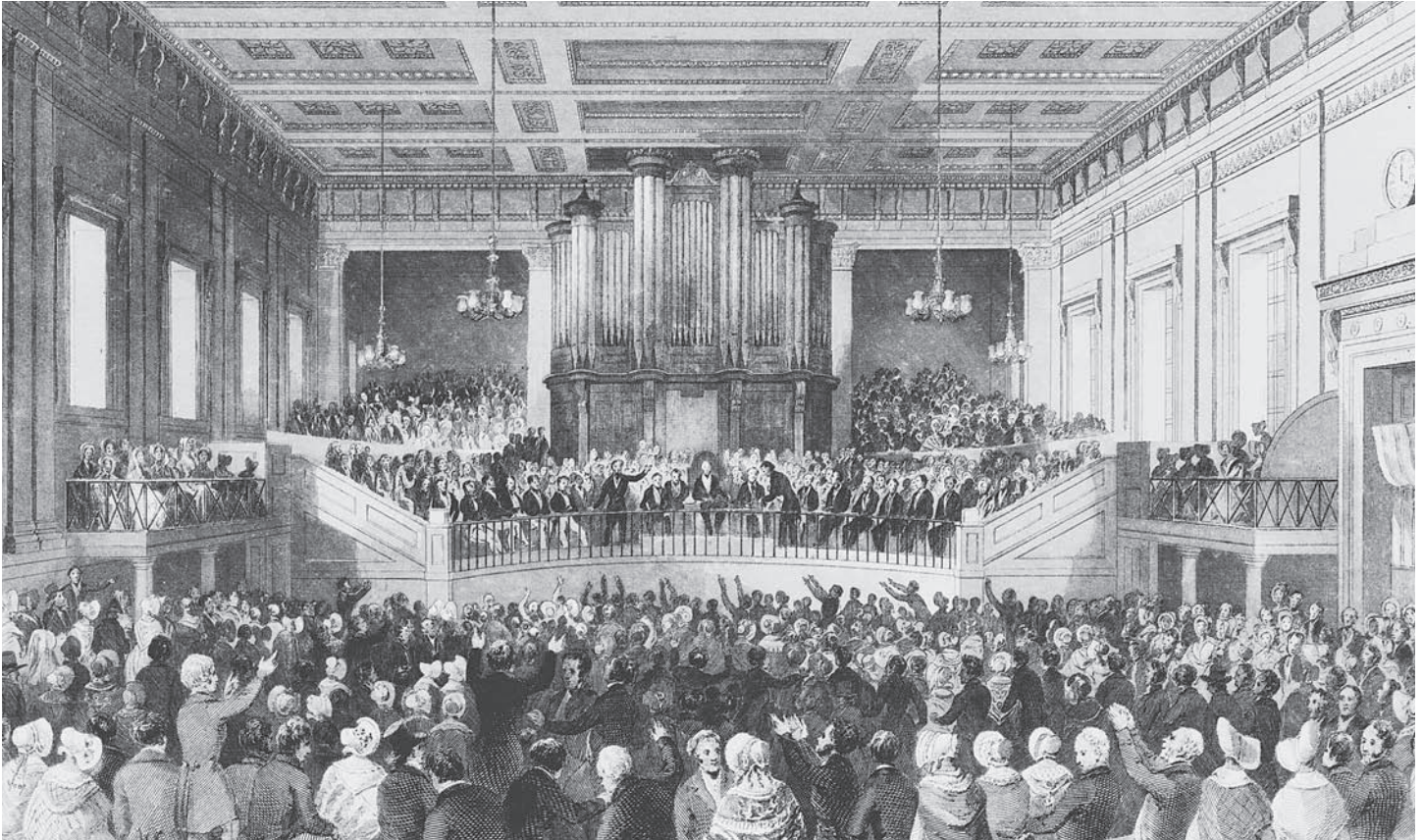
The first formal abolition of slavery in the Western Hemisphere came not from a national government but from state legislatures in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states of the not-yet-independent United States of America. In 1777 the Vermont state assembly became the first governmental entity in the Americas to abolish slavery within its jurisdiction. In 1780 the Pennsylvania state assembly passed a law requiring all blacks henceforth born in the state to become

free upon reaching age 28. State laws mandating the end of chattel slavery, each stipulating different time lines and provisions, were passed in Massachusetts and New Hampshire (1783), Rhode Island and Connecticut (1784), New York (1799), and New Jersey (1804). Significantly, actual abolition sometimes lagged for decades following passage of such laws—as in New Jersey, where legal slavery persisted until ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1865. Because slavery did not comprise an important component of any of these states' economies, organized opposition to abolition was limited, and abolition itself carried few economic costs to slaveholders. As individual states were passing laws for gradual emancipation, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 banned slavery in the Northwest Territories, setting the stage for the sectional conflict between North and South that ultimately led to the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

Far more consequential for the eventual abolition of slavery in the Western Hemisphere was the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade passed by the British parliament in 1807, and put into effect in 1808, outlawing the transatlantic slave trade. The law also authorized the British navy to suppress the slave trade among all slave traffickers, making Britain, in effect, the policeman of the high seas. The U.S. government passed less sweeping legislation in 1808 banning further import of slaves. Three years later, the British parliament made participation in the slave trade a felony.

Scholarly debates have swirled regarding the origins of and inspiration behind these laws. Some historians have





*Exeter Hall was filled with a large crowd for the Anti-Slavery Society meeting, London, England, in 1841. Abolitionist movements gained strength in the 19th century and successfully abolished slavery in most of the Western Hemisphere by the end of the century.*

emphasized the rise of a religion- and ENLIGHTENMENT-inspired antislavery and humanitarian impulse among Quakers, evangelical Methodists, Unitarians, and others in providing the impetus behind the British abolition of the slave trade. An expansive literature pays special attention to leading abolitionists like William Wilberforce and to the many antislavery societies, writers, and publications that blossomed in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Other scholars have stressed the growing commitment to the ideology of free wage labor on the part of Britain's leading capitalists. This interpretive school has located Britain's intensifying opposition to slavery within the broader context of a rapidly developing global capitalist economy and a powerful domestic labor movement that used the symbol of slavery to portray the workers' plight and denounce capitalism. Ironically, while the 1807 law made Britain the first nation to outlaw the transatlantic slave trade, from the mid-1600s leading British economic interests had also been one of the main motors behind, and beneficiaries of, the slave trade.

While the 1807 law presaged the eventual demise of African slavery in the Americas, it did not abolish slavery, or call for the abolition of slavery, or free a single slave. Nor did the law prohibit individual nations or colonies from slave trafficking within their borders. In nations and colonies with large slave populations—including Brazil, the United States, and throughout the Caribbean Basin—chattel slavery could, in theory, continue indefinitely by “natural population increases” among slaves (population increases resulting from births over deaths and excluding external influxes). The outlawing of the Atlantic trade prompted slaveholders across the Americas to implement policies intended to increase slave populations, such as forced impregnation and rape of slave women. Local slave markets reflected these changes, as prices of female slaves of childbearing years rose substantially in many areas. The 1807 law provoked fierce resistance in British colonies such as Jamaica, Antigua, and Trinidad, whose colonial assemblies at first rejected, then grudgingly accepted, the imperial mandate.

Similar patterns unfolded elsewhere, as imperial laws intended to place limits on slavery and the slave trade met stiff resistance by slave owners in the colonies. Overall, such laws originated in national governments' responses to mounting domestic and international opposition to chattel slavery and the actions of slaves themselves and their many forms of resistance to the fact and terms of their enslavement. A survey of the British, French, and Spanish colonial empires highlights these broad patterns.

### GREAT BRITAIN

In Britain the 1807 and 1811 laws were followed by the amelioration laws of 1823, meant to improve the living conditions of slaves. Far more consequential was the Abolition of Slavery Act of 1833, which went into effect on August 1, 1834. The 1833 law abolished slavery throughout the empire, while stipulating a period of apprenticeship in which slaves over the age of six would continue working for four years for their former masters. A major slave rebellion in Jamaica in December 1831 (the "Christmas revolt") played a major role in prompting Parliament to pass the 1833 law—an illustration of the role played by slaves in advancing their own emancipation. In 1838, over the vociferous objections of slaveholders, Parliament proclaimed complete emancipation. Upper and Lower Canada followed the same trajectory as British colonies elsewhere in the Americas, with final emancipation coming in 1838. For the next 27 years Canada would serve as a refuge for escaped slaves from the United States, especially after the U.S. Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made no state in the Union immune from slave-catchers and bounty hunters.

In France, with the convening of the Estates General in 1789, the Société des Amis des Noirs (Society of the Friends of the Blacks) called for the abolition of the slave trade and emancipation of slaves within the colonies. The call was rejected after a powerful coalition of white colonists successfully prevented debate on the topic. With the eruption of the HAITIAN REVOLUTION from 1791, the French assembly relinquished its jurisdiction over the question. Three years later, in 1794, the Convention outlawed slavery throughout the empire and granted rights of citizenship to all adult males. In 1801, Haitian rebel leader TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, whose forces had just gained control of all of Hispaniola, promulgated a constitution that prohibited slavery in perpetuity throughout the island.

The following year, in 1802, Toussaint was captured and transported to France, and NAPOLEON I

reinstated slavery throughout the French colonies. After France's defeat in the Napoleonic Wars, in 1817 the French constitutional monarchy passed a law abolishing the slave trade by 1826. A few months after the overthrow of the monarchy and establishment of the Second Republic, and under the leadership of prominent abolitionist Victor Schoelcher, on April 27, 1848, France abolished slavery throughout the empire.

### SPAIN

In Spain the first effort to abolish slavery came soon after the overthrow of King FERDINAND VII and during the tumult of the Napoleonic occupation, when in 1811 the Cortes (parliament) abolished slavery throughout the empire. The law was largely ignored. In 1820, following a major revolt against a restored constitutional monarchy, the Cortes abolished the slave trade while leaving slavery itself intact—though after the INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA in the early 1820s, Spain's American empire had been reduced to one major colony: Cuba. Abolitionist sentiment within Cuba mounted through the first half of the century, despite the colonial government's success in crushing organized antislavery agitation. In 1865, in the wake of the U.S. Civil War, the Spanish Abolitionist Society was founded, its considerable influence rooted in mounting opposition to the constitutional monarchy.

In 1868 a liberal revolution triumphed in Spain, its leaders advancing as one of their principal aims the abolition of slavery in Cuba. In July 1870 the Cortes passed the Moret Law, which emancipated children born to slaves after 1868 and slaves age 60 and older. Envisioned as a form of gradual abolition, the law's provisions were undermined by both planters and slaves. Planters sought to delay the law's implementation and subvert its provisions, while slaves pushed its boundaries in the effort to secure their freedom. The Ten Years' War on the eastern half of the island complicated the situation even further. Finally, on October 7, 1886, the Spanish government eliminated various legal categories of quasi slavery and abolished slavery throughout the island.

A brief summary of other European nations' abolition laws once again highlights the partial and uneven nature of the process of emancipation. Sweden abolished the slave trade in 1813 and slavery in its colonies in 1843. In 1814 the Netherlands outlawed the slave trade and, nearly half a century later in 1863, abolished slavery in its Caribbean colonies. In 1819 Portugal outlawed the slave trade north of the equator and in 1858

abolished slavery in its colonies while providing for a 20-year period of apprenticeship similar to the British model. Denmark abolished slavery in its colonies in 1848, the same year as France.

Turning to the independent nation-states of the Americas, most of the newly independent nation-states of Latin America abolished slavery in the first three decades after independence. In 1821 Gran Colombia (comprising most of present-day Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador, and parts of Bolivia and Peru) became the first Latin American nation to adopt a law calling for gradual emancipation, though final abolition did not come for more than three decades (Ecuador in 1851, Colombia in 1852, Venezuela in 1854), final abolitions followed by prolonged periods of apprenticeship that closely resembled slavery. Chile abolished slavery in 1823; Mexico in 1829; Uruguay in 1842; Argentina in 1843; and Peru in 1854. In 1850 Brazil outlawed the transatlantic slave trade, prompting a brisk internal trade in slaves that lasted until the final abolition of slavery in 1888.

#### UNITED STATES

In the United States, in the aftermath of state laws abolishing or limiting slavery from the 1770s to the early 1800s, abolitionist and antislavery agitation mounted. The U.S. Constitution took an ambiguous stance toward slavery, neither prohibiting it nor precluding the possibility of its abolition and making unconstitutional any law passed before 1808 banning the importation of slaves. After the LOUISIANA PURCHASE in 1803, controversies over the expansion of slavery into the territories sharpened the sectional conflict between North and South that dominated U.S. politics through much of the 19th century, culminating in the Civil War.

Such controversies brought the nation to the brink of civil war in 1820 (forestalled by the MISSOURI COMPROMISE) and again in 1850 (forestalled by the Compromise of 1850). In the 1830s the rise to prominence of vocal abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips sharpened the sectional conflict even further. In 1861, following the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN as president, southern slaveholding states formed the Confederate States of America and announced their secession from the Union, inaugurating the Civil War. Less than two years later Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which, despite its title and symbolic significance, freed no slaves. The final abolition of slavery came in December 1865 with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

#### BRAZIL

Brazil, the last nation in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery, offers an instructive contrast to the U.S. experience. Earlier generations of historians emphasized two key differences: Brazil did not have a comparable sectional conflict and Brazil abolished slavery without recourse to civil war. More recent scholarship has blurred these distinctions, with greater attention to Brazil's major regional differences and to the role played by the specter of violence and civil strife in accelerating the process of emancipation. The British prohibition of the transatlantic slave trade from 1808 did not diminish the number of slaves imported into Brazil, as the government and slave traders ignored the law. An 1831 treaty between Brazil and Great Britain banning the importation of slaves also had little practical effect, as the Brazilian government did little to enforce its provisions.

Over the next 20 years, an estimated half a million slaves poured into the country. In 1850, in response to tremendous British pressure, Brazil passed a law putting teeth into the prohibition, after which the transatlantic slave trade diminished markedly. The 1850 law prompted two major shifts. Planters began creating conditions under which natural population increases would permit perpetuation of slavery, including improved nutrition and living conditions, enhanced surveillance and control, and forced reproduction. Slave trafficking within the country also increased dramatically, with major flows from the Northeast to the booming coffee-based states of the South.

By the 1860s, however, the Atlantic world's mounting moral opprobrium toward slavery, combined with the carnage of the U.S. Civil War, made clear to many Brazilians that abolition was inevitable and that a gradualist approach to the problem was preferable to civil war. What eventually emerged from these debates was the Rio Branco Law of September 28, 1871. Dubbed the Law of Free Womb, the law called for all children born of slaves to be free, following a period of semibondage until they reached age 21. Many, however, including prominent abolitionists in the Chamber of Deputies such as Joaquim Nabuco, Jeronymo Sodré, and Rui Barbosa, saw the law as fatally flawed, permitting slavery's survival well into the 20th century.

In the late 1870s abolitionist pressures intensified, as did urban violence, plantation uprisings, and civil strife. Slaves especially pushed the boundaries of the law, insisting on their own emancipation. Finally, on May 13, 1888, the Brazilian parliament passed a law consisting of the following two provisions: "Article 1.

From the date of this law slavery is declared abolished in Brazil. Article 2. All contrary provisions are revoked.” After 396 years, legal slavery in the Americas had ended.

The process by which chattel slavery was abolished in the Americas followed a number of distinct trajectories, as various groups of actors in conflict and alliance propelled and forestalled the outcomes. Nowhere was abolition inevitable; everywhere its achievement resulted from the determined actions of many different individuals and groups. In all cases, the actions of slaves were integral to the process, a fact to which a large and growing body of scholarship amply attests.

See also SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE AMERICAS; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA; WESLEY, JOHN (1703–1791) AND CHARLES (1707–1788).

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Abyssinia

See ETHIOPIA/ABYSSINIA.

## Acadian deportation

In 1755, during the early days of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR between France and Britain, thousands of French farming families living in Nova Scotia were forcibly deported by British troops. The dislocation of the Acadians, as these French colonists were called, became almost a mythical example of the injustice and brutality of 18th-century warfare. Although several thousand Acadians would eventually return to their homeland, thousands more, often separated from their families, ended up as far away as the West Indies and Louisiana, where the refugees became known as Cajuns.

Although the French were first to exploit the fur, fishing, and farming potential of the New World, France had trouble persuading its citizens to live in the wilderness at the mouth of Canada's St. Lawrence River.

Meanwhile, British colonies, especially those of New England, soon overtook French colonial holdings in both population and hunger for land and wealth. Along what became the Canadian border, French and British colonists frequently trespassed on each other's claims, regularly enlisting the help of friendly Native tribes.

In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht ending the War of the Spanish Succession redrew the political map of Europe and dealt to Britain control of Hudson Bay and Newfoundland. In addition, fertile lands occupied by the Acadians for several generations were no longer New France but now became British territory.

At first, British authorities assured the Acadians that their farms would be safe and their beliefs respected. But Britain also demanded that its new colonists swear loyalty oaths and give up any notion of fighting for France in future conflicts. Most Acadians declined to take the oath, considering themselves French neutrals. As tensions in Europe between Britain and France escalated and played out in their respective colonies, neutrality—hard to achieve under the best of circumstances—became untenable for both sides.

By the spring of 1755 the British believed that 300 Acadians had taken up arms in support of France. In July Acadian leaders were summoned to Halifax and ordered to take loyalty oaths immediately. A month later the British rounded up their recalcitrant French subjects and put them on ships for deportation.

Historians disagree on the magnitude and brutality of this mass deportation. The number of Acadians affected has been estimated between 6,000 and 18,000 people. Many families were separated and many had trouble finding a place to relocate. Some believe family separations and dislocations were unintentional results of mistakes and confusion; others have likened British actions to modern-day ethnic cleansing.

In 1847 American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow made the Acadian expulsion the subject of one of his extremely popular epics. *Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie* told of young French-Canadian lovers torn apart by war and politics. A sensational success, the poem kept alive remembrance of British misdeeds, both among French Canadians, now subjects of British Canada, and the Cajuns of Louisiana who traced their heritage back to Acadia.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Adams, John, and family

(1750–1827) *American diplomats and intellectuals*

Descendants of Puritans who settled near Boston in 1638, members of the Adams family distinguished themselves over two centuries as political leaders and thinkers. Second cousins Samuel Adams and John Adams played crucial roles in the founding of the United States. John's wife, Abigail Smith Adams, was an early advocate for women's expanded public roles. Their son, John Quincy, was the first president's son also elected president and dedicated his later years to ending slavery. Into the early 20th century, the Adamses excelled in diplomacy and history.

Harvard-educated brewer and Boston tax collector, Samuel Adams was a leading Son of Liberty who



*John Adams, second president of the United States, was one of several Adamses who influenced the early United States.*

fought new taxes and restrictions imposed by Britain on its American colonies after the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR ended in 1763. He organized the 1773 Boston Tea Party in which tea worth £100,000 was dumped into the harbor to protest British policies. His younger cousin, John, a Harvard-educated lawyer, successfully defended British soldiers who killed five Americans in a 1770 encounter dubbed the Boston Massacre by people like Samuel, who deemed it a "bloody butchery." Wary of mob enthusiasms, but convinced of the rightness of American liberty, John Adams soon surpassed his cousin's importance in the looming AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Both were delegates to the First Continental Congress; John drafted plans for a new national government and soon was helping THOMAS JEFFERSON revise and refine his draft of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

After Continental victory at Saratoga in 1777, John endured long intervals of painful separation from his family as he pursued financial and military support for the new nation in European capitals, working uneasily with senior diplomat BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and helping negotiate the treaty ending the Revolution. In 1784 Abigail joined her husband in Europe; his diplomatic service culminated with his appointment as first American ambassador to Britain.

In 1789 Adams was selected as GEORGE WASHINGTON's vice president. As such, he had little to do, sidelined in part by the dramatic political and personal clashes of Washington cabinet secretaries Jefferson and ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Adams won the presidency by just three votes over Jefferson in 1796; his tenure in office would prove mostly disastrous. A combination of personality traits and crises would erode Adams's reputation, ending his administration after a single term. Partisanship unleashed by earlier battles over the CONSTITUTION brought forth viciously competitive political parties. Soon Adams, a Federalist, would find himself at odds with his own vice president, Jefferson, once a dear friend, but now a rival. The two men had already split over the FRENCH REVOLUTION, whose growing violence was to Adams a horrifying breakdown of order and a direct threat to American independence.

Although Adams avoided a costly war with France, his popularity plummeted amid partisan rancor. In 1798, a Federalist-dominated Congress passed and Adams signed the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS. Targeting Republican publishers and other political critics, these acts clearly violated the First Amendment. Charles Francis Adams would later call these

acts the fatal error that doomed his grandfather's Federalist Party.

Adams and Jefferson resumed their correspondence, but these old friends and enemies would truly reunite only in death. Both died on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration to which both contributed mightily.

By the time his father died, John Quincy Adams, his parents' eldest son, was in the second year of his own presidency. It was a tormented four years after years of public distinction. Trained in diplomacy at his father's side as a teenager in Europe, John Quincy returned to attend Harvard and take up law, although attracted by literature and teaching. In 1803 John Quincy went to the U.S. Senate as a Federalist but often supported President Jefferson, losing his seat as a result. As JAMES MADISON's ambassador to Russia and lead negotiator of the WAR OF 1812's Peace of Ghent, John Quincy found his own political fame. He authored the MONROE DOCTRINE while serving James Monroe as secretary of state.

Becoming president seemed the obvious next step. But U.S. politics were changing as voting rights expanded. Being notable—a man of wealth or distinguished family—no longer assured electoral success. In 1824's five-way race, John Quincy became president only after a “corrupt bargain” steered votes from war hero ANDREW JACKSON to the former president's son. John Quincy's single term was almost devoid of accomplishment and dogged by family difficulties.

His postpresidential career would be as difficult but more fulfilling. In 1830 the former president was elected to the House of Representatives, a freshman member at age 64, serving his Plymouth, Massachusetts, district until suffering a stroke on the House floor in 1848. For nine years, he fought a gag rule that prevented slavery opponents from conveying their views to Congress. In 1841 his nine-hour speech to the Supreme Court won freedom for 33 Africans who had commandeered the Spanish slave ship *Amistad*.

The Adamses were hard on their sons. Just as John Quincy was John's only son of three to make his father proud, Charles Francis Adams was the only one of three of John Quincy's sons to gain distinction. Charles Francis became his family's financier and historian, publishing important family writings, including Abigail's letters.

Entering Massachusetts politics in 1840 he was the new Free-Soil Party's vice presidential choice in 1848 as the U.S. victory in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR roiled sectional politics. Soon he joined the emerging

Republican Party. Appointed minister to Britain by ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Charles Francis was instrumental in keeping Britain from backing the Confederacy during the CIVIL WAR.

It was left to a fourth generation, especially brothers Henry and Brooks, to try to understand America through the lens of the Adams' legacy. Henry, Harvard lecturer and historian, was early drawn to medievalism. In *The Education of Henry Adams*, his third-person autobiography, he tried to make sense of how medieval Europe could have given birth to early 20th-century America. Brooks, a more “erratic genius,” predicted inevitable decay as capitalist civilizations faltered and more energetic nations emerged. Some believe he was describing his own family.

The family Adams did not disappear with Brooks's death. But with the transfer of the old family homestead in Braintree/Quincy, Massachusetts, to the National Park Service in 1946, the Adamses became the “property” of the nation so many of them had served.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-

(1838–1897) *Pan-Islamic leader*

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, often referred to as the founder of pan-Islam, was born in Iran. He attended madrasas (religious schools) in Iran and as a young man traveled to India, where he observed firsthand discrimination against Muslims by the ruling British government. After making the hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca, al-Afghani moved on to Karbala and Najaf, the main centers of Shi'i pilgrimage in Iraq.

During the 1860s al-Afghani lived in Afghanistan before moving to Istanbul, where the ruling Sunni Muslim Ottoman elite did not accord him the respect and honor he felt he deserved. In 1871 al-Afghani moved to Egypt, where he lectured on the need for unity and reform in Muslim society.

His popular lectures attracted a following among young Egyptians, and he became the mentor to a

future generation of Muslim reformers that included Muhammad Abduh and others.

Al-Afghani's popularity, calls for political reform, and opposition to British influences in Egypt attracted the attention of the ruling authorities, and the khedive (viceroy) expelled him from Egypt. He then returned to India, where he resumed teaching and writing on what he referred to as the Virtuous City—a society based on Islamic tenets and governed by honest, devout Muslim rulers. Al-Afghani argued that only a unified Muslim world could confront the Western imperial powers, particularly the British, on an equal basis.

He traveled to London and Paris, where he debated the role of science in Islam with Ernest Renan, the noted French philosopher. He spent two years in Russia before returning to Iran, where he vigorously opposed Nasir al-Din Shah (the Qajar ruler).

In Iran as in Egypt, al-Afghani also spoke out against British influence, calling for a constitutional, parliamentary government. Al-Afghani's opposition to the monarchy forced him to leave Iran for Turkey, where he continued to write and lecture about the need for basic constitutional reforms throughout the Muslim world. Al-Afghani carried on this work until his death in 1897.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS; ISMAIL, KHEDIVE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Afghan Wars, First and Second

The two Afghan wars were caused by the growing rivalry for control of Central Asia between the Russian Empire and the British Empire. Because Afghanistan was the largest organized state in the Central Asian region, it became the main focus for both countries in what the British poet Rudyard Kipling would call the "Great Game." The Great Game actually began during the Napoleonic Wars.

In 1810, while the British duke of Wellington was fighting the French in Spain, Captain Charles Christie

and Lieutenant Henry Pottinger of the 5th Bombay Native Infantry Regiment left the village of Nushki in Baluchistan for their role in the game. On April 18 Christie reached Herat, while Pottinger pursued his own mission in Persia. Finally, on June 30, 1810, the two agents were reunited in Isfahan, Persia, with both missions accomplished.

Over the next 25 years other British agents would follow Christie and Pottinger on great treks into Central Asia. Afghanistan was seen as the vital buffer state against the advance of the Russians and, while the British did not always desire to add Afghanistan to their empire, they always hoped that the ruler of the Afghans, the amir, would lend his support to them instead of the Russians.

The British concerns were realized in December 1837 when a Cossack leader arrived carrying a letter from Czar Nicholas I of the ROMANOV DYNASTY for the Afghan amir, DOST MOHAMMED. At the same time, Kabul was visited by a British officer named Alexander Burnes, who had served with the Bombay army. By this time, Persia was allied to Russia. George Eden, Lord Auckland, and his chief secretary, Henry Macnaghten, suspected that Dost Mohammed had sided with the Russians. Having ascended the throne in June of 1837, QUEEN VICTORIA was now presented with the first serious crisis of her reign.

Ultimately, nothing would suit Auckland and Macnaghten other than a regime change in Kabul. In February 1839 the British Army of the Indus, under the command of Sir John Keane of the Bombay Army, began its march for Kabul. In the beginning, Auckland's expectations that Dost Mohammed's rule could not survive appeared to be justified. In July 1839 the fortress of Ghazni fell before a furious British assault and Dost Mohammed's forces melted away. Meanwhile, the Afghans faced a combined Sikh-British expedition coming up from Peshawar. In August 1839 Shah Shuja was crowned again the amir in Kabul, and Dost Mohammed sued for peace.

Macnaghten lacked the temperament to deal with the tribesmen and, in 1841, slashed the subsidies that had earned their loyalty to Shah Shuja. As young officers pursued inappropriate and culturally serious affronts to Afghan women, relations worsened further. The British commander, Major-General William Elphinstone, lacked both the ability and the courage to face the mounting crisis.

By the end of November all Macnaghten and Elphinstone could think of was retreat. On December 11 Macnaghten met with Dost Mohammed's son Akbar

Khan to make final a British withdrawal. At a second meeting on December 23, Macnaghten was taken by surprise and killed. Elphinstone continued planning for the retreat from Kabul, which began on January 6, 1842. The British and Indian troops were harassed and sometimes attacked by the Afghans along every foot of their retreat. On January 13, the last European finally reached safety at the British post of Jalalabad. Shah Shuja himself had been assassinated.

In February 1842 Edward Law, Lord Ellenborough, replaced the unlucky Auckland as the area's governor-general, and plans were made to avenge their fallen countrymen. A punitive force commanded by Major-General George Pollock of the Bengal army entered Afghanistan again. Despite fierce resistance from Akbar Khan's forces, Pollock reentered Kabul in September 1842. Having made their point, the British evacuated Kabul again in December 1842 and this time reached British territory safely. The British permitted Dost Mohammed to take back the throne, but the overall aim of the war had been achieved—Afghanistan remained in the British camp and the Russian plans were thwarted.

During the next 40 years the British and Russian Empires continued their seemingly inexorable advance toward one another through Central Asia. During the SIKH WARS, the British defeated the once independent realm of the Sikhs in the Punjab, firmly adding it to their growing Indian Empire. Although British rule was shaken during the INDIAN MUTINY of 1857–58, the attention of the British was still focused on the ambitions of the Russians to the north and west. With the assumption of direct British rule in the aftermath of the mutiny, real decision-making shifted decisively from the British governors-general in India to London. The Great Game was definitely on again, if it ever had stopped. In 1877 the Russians went to war with Turkey and although the Congress of Berlin in 1878 promised peace, the stage was set for another confrontation over Afghanistan.

Those who supported the aggressive Forward Policy against Russia, including Robert Bulwer-Lytton, the viceroy, demanded action be taken against Afghanistan. On November 3, 1878, British diplomat Neville Chamberlain appeared at the Khyber Pass to demand passage for his delegation to enter Kabul. Afghan border troops turned him back. On November 21 the British crossed the border into Afghanistan, 39 years after the first British invasion.

As before, the Afghans were in no position to withstand the determined advance. In Kabul, Sher Ali

relinquished his throne to his son Yakub Khan. After a winter of guerrilla war, Yakub Khan realized that making peace with the British was the best policy. In May 1879 Yakub Khan accepted a permanent British resident (who would actually serve as the real power in the country) in Kabul, Sir Louis Cavagnari. In July 1879 Cavagnari made his entrance into the Afghan capital. In September mutinous Afghan troops killed Cavagnari. Although he had requested aid from Yakub Khan, the request was ignored, leaving the impression that the troops attacked the British with at least the unspoken agreement of the amir.

When news of the massacre reached India, Major-General Frederick Roberts was given command of the Kabul Field Force in order to lead a quick British response to attempt to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan before the Russians might be tempted to take advantage of the British defeat. Yakub Khan's troops made a stand at the Shutargardan Pass, but a determined British push cleared them away. Yakub Khan, chagrined at Roberts's determination, decided to make peace. However, the danger was far from past, and on October 5, 1879, Roberts was forced to fight another engagement with the Afghans.

The British now faced hostility from a different quarter. A Muslim holy man, Mushkh-i-Alam, preached a jihad, an Islamic holy war, against the British. This put the British force at Kandahar in peril. Once news reached them, Roberts began to gather a relief column to rescue them and his hard-pressed garrison at Kandahar. Within two weeks Roberts set out with a force of 10,000 men. On August 31, 1880, after a march of 21 days, Roberts broke Ayub Khan's siege of Kandahar. The next day Roberts decisively defeated him in open battle. With the relief of Kandahar the Second Afghan War came to a close. Ayub Khan and Yakub Khan were both tainted by their treachery in British eyes, and Abdul Rahman, their cousin, became the amir in Kabul. Twice in 40 years the British had asserted their primacy in Kabul and won another round in the Great Game against the Russians.

See also ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY.

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## Africa, exploration of

Systematic exploration of Africa by Europeans began with James Bruce, who was born at Kinnaird in Scotland in 1730. After a century of bloody internal war, Scottish energy turned to intellectual and scientific studies, including exploration. Bruce arrived in Algiers in 1762 as the British consul, and in 1768 he was in Cairo, where he conceived the great dream of his life: to find the source of the Nile River. Unlike others, Bruce believed the source of the Nile was in Ethiopia. Bruce had the misconception that the Blue Nile was the main point of origin of the great river, not the White, as later explorers would determine. Indeed, the White and Blue Niles are two distinct rivers, as explorers would later learn.

Bruce, with self-confidence and determination, was the prototype of the African explorer. In November 1770 he reached Ethiopia's Lake Tana, the source of the Blue Nile. After months of adventure and war, he returned to Cairo in January 1773 before going on to London and then to his native Scotland. In 1790 he published the record of his journeys, *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile*. Four years later, Bruce, who had survived disasters and dangers, died at home from a fall on a flight of steps.

The next great explorer of Africa was another Scotsman, Mungo Park, born in Selkirkshire in 1771. In 1789 he went to Edinburgh to study to become a surgeon. Park's extraordinary abilities caught the attention of Joseph Banks, perhaps the greatest botanist of his day. After Park completed his studies, Banks helped him secure the position of surgeon on the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY's merchant ship *Worcester*. When he returned, he brought descriptions of eight new species of fish. Meanwhile, French and British colonial rivalry was beginning to engulf Africa. Impressed by Park's presentation of the new species, Banks recommended Park as a scientist for the Association for the Promotion and Discovery through the Interior of Africa—an expedition-sponsoring association. He got the position, and the expedition set sail on May 22, 1795. The party located the Niger River on July 22, 1796, and Park's record of the journey was published in 1799 as *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*.

In January 1805 Park set sail in the troopship HMS *Crescent* and landed at the port of Gorée on the Gambia two months later. Disregarding sickness and bandits, which took a steady toll of his party, Park reached the Niger on August 19. Park wrote his last letter to his wife, Allison, on November 20, 1805. It appears the Scotsman was killed in a skirmish with tribesmen at Bussa Falls in 1805 on the Niger.

The NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT guaranteed continued British interest in Africa because it brought the continent into the heart of the conflict. One of Napoleon's generals, Louis-Charles-Antoine Desaix, unwittingly became one of the first European explorers of the Nile as he pursued the defeated Mamluks into Upper Egypt. The British used the Napoleonic Wars to stake their claim on South Africa as well. In 1806 at the southern extremity of the continent, the British seized the Dutch colony at what would become Cape Town, since the Netherlands were then allied with the French. The great anchorage of Table Bay made the site vital to communications with the crown jewel of the growing British Empire, India. It became the southern British gateway to the interior of Africa, then undergoing the imperial conquests of the Zulu king SHAKA ZULU. From Cape Town came the British penetration of the southern half of Africa that continued to the end of the 19th century.

### CAPE TOWN

In November 1810 the new British colony of Cape Town led to the first British journey into the unknown Bantu lands to the north. William Burchell was born in 1782, the son of a professional nurseryman. Like Joseph Banks and Mungo Park before him, an interest in botany led to his interest in exploration. It took Burchell several months to gather together an expedition. His goal was the Kalahari Desert and Angola, which the Portuguese had first visited in the 15th century in their long trek down the west coast of Africa.

Discovering the desert, the terrible heat and lack of water finally forced Burchell to abandon his quest for Angola, and in August he turned back. It would take him and his party two and a half years to return to Cape Town, having traversed some of the most forbidding terrain in Africa. In April 1815 he returned to Cape Town with an immense scientific treasure from his years of exploration. He returned to England, and from 1822 to 1824 Burchell devoted himself to writing his two-volume *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*.

Thus, by the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, much of the coastal area of Africa had been explored, and intrepid adventurers had begun to enter the uncharted heart of the continent. For the rest of the century, the lure of the African interior would be irresistible. While governments may have had their own agendas, for the great majority of explorers, they traveled neither for imperial glory or monetary gain, but for the sheer adventure of finding out what lay beyond

the next river or mountain range. Still, as in the era of Mungo Park, one of the greatest challenges to exploration was the ancient city of Timbuktu; this and the source of the Nile formed two of the Holy Grails for generations of explorers.

In May 1825 Alexander Gordon Laing landed in Tripoli, determined to find his way to Timbuktu. Finally, after a year of incredible hardship in the desert, on August 13, 1826, he arrived at Timbuktu. Although the city disappointed him, Laing was impressed by the Mosque of Sankore, built by the great Muslim West African ruler Mansa Musa. Although Laing had achieved his goal, his exploration ended in tragedy. On September 21, 1826, Laing was told he was not safe and left the city to walk into a trap set by Sheikh Ahmadu El Abeyd, who had promised him protection. On September 22 El Abeyd demanded Laing accept Islam, but the Scotsman refused. He was killed and his head cut off.

## ZANZIBAR

The chapter in the history of African exploration concerning Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke is the most tragic of all. In 1856 Richard Burton, perhaps the greatest British adventurer of his generation, was commissioned by the Royal Geographic Society to find the source of the Nile. He decided to take with him a companion from an earlier expedition, John Hanning Speke. Burton was already an accomplished traveler, proficient in Arabic, and able to carry off pretending to be a Muslim.

On December 19, 1856, Burton and Speke arrived at Zanzibar from Bombay, where Burton held a commission in the army of the East India Company. Both men took ample time in Zanzibar preparing for their expedition. They set off on their quest after years of travels and squabbles. Burton was convinced that Lake Tanganyika was the source of the White Nile, whereas Speke believed it was Lake Ukwere, which he renamed Lake Victoria.

The rivalry that began in their prior expedition came to a head, and when Burton stopped to rest in Aden, Speke went on to England, promising to wait for his return to reveal the results of their journeys. He broke that promise, and by the time Burton arrived in England on May 21, 1858, Speke had convinced the Royal Geographic Society that Lake Victoria was the source. This accomplishment earned him another commission by the society, and he did not invite Burton to join him on his return to Africa to verify the claim. Instead, Speke chose an army companion, James Augustus Grant. They arrived in Zanzi-

bar from England in August 1860. They retraced the route that Speke had taken with Burton. After several months in Uganda, Speke and Grant continued their trip. Because Grant had a severely infected leg, Speke tended to forge ahead on his own. On July 21, 1862, Speke found himself on the Nile and on July 28 came to Rippon Falls, where the White Nile flows out of Lake Victoria.

It was during Speke's second trip that he and Grant met two of the period's most colorful explorers, Samuel Baker and his redoubtable wife, Florence. They met Speke at Gondokoro on the White Nile, whose source the Bakers were pursuing. A question remained about another lake, known as the Luta N'zige. Speke believed that the White Nile flowed into it from Lake Victoria and then out of Luta N'zige. Speke suggested to Baker that he take up the investigation, and Baker was pleased to do so. On February 26, Speke and Grant resumed their journey down the Nile to Khartoum, and from there to Cairo and England.

## LAKE ALBERT

The Bakers continued with their exploration and on January 31, 1864, they struck out on the final march toward Luta N'zige. On March 15, 1864, they found the lake, which they renamed Lake Albert. Samuel explored the surrounding area and saw that the Nile flowed through it. He and Florence returned to England in October, and Samuel was given a gold medal by the Royal Geographic Society. The following August he was knighted.

Meanwhile Speke returned to England without any convincing evidence that his theory was correct. The British Association for the Advancement of Science set up a meeting between Burton and Speke to make their cases. At a preliminary meeting Burton triumphed over Speke. On September 15, one day before the final confrontation, Speke was shot dead while hunting. Many claimed he had shot himself by accident, but others felt he had taken his own life.

Throughout this entire period the name David Livingstone seemed to dominate. Livingstone was a Scotsman born on May 1, 1813. He first visited Africa as a missionary, having gained a degree in medicine at the age of 25 at the University of Glasgow. Livingstone soon realized that the exploration of this virtually unknown continent was more to his heart than laboring at a missionary station and devoted himself to exploration, often with his wife. On June 1, 1849, with two companions, Orwell and Murray, he traveled to find Lake Ngami, and on August 1 Livingstone and his party sailed down the

entire lake. Then began Livingstone's exploration of the Zambezi River.

A national hero back home, Livingstone recounted his travels in his best-selling *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. From 1858 to 1864 he was in Africa on a second expedition to explore eastern and central Africa. He returned to Africa in 1864 to look for the sources of the Nile. Striking out from Mikindani on the east coast, the expedition was forced south, and some of his followers deserted him, concocting the story that he had been killed and making headline news. Livingstone, however, pressed on, reaching Lakes Mweru, Bangweulu, and Tanganyika. Moving on to the Congo River, he went farther than any European before him.

It was on this exploration that rumors reached England and North America that the great explorer was near death. In 1869 the *New York Herald* hired Henry Morton Stanley to find Dr. Livingstone. On November 10, 1871, Stanley found Livingstone at his camp at Ujji on Lake Tanganyika. Upon Livingstone's death in 1873, his body was returned to England for burial in Westminster Abbey. Stanley decided to pick up where Livingstone, Burton, and Speke had left off, and he set off on his own expedition. The most important result of the journey was the realization that Speke's theory had been right—Lake Victoria was the source for the White Nile. He followed the Congo River and caught the attention of King LEOPOLD II of Belgium, who wished to develop the Congo River basin. In 1879 Stanley set off for Africa in the service of Leopold.

The exploration of Africa led to a rivalry among the countries that had sponsored the explorers. At the same time that Stanley had been exploring the Congo for Belgium, so had Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza for France. To prevent an African rivalry from endangering the peace of Europe, Chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK of Germany chaired a Conference of Berlin from November 1884 to February 1885 to gain the Great Powers' agreement to a peaceful partition of Africa.

The map of Africa was filling in as the end of the century approached. The areas not yet mapped quickened the heartbeats of explorers from all over the world. Kenya was the next area of interest. On January 2, 1887, the Hungarian explorer Count Teleki von Szek arrived in Zanzibar with Ludwig von Hohnel. Their goal was to explore for their patron, Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria-Hungary, another of the lakes that still tantalized African explorers, known in the local language as Basso Narok, or Black Water. Teleki was the first to climb Mount Kenya before discovering two more lakes, today known as Turkana and Stefanie.

On October 26, 1888, after close to two years, they returned to Mombasa and the voyage home.

Sixteen years later, in 1914, World War I changed the map of Africa forever. Still, in honor of the explorer who had the purest heart, in spite of the era of decolonization after World War II and the years of unrest that followed, the statue of Dr. David Livingstone still stands overlooking Victoria Falls today.

See also COOK, JAMES; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Africa, imperialism and the partition of

Imperialism, or the extension of one nation-state's domination or control over territory outside its own boundaries, peaked in the 19th century as European powers extended their holdings around the world. The huge African continent (three times the size of the continental United States) was particularly vulnerable to European conquest. The partition of Africa was a fast-moving event. In 1875 less than one-tenth of Africa was under European control; by 1895 only one-tenth was independent. Between 1871 and 1900 Britain added 4.25 million square miles and 66 million people to its empire. British holdings were so far-flung that many boasted that the "sun never set on the British Empire." During the same time frame, France added over 3.5 million square miles of territory and 26 million people to its empire. Controlling the sparsely populated Sahara, the French did not rule over as many people as the British. By 1912 only Liberia and Ethiopia in Africa remained independent states, and Liberia was really a protectorate of U.S.-owned rubber companies, particularly the Firestone Company.

By the end of the 19th century, the map of Africa resembled a patchwork quilt of different colonial empires. France controlled much of North Africa, West Africa, and FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA (unified in 1910). The British held large sections of West

Africa, the Nile Valley, and much of East and southern Africa. The Spanish ruled small parts of Morocco and coastal areas along the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese held Angola and Mozambique, and Belgium ruled the vast territories of the Congo. The Italians had secured Libya and parts of Somalia in East Africa. Germany had taken South-West Africa (present-day Namibia), Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania), and Cameroon. Britain had the largest empire and the French the second largest, followed by Spain, Portugal, and Belgium. Germany and Italy, among the last European nations to unify, came late to the scramble for Africa and had to content themselves with less desirable and lucrative territories.

There were many different motivations for 19th-century imperialism. Economics was a major motivating factor. Western industrial powers wanted new markets for their manufactured goods as well as cheap labor; they also needed raw materials. J. A. Hobson and Vladimir Lenin both attributed imperial expansion to new economic forces in industrial nations. Lenin went so far as to write that imperialism was an inevitable result of capitalism. As the vast mineral resources of Africa were exploited by European imperial powers, many Africans became laborers in mines or workers on agricultural plantations owned by Europeans. The harsh treatment or punishment of workers in the rubber plantations of the Belgian Congo resulted in millions of deaths. However, economics was not the only motivation for imperial takeovers. In some instances, for example the French takeover of landlocked Chad in northern Africa, imperial powers actually expended more to administer the territory than was gained from raw materials, labor, or markets.

Nationalism fueled imperialism as nations competed for bragging rights over having the largest empire. Nations also wanted control over strategic waterways such as the Suez Canal, ports, and naval bases. Christian missionaries traveled to Africa in hopes of gaining converts. When they were opposed or even attacked by Africans who resented the cultural incursions and denial of traditional religions, Western missionaries often called on their governments to provide military and political protection. Hence it was said that “the flag followed the Bible.” The finding of the Scottish missionary David Livingstone by Henry Stanley, an American of English birth, was widely popularized in the Western press. Livingstone was not actually lost, but had merely lost contact with the Western world.

Explorers, adventurers, and entrepreneurs such as CECIL RHODES in Rhodesia and King LEOPOLD II of

Belgium, who owned all of the Congo as his personal estate, also supported imperial takeovers of territories. Richard Burton, Samuel and Florence Baker, and John Speke all became famous for their exploration of the Nile Valley in attempts to find the source of that great river. Their books and public lectures about their exploits fueled Western imaginations and interest in Africa.

### CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Cultural imperialism was another important aspect of 19th-century imperialism. Most Westerners believed they lived in the best possible world and that they had a monopoly on technological advances. In their imperial holdings, European powers often built ports, transportation, communication systems, and schools, as well as improving health care, thereby bringing the benefits of modern science to less developed areas. Social Darwinists argued that Western civilization was the strongest and best and that it was the duty of the West to bring the benefits of its civilization to “lesser” peoples and cultures.

Western ethnocentrism contributed to the idea of the “white man’s burden,” a term popularized by the poet Rudyard Kipling. Racism also played a role in Western justifications for imperial conquests.

European nations devised a number of different approaches to avoid armed conflict with one another in the scramble for African territory. Sometimes nations declared a protectorate over a given African territory and exercised full political and military control over it. At other times they negotiated through diplomatic channels or held international conferences. At the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, 14 nations decided on the borders of the Congo that was under Belgian rule, and Portugal got Angola. The term *spheres of influence*, whereby a nation declared a monopoly over a territory to deter rival imperial powers from taking it, was first used at the Berlin Conference.

However, disputes sometimes led European nations to the brink of war. Britain and France both had plans to build a north-south railway and east-west railway across Africa; although neither railway was ever completed, the two nations almost went to war during the FASHODA CRISIS over control of the Sudan, where the railways would have intersected. Britain was also eager to control the headwaters of the Nile to protect its interests in Egypt, which was dependent on the Nile waters for its existence. Following diplomatic negotiations the dispute was resolved in favor of the British, and the Sudan became part of the British Empire.

War did break out between the British and Boers over control of South Africa in 1899. By 1902 the British had emerged victorious, and South Africa was added to their empire. In West Africa, European powers carved out long narrow states running north to south in order that each would have access to maritime trade routes and a port city. Since most Europeans knew little or nothing about the local geography or demographics of the region, these new states often separated similar ethnic groups or put traditional enemies together under one administration. The difficulties posed by these differences continue to plague present-day West African nations such as Nigeria.

### FRENCH AND BRITISH RULE

The French and British adopted very different approaches to governance in their empires. The French believed in their “civilizing mission” and sought to assimilate the peoples of their empire by implanting French culture and language. The British adopted a policy of “indirect rule.” They made no attempt to assimilate the peoples of their empire and educated only a small number of Africans to become civil servants. A relatively small number of British soldiers and bureaucrats ruled Ghana and Nigeria in West Africa. In East Africa, the British brought in Indians to take jobs as government clerks and in commerce. Otherwise, the British tried to avoid interfering with local rulers or ways of life. Although the British and French policies were radically different, both were based on the belief in the superiority of Western civilization.

European colonists also settled in areas where the climate was favorable and the land was suitable for agriculture. Substantial numbers of French colons settled in the coastal areas of North Africa, especially in Algeria and Tunisia, while Italians settled in Tunisia and Libya. British settlers moved into what they named Rhodesia and Kenya. In Kenya, British farmers and ranchers moved into the highlands, supplanting Kenyan farmers and taking much of the best land. The Boers, Dutch farmers, fought the Zulus for control of rich agricultural land in South Africa. The Boers took part in a mass migration, or Great Trek, into the interior of South Africa from 1835–41 and established two independent republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Dutch farmers clashed with the British for control of South Africa in the Boer War. In Mozambique and Angola, Portuguese settlers (*prazos*) established large feudal estates (*prazos*). Throughout Africa, European colonists held privileged positions politically, culturally, and economically. They opposed extending rights to native African populations.

A few groups, such as the Igbos in Nigeria and the Baganda in Uganda, allied with the British and received favored positions in the colonial administrations. However, most Africans resisted European takeovers. Muslim leaders, such as ABDUL KADER in Algeria and the Mahdi in Sudan, mounted long and effective armed opposition to French and British domination. But both were ultimately defeated by superior Western military strength.

The Ashante in Ghana and the Hereros in South-West Africa fought against European domination but were crushed in bloody confrontations. The Zulus led by SHAKA ZULU used guerrilla warfare tactics to halt the expansion of the Boers into their territories, but after initial defeats the Boers triumphed. The Boers then used the hit-and-run tactics they had learned from the Zulus in their war against the British. The British defeated the Matabele and Mashona tribes in northern and southern Rhodesia. In the 20th century, a new generation of nationalist African leaders adopted a wide variety of political and economic means to oppose the occupation of their lands by European nations and settlers.

See also CONGO FREE STATE; SOCIAL DARWINISM AND HERBERT SPENCER (1820–1903); SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Africa, Portuguese colonies in

Before the 1880s most African societies were independent of European rule. With particular reference to Africa south of the Sahara, colonial rule was confined to coastal patches and the Cape region, the latter being home to Anglo-Boer political rivalry. As regards the Portuguese, their colonial interest was restricted to their colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and the tiny area of Portuguese Guinea. Interestingly, Portuguese rule in these areas was not strong. The reason was that trade,

not political administration, dominated the purpose of their encounter with Africans during this period. It was because of this that no major political responsibility was taken by Portugal, unlike the other European powers, with regard to colonies in Africa, creating the unique nature of Portuguese enterprise or activities in Africa between 1750 and 1900. The establishment of colonies and colonial rule, as well as the strategies employed by the Portuguese to keep their holdings in Africa, have an interesting history, despite their dwindling fortunes during this period, occasioned by economic, political, and strategic factors.

### PORTUGUESE ENTERPRISE

Between 1750 and 1900 the Portuguese did not achieve much as far as their attempt to establish colonial rule in Africa was concerned. But if colonialism is taken to mean the occupation and control of one nation by another, then some of the attempts made by Portugal to establish political control over some parts of Africa can be highlighted as examples.

It is important to stress that the driving force behind Portuguese enterprise in Africa, and elsewhere in the world, was trade and economic exploitation of their colonies, and it is this more than anything that drove Portuguese desire for political control of these areas. Indeed, Portugal, like many of the other colonial powers, had always treated its colonies like private estates of the motherland, where resources had to be repatriated for the development of the latter. No real political administration and structure were put in place in the colonies. In the case of East Africa, the area was more or less a stopping place for the Portuguese on their way to Asia. The chief result of their rule in this region was that it contributed greatly to crippling the old Arab settlements that were once the pride of the East African coast.

Portugal viewed its East African possessions with mixed feelings. While the area did not give them the wealth they had expected, they nevertheless wanted to contain Arab influence in the area and deal directly with the indigenous Africans. It was for this that the Portuguese attacked communities in the area and established a presence in Mombasa, Sofala, Kilwa, Mozambique, and Pemba.

There were many obstacles as far as its East African project was concerned. First, many of the Portuguese settlers in East Africa died from tropical diseases. Many others were killed in the continual fighting on the coast. Second, due in large part to disease and fighting, Portugal never had a population large enough to carry out its colonial plans in East Africa. Most of its personnel were

kept busy in Brazil and their empire in the Indian Ocean. Third, competition from the British and the Dutch East India Company helped to weaken the Portuguese hold on the eastern shores of the Indian Ocean.

Then there were numerous revolts from the Arab leaders of the region. For instance, in 1698 Sultan bin Seif, the sultan of Oman, and his son, Imam Seif bin Sultan, captured Fort Jesus, which had been the military and strategic base of Portuguese holdings in East Africa. Indeed, in 1699 the Portuguese were driven out of Kilwa and Pemba, thus marking the end of Portuguese colonial interest in East Africa north of Mozambique. Earlier in 1622 a revolt against the Portuguese led by a former Portuguese mission pupil, Sultan Yusuf, helped to prepare the disintegration of Portuguese military strength in Mombasa.

Consequent upon these issues, Portuguese holdings in East Africa were far from a successful colonial rule. By 1750 Portuguese interests in East Africa were replaced by a new socio-political order led by the leaders of Oman.

### AFRICAN INTERIOR

In the interior of Africa, the Portuguese did not achieve anything substantial as far as colonial rule was concerned. The Mwenemutapa (known to the Portuguese as Monomotapa) did not provide fertile soil for the establishment of Portuguese colonization. The Portuguese, for their part, were more interested in what they would get instead of what they would give. Besides, the area was already experiencing decline owing to the emergence of several dynasties in the region. This situation was not helped by contact with the Portuguese.

Elsewhere, in Guinea there was Portuguese influence, but it was not enough to be described as colonial rule. By 1750 Portuguese colonies in Africa were limited to Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea, but colonial rule was more pronounced in the first two colonies. The Portuguese also held important islands in the Atlantic off the coast of Africa.

During this period Portuguese colonies, especially Angola, remained the supply base for the Brazilian slave trade. The Portuguese sought to create a highly polished elite conditioned by their culture. This aspiration did not materialize. Indeed, the Angolan colony, which was an example of Portuguese colonial interest in Africa, was a mere shambles, in which the criminal classes of Portugal were busy milking the people for their own benefit. To this end, Angola, like Mozambique, could be described as a trading preserve from which the interior could be reached.

### WEB OF MISERY

Politically, Portuguese colonies lacked effective administration. The historian Richard Hammond has painted the picture in a sympathetic way when he argued that Portugal could not effectively control its colonies. He was merely echoing the voice of a Portuguese official, Oliveira Martins, who wrote that Portuguese colonies were a web of misery and disgrace and that the colonies, with the exception of Angola, be leased to those “who can do what we most decidedly cannot.” The reason why Portuguese colonies were so painted is not hard to understand. A. F. Nogueira, a Portuguese official, said, “Our colonies oblige us to incur expenses we cannot afford: For us to conserve, out of mere ostentation, mere display, mere prejudice . . . colonies that serve no useful purpose and will always bring us into discredit, is the height of absurdity and barbarity besides.”

In 1895 the minister of marine and colonies, the naval officer Ferreira de Almeida, argued in favor of selling some of the colonies and using the proceeds to develop those colonies that would be retained. It is obvious from the issues Portugal contended with in Africa that the intent was to have a large space on the map of the world, but that Portugal was never ready to administer them practically.

This notwithstanding, it is safe to say that the Portuguese implemented the policy of assimilation in governing their colonies. The aim was to make Africans in the colonies citizens of Portugal. Those who passed through the process of assimilation were called *assimilados*. It is important to note that the number of *assimilados* ceased to grow after the unsuccessful effort of the liberal Bandeira government to make all Africans citizens of Portugal. It is not clear whether the Portuguese were sincere in their efforts to assimilate Africans in their colonies. It appears that the policy was a mere proclamation that did not have the necessary political backing. Indeed, the idea of equality was a farce. The government did not provide the necessary infrastructure such as schools, finances, or other social institutions upon which such equality, demanded by true assimilation, could be built.

The process of education in Portuguese territories in Africa was far from satisfactory. The aim of Portuguese education was essentially to create an African elite that would reason in the way of the Portuguese. However, the Portuguese officials were not committed to the cause of educating Africans at the expense of Portugal. Consequently, most schools were controlled by the Catholic Church, as a reflection of the relationship between church and state. This meant that the

state was dodging its responsibility to provide education for the people of its African colonies.

Historian Walter Rodney has criticized the type of education in Portuguese colonies in Africa. He believed that the schools were nothing but agencies for the spread of the Portuguese language. He argued further that “at the end of 500 years of shouldering the white man’s burden of civilizing ‘African Natives,’ the Portuguese had not managed to train a single African doctor in Mozambique, and the life expectancy in eastern Angola was less than 30 years . . . As for Guinea-Bissau, some insight into the situation there is provided by the admission of the Portuguese themselves that Guinea-Bissau was more neglected than Angola and Mozambique.”

Later in the 20th century, the Portuguese encouraged state financing of education in the colonies and ensured that a few handpicked Africans were allowed to study in Portugal. Sometimes, provisions were made for the employment of such *assimilados* in the colonial administration. This development notwithstanding, Portuguese colonies in Africa did a poor job in education.

### SLAVE TRADE

Another important aspect of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa is its attitude toward labor and the recruitment of it. For a long time the slave trade provided an avenue for the recruitment of labor in Portuguese territories. However, in 1836, slave trafficking was abolished in Portugal’s colonies, although it continued in practice under the name of contract labor. Under this new practice, every year the Portuguese shipped thousands of people from Angola to coffee and cocoa plantations on the island of São Tomé as forced laborers. Mozambique also offered an avenue for migration of labor to work in mines in British-controlled Rhodesia. Sometimes, the migrants were happier working in the mines than being forced to work at home. All the same, the Portuguese controlled the recruitment of this labor to Rhodesia, taking revenue from each worker that they allowed to leave. This was another way to generate revenue.

The historian Basil Davidson has commented that a distinguishing feature of Portuguese colonies was the presence of large systems of forced labor put in place to exploit and oppress the indigenous people. There were reasons for this development. First, in the case of Angola, the increasing prosperity of the cocoa industry and the attendant increase in the demand for labor made forced labor a desirable alternative.

Second, toward the end of the 18th century, the supply of labor was affected by the spread of sleeping sickness in the interior. Consequently, the Portuguese had to rely on forced labor for its supply.

The colonies were subjected to a great deal of economic exploitation. From the start, Portuguese enterprises in Africa were dictated by the desire to procure slaves. Indeed, slaves constituted almost the sole export of the colonies. This continued up to the end of the 19th century. In Angola, the Portuguese established their rule of ruthless exploitation for the purpose of procuring large numbers of slaves for the Brazilian market.

The exploitation of Angola for slaves came to be known as the era of the *pombeiros*. The *pombeiros*, half-caste Portuguese, were notorious for their activities, which consisted of stirring up local conflicts in order to capture slaves for sale at the coast. The *pombeiros* were the masters of the interior whom the slave dealers relied on for procurement.

#### INTELLECTUAL REACTION

In 1901 a decree was issued by the government in Lisbon to put a stop to recruitment of labor by violent means. In Luanda, some pamphlets were published to denounce the practice of forced labor. This was an intellectual reaction to the phenomenon of forced labor. In practical terms, it did not have any substantial effect on the practice.

There was a violent reaction to the phenomenon of forced labor, starting with the Bailundo Revolt of 1902. In 1903 fresh regulations were issued to tackle the issue of forced labor, but they achieved little or no success. Portugal's objection to forced labor was not born out of their concern for Africans, but such a stance was taken whenever the authority felt that certain individuals were gaining too much local power. Indeed, the official view, embodied in a law of 1899, was that forced labor was an essential part of the civilizing process, provided it was done decently and in order.

The Portuguese attitude to race was one of superiority on their part and inferiority on the part of Africans. No colonial power was entirely free from racial prejudice. Segregation, whether pronounced or not, was often used as a means of preserving the racial purity of European settlers in Africa. In the case of the Portuguese, the authority was interested in ensuring the racial purity of Portuguese agrarian settlers in Angola. However, the conditions in the colonies did not favor or encourage Europeans to settle in large numbers. Conse-

quently, white populations could be maintained only by settling convicts and by miscegenation. Because of this, racial mixing in Portuguese colonies was accepted—it was necessary to maintain the population. Portugal's colonial history provides a particularly illuminating case of Europe's impact on the racial and ethnic character of Africa as far as racial-demographic engineering was concerned.

No substantial infrastructure development can be ascribed to Portuguese colonial enterprise in Africa. Even though the Portuguese treated their colonies as the "private estate of the motherland," no major policies and programs were put in place to address infrastructural development. For instance, even though Angola produced excellent cotton, none of it was actually processed in Angola. Additionally, communication was poor. The Portuguese settlements were isolated from one another. For instance, when Lourenço Marques was engulfed in crises in 1842 and the governor was killed in a raid organized by the indigenous people, it took the authorities in Mozambique a year to hear of the happening by way of Rio de Janeiro. But Portugal was lucky to benefit from development initiated by other countries. In 1879 the Eastern Telegraph Company's cable, en route to Cape Town, established "anchor points" in Mozambique and Lourenço Marques. In 1886 the telegraph line reached Luanda en route to the Cape. This provided the first major link between Portugal and its overseas colonies.

Furthermore, in 1880 Portugal and the Transvaal concluded a revised version of their existing territorial treaty of 1869, in which they agreed to build a railroad from Lourenço Marques to Pretoria. British control of the Transvaal stalled the progress of the work. Portugal on its own did not make efforts to connect its colonies in Africa in a manner that would make sense with regard to Africa's needs and development.

Lastly, bureaucracy was not effective as far as Portuguese colonial rule in Africa was concerned. There was no regular cadre of trained civilian recruits on which to draw. The effect of this was that there was an almost complete absence of the routine competence that a good administration needs. This affected the coordination of Portuguese colonial activities in Africa.

#### CONCLUSION

Between 1750 and 1900 the Portuguese presence in Africa was one of economic exploitation much more than actual colonial rule. In fact, the Portuguese had no major administrative systems in place in their African colonies. Instead, the primary motive for the creation



of the colonies was economic, initially the slave trade and later other lucrative commodities. The Portuguese colonies lacked basic infrastructure and lagged behind European colonies in Africa.

See also BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE TO REPUBLIC IN; BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY; OMANI EMPIRE; PRAZEROS.

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OMON MERRY OSIKI

## Aigun and Beijing, Treaties of

The Russian Empire made important gains at the expense of China between 1858–60. The QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY's easy defeat by Great Britain in the first ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WAR had made its glaring weakness apparent to the world. Russian leaders, including Czar Nicholas I, feared British dominance in East Asia and resolved to expand into Chinese territory first.

In 1847 Nicholas appointed Nikolai Muraviev, an energetic proponent of Russian imperialism, governor of Eastern Siberia. Muraviev built up a large Russian force that included Cossack units, a naval squadron in the Far East, and set up forts and settlements along the Amur River valley in areas that the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) between Russia and China had recognized as Chinese territory. The small and ill-equipped Chinese frontier garrison in the region was no match for the Russians when Muraviev demanded in May 1858 that China recognize Russian sovereignty on the land north of the Amur riverbank. With more than 20,000 troops and naval support, he was able to force the Chinese representative to agree to the Treaty of Aigun, named after the frontier town where the meeting took place. Under its terms, China ceded to Russia 185,000 square miles of land from the left bank of the Amur River down to the Ussuri River and agreed that the territory between the Ussuri and the Pacific Ocean would be held in common pending a future settlement. The Chinese government was furious with the terms and refused to ratify the treaty but was helpless because of the ongoing TAIPING REBELLION and others and a war

with Great Britain and France, known as the Second Anglo-Chinese Opium War.

Events played into Russian hands in 1860, because resumed warfare between China and Britain and France had led to the capture of capital city Beijing (Peking) by British and French forces. The incompetent Qing emperor Xianfeng (Hsien-feng) and his court fled to Rehe (Jehol) Province to the north and left his younger brother PRINCE GONG (Kung) in charge. Russia was represented in Beijing at this juncture by the wily ambassador Nikolai Ignatiev, who had recently arrived to secure Chinese ratification of the Treaty of Aigun. Ignatiev offered to mediate between the two opposing sides; by deception, maneuvering, and ingratiating himself to both parties he scored a great victory for Russia in the supplementary Treaty of Beijing in November 1860.

It affirmed Russian gains under the Treaty of Aigun and secured exclusive Russian ownership of land east of the Ussuri River to the Pacific Ocean to Korea's border, an additional 133,000 square miles, including the port Vladivostok (meaning "ruler of the East" in Russian). In addition Russia received the same extraterritorial rights and the right to trade in the ports that Britain and France had won by war. China also opened two additional cities for trade with Russia located in Mongolia and Xinjiang (Sinkiang) along land routes. Through astute diplomacy and by taking advantage of the weak and declining Qing dynasty Russia was able to score huge territorial gains from China without firing a shot between 1858 and 1860.

See also ROMANOV DYNASTY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Alaska purchase

Alaska was purchased by the United States from czarist Russia in 1867. It had been occupied by Russia since the 18th century and exploited by Russian fur and fishing interests. However, by the 1860s the region was viewed by the Russian government as a strategic liability and

an economic burden. Suspicious of British intentions in the Pacific, and concerned with consolidating its position in eastern Siberia, the Russian government offered to sell Alaska to the United States. Baron Edouard de Stoeckl, Russia's minister to the United States, entered into negotiations with President Andrew Johnson's secretary of state, William H. Seward, in March 1867.

Seward was a zealous expansionist. Throughout his tenure as secretary of state, which had begun during the administration of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Seward was avid in his desire to advance American security and extend American power to the Caribbean and to the Pacific. The AMERICAN CIVIL WAR and the lack of political and public support for expansion in the war's aftermath stymied his desires. He did succeed, however, in

acquiring Midway Island in the Pacific and in gaining transit rights for American citizens across Nicaragua.

Seward and Stoeckl drafted a treaty that agreed upon a price of \$7,200,000 for Alaska. For approximately two cents an acre, Seward had obtained an area of nearly 600,000 square miles. However, he encountered difficulty in obtaining congressional approval for the transaction. Senator Charles Sumner overcame his initial opposition and sided with Seward. He gave a persuasive chauvinistic three-hour speech on the Senate floor that utilized expansionist themes familiar to many 19th-century Americans. He spoke of Alaska's value for future commercial expansion in the Pacific, cited its annexation as one more step in the occupation of all of North America by the United States, and



*The Alaska Range in the south-central region of Alaska. The purchase of Alaska in 1867 yielded rich fishing grounds, the discovery of oil and natural gas fields, and the recognition of natural beauty as a source for tourism in the following century.*

associated its acquisition with the spread of American republicanism. The Senate ratified the treaty in April 1867. Despite the formal transfer of Alaska in October of that year, the House, in the midst of impeachment proceedings against Johnson, refused to appropriate the money required by the treaty. It was not until July 1868 that the appropriation was finally approved.

The purchase was repeatedly ridiculed. Alaska was referred to as a frozen wilderness, “Seward’s Ice Box,” and “Seward’s Folly.” The subsequent discovery of gold in 1898 brought about a new appreciation for the area’s intrinsic value. Alaska’s rich fishing grounds, its vital location during World War II, the discovery of oil and natural gas fields, and the recognition of its natural beauty as a source for tourism have allayed further criticism of its purchase. Its increasing population qualified it to become the 49th state in 1959.

See also HAWAII; LOUISIANA PURCHASE; MANIFEST DESTINY.

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LOUIS B. GIMELLI

## Alexander I

(1777–1825) *Russian czar*

Alexander I was the czar of Russia from 1801 to 1825, a rule during which he not only instituted widespread reforms but later reversed many of them. As a child, he was raised by his grandmother CATHERINE THE GREAT in a liberal and intellectual environment. She died when he was a teenager in 1796, and his father died five years later, most likely with Alexander’s complicity as part of a conspiracy to put him on the throne.

Alexander was deeply committed to reform and sought to bring Russia up to speed with the rest of ENLIGHTENMENT-era Europe. Attempts at drawing up a constitution that could find support failed, and his early legal code was never adopted. In many cases, Alex-

ander called for reform and micromanaged its adoption, making it impossible for the reform to take place. Other reforms were simply poorly conceived, lacked a practical transition from the status quo, or were unimplementable in light of the existing bureaucracy. His European contemporaries saw him as enigmatic and inconsistent. When Russia acquired Poland, Alexander approved their constitution, which provided many of the same things he wanted for his own country.

Reform efforts dwindled in 1810 because of the Napoleonic wars that consumed Europe. Alexander was intimidated by NAPOLEON I, and perhaps by the scale of the wars themselves. He believed that at stake in the wars in Europe were the rights of humanity and the fate of nations and that only a confederation of European states devoted to the preservation of peace could prevent the dangers of dictators and world conquerors. Napoleon claimed Russia had nothing to fear from France and that the distance between the two nations made them allies.

Any ambitions this may have stirred in Alexander were crushed by the summer of 1812, when Napoleon invaded Russia. The results startled everyone; in preparation for the invasion of Moscow, Alexander ordered the city evacuated and burned. Anything that could help the invading French army was destroyed. More than three-quarters of the city was lost. Napoleon began his long retreat, and by the end of the campaign, the French forces of nearly 700,000 had been reduced to less than 25,000.

It was a turning point for both men: Napoleon would ultimately lose, and Alexander would ultimately abandon his quests for reform. He initiated few new programs, failed to see older programs through, and by the end of his reign had reversed many of his early reforms rather than repair them. Alexander died of sudden illness in 1825, on a voyage in the south. The circumstances of his death inspired rumors claiming that he had been poisoned or he hadn’t died at all and had buried a soldier in his place.

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BILL KTE’PI

## Algeria under French rule

France first occupied Algeria in 1830. During the Napoleonic era, France had bought Algerian wheat on credit. After the fall of NAPOLEON I Bonaparte, the newly reestablished French monarchy refused to pay these debts. The dey of Algiers, Husain, sought payment, and during a quarrel with the French consul Duval he allegedly hit the consul in the face with his flyswatter. Duval reported the insult to Paris, and the French government sought revenge. King Charles X, who wanted to gain new markets and raw materials and deflect attention from an unstable domestic political situation, used the supposed insult as an excuse to attack Algeria. As a result, a French fleet with over 30,000 men landed in Algiers in the summer of 1830 and Dey Husain was forced to sign an act of capitulation by General de Bourmont. The French pledged to maintain Islam and the customs of the people but also confiscated booty worth over 50 million francs.

The French government then debated what to do with the territory. France could keep the dey in power, destroy the forts, and leave or install an Arab prince to rule. The government also debated supporting the return of Ottoman rule, putting the Knights of Malta in power, inviting other European powers to establish some form of joint rule, or keeping the territory as part of the French empire. By 1834 the French had decided on a policy of conquest and annexation of the Algerian territory. A French governor-general was appointed, and all Ottoman Turks were out of Algeria by 1837. The French government held that there was no such thing as an Algerian nation and that Algeria was to become an integral part of France. Although assimilation of the predominantly Muslim and Arabic-speaking Algerian population into French society was ostensibly the policy of successive French regimes, the overwhelming majority of Algerians were never accepted as equals. Algeria became a French department, and the French educational system, with French as the primary language, was instituted.

In 1865 the French government under NAPOLEON III declared that Algerian Muslims and Jews could join the French military and civil service but could only become French citizens if they gave up their religious laws. The overwhelming majority of the Muslim population refused to do so, and Algerian Muslims gradually became third-class citizens in their own country, behind the mainland French and the colons, or French settlers. In 1870 Algerian Jews were granted French citizenship.

Through most of the 19th century, the Algerians fought against the French occupation. Led by Emir ABDUL KADER, the Algerians were initially successful in their hit-and-run attacks against the French. To gain the offensive, General Thomas-Robert Bugeaud created mobile columns to attack the Algerian fighters deep inside Algerian territory. With their superior armaments, the French put Abdul Kader's forces on the defensive, and Abdul Kader was forced to surrender in 1847, after which he was sent into exile. In 1870 another revolt led by Mokrani broke out in the Kabyle, the mountainous district of northeastern Algeria. A woman named Lalla Fatima also championed the fighters in the Kabyle, but by 1872 the French had crushed the revolt.

In retaliation, the French expropriated more than 6.25 million acres of land. Much of the expropriated land was given to French settlers coming from the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine that the French had lost to the Germans as a result of the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR from 1870 to 1871. These punitive land expropriations made most Algerians tenant farmers and led to further impoverishment of the indigenous population. By the end of the 19th century there were approximately 200,000 French colons living in Algeria.

Indigenous Algerians were forced to pay special taxes, and limitations were placed on the numbers of Algerian children who could attend French schools. In addition, the French judicial system was implemented. In reaction to the growing social and political chasm between the colons and the indigenous population, a few Muslim leaders in the cities of Tlemcen and Bone sent a note to the government in 1900 asking for the right to vote. Called the Young Algerians (*Jeunes Algériens*), these modernizers sought to narrow the gap between the two societies and had much in common with reformers in other parts of the Arab world. Although some liberals in mainland France supported reforms, the colons remained firmly opposed to any legislation that would lessen their favored positions.

See also KADER IBN MOHEIDDIN AL-HOSSEINI, ABDUL.

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## Alien and Sedition Acts, U.S.

In 1798 four federal laws restricting U.S. citizenship and severely curtailing the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly were adopted by a Federalist Party–dominated Congress and signed by President JOHN ADAMS. Sparked by mounting tensions between the United States and its former ally, France, these laws purported to be essential to the young nation’s security. In fact, they were mainly used to silence domestic critics as intense partisanship emerged.

War certainly seemed a strong possibility as the French seized U.S. ships and sailors, schemed to regain control of Spanish Louisiana, and blatantly demanded bribes in return for diplomatic recognition. As Americans expressed patriotic outrage, those who still viewed France as a key ally and hailed the FRENCH REVOLUTION were painted as traitors. Chief among these was Democratic-Republican leader THOMAS JEFFERSON, who was both Adams’s vice president and chief political rival. As these laws were implemented by his Federalist foes, Jefferson would call the years 1798 to 1801 “the reign of witches.”

A new naturalization statute and two alien laws created major barriers to what had been an extremely liberal U.S. policy of welcoming and extending citizenship benefits to foreigners. Emerging nativist suspicions focused on French “Jacobins” and the supposedly “wild” Irish. The Alien Acts gave the president broad powers to have noncitizens arrested or deported in both peace- and wartime. Anticipating deportation, French visitors chartered 15 ships to return to Europe. Soon after, Adams would personally prevent French scientist Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, whose son would later found a major American chemical company, from setting foot in the United States.

The effects of the Sedition Act would prove even more significant, posing a clear challenge to the First Amendment of the CONSTITUTION, adopted just eight years earlier. Zealously enforced by Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, this act forbade utterances that might bring the president or Congress “into contempt or disrepute.” It produced 17 known indictments, focusing on Republican newspaper publishers. One of these was Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora* and grandson of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Despite violent attacks on his home and person, Bache continued to publish until he died of yellow fever a month before his scheduled trial.

Politicians, too, were targeted. Matthew Lyon, an Irish immigrant and Vermont congressman who was

one of very few non-Federalist politicians in New England, was convicted for calling the Sedition Law unconstitutional. Conducting his reelection campaign from jail, Lyon won easily and was freed when supporters paid his \$1,000 fine. Federalist Jedidiah Peck, a New York assemblyman, was dumped by his party and arrested for petitioning to repeal the Alien and Sedition Acts. He was also handily reelected, as a Republican.

Opponents got no help from the Supreme Court, where ardently Federalist Associate Justice Samuel Chase personally prosecuted several sedition trials. The predominantly Republican states of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions condemning the laws. It took Jefferson’s narrow victory in the bitter presidential campaign of 1800 to assure that the acts, already set to expire in March 1801, did not continue. Jefferson also pardoned those still jailed for sedition. Years later, Charles Francis Adams, diplomat grandson of John Adams, would call the Sedition Act the fatal error that ultimately doomed the Federalist Party to oblivion after the WAR OF 1812.

See also IMMIGRATION, NORTH AMERICA AND; NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Aligarh College and movement

Aligarh College, now Aligarh Muslim University, was the first institution of higher learning for Muslims in British India. Many prominent Muslim leaders and scholars have studied at Aligarh, and it served to provide an important focus for the development of Muslim unity and political awareness, particularly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The college has its roots in the belief of Sayyid Ahmad Khan that there was no conflict between education in modern empirical science and belief in the Qur’an. Khan desired to educate young Muslims in English, modern science, and the principles of Western government so they could take a leading role in the contemporary world. He was particularly interested in enabling them to

compete with Hindus and other religious and ethnic groups for positions of power in British-ruled India. In order to prepare Indian Muslims to accept Western education, Khan first created the Scientific Society of Aligarh in 1864, which translated Western scientific, historical, and philosophical works into Indian languages.

Khan visited England in 1870, and his inspiration for Aligarh College was the universities at Oxford and Cambridge. He founded what was then known as the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875; it offered a Western curriculum similar to that of an English public (private) school, and the first principal, Theodore Beck, was British. Aligarh College became the leading center for the education of modern Muslim leadership in India and helped to create an educated Muslim elite that held many political positions and were catalysts for change within the British system. The college was particularly important in providing practical experience in politics through campus debating societies and student elections and in encouraging the formation of a collective and unified identity by the Indian Muslim community.

Aligarh College became a full-fledged university in 1920 and was renamed Aligarh Muslim University. The university is located in the city of Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh, in northern India. It currently has about 30,000 students representing many religious and ethnic backgrounds and offers instruction in 80 fields of study, including law, medicine, and engineering.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

## American Revolution (1775–1783)

The war that created and established the independence of the United States of America officially broke out between Britain and 13 of its North American

colonies at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, and ended when the Treaty of Paris was signed. However, historians now maintain that the revolution really began during, or at least in the wake of, the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR, also called the FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, long before the “shot heard round the world” of April 19, 1775.

Serious political and social issues between Britain and its colonies emerged during this earlier conflict. Many colonial American men were not prepared to endure the harsh discipline of the British army or navy during the war and had an extraordinarily narrow and even legalistic perspective on their military obligations. For their part, aristocratic British military officers were unfamiliar with colonial America’s more boisterous political culture and expected colonial militiamen to obey orders without a second thought.

These problems of deference and duty grew worse in the 1760s as the British attempted to deal with issues of imperial governance over the huge territory they had won from France. The British struggled to reconcile the goals of its colonial subjects, who hungered for Indian lands between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian Mountains, with the need to foster peace, stability, and the continuation of the fur trade among the Indian tribes in the same region. As the French and Indian Wars were ending in 1763, an Indian coalition assembled by Ottawa chief Pontiac besieged British garrisons in and around the Great Lakes, killing or capturing 2,000 colonials and resulting in Britain’s Proclamation Line. This poorly conceived and expensive attempt to separate Indian and colonial claims proved hugely unpopular with American expansionists.

The greatest problem that Britain faced, however, was the doubling of its national debt resulting from the Seven Years’ War, as this conflict was known in Europe. Parliament sought to levy taxes on the colonies in order to manage the debt without raising levies on already heavily taxed British subjects. The colonists, mistrustful of parliamentary motives and quite used to being subsidized by the Crown, reacted with alarm to new taxes on items such as sugar, paper, and, later, tea. Each new tax was followed by petitions, protests, and even riots, especially in Boston, where leaders like Samuel Adams rallied opposition against parliamentary power over the colonies, and in Virginia, where Burgess Patrick Henry shocked fellow legislators by seeming to foment rebellion against King George III.

Each time resistance to a tax ensued, Parliament repealed it but introduced a new one, spawning more resistance that was often met by British shows of

force. When Parliament sent in redcoats after the 1774 Boston Tea Party, the deliberate destruction by colonials of 342 chests of tea subject to the hated tax, and imposed what colonists called the Intolerable Acts, it provoked even more violence between British troops and Americans.

Colonial propagandists made the most of these incidents, creating such activist organizations as the committees of correspondence and the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. By 1774, colonists had established the First Continental Congress. Using this body, as well as traditional colonial assemblies and militias, the “Continentalists” or “Patriots” soon set up a virtual shadow government that ran the countryside in each colony. The Battles of Lexington and Concord ensued when the royal governor of Massachusetts, Lieutenant General Thomas Gage, sent grenadiers and Royal Marines into the countryside to try to confiscate arms and ammunition being stored by the militias.

The first year of the war entailed a land blockade of Boston by multitudes of militias that eventually coalesced into the beginnings of the Continental army under Lieutenant General GEORGE WASHINGTON. Bloodying the British at Breed’s Hill and other battles, the Continentals were strong enough to convince British troops to evacuate the city. This triumph gave the Continentals time to organize the army and for the Second Continental Congress to begin debating independence in the wake of British measures. Once the decision for independence was reached and the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE published in July 1776, Washington began to organize for the defense of New York, the most likely British target.

The fighting around New York in the late summer and fall of 1776 was the low point of the Revolution for the Americans. Washington committed several amateurish mistakes that cost the army most of its men by December. With his head count down tenfold to 2,000 men, Washington lost control of New York and New Jersey, although victories at Trenton and Princeton rallied the army and the Continental cause.

The year 1777 began with additional defeats, especially the loss of the capital city, Philadelphia, to the British. Yet the Americans did not give up. Congress evacuated to York, Pennsylvania, while Washington continued to train his army and learned to use the complementary strengths of the Continental army and various state militias. A key battle came that summer when the Americans prevented British general John Burgoyne’s attempt to conquer the Hudson River valley and sever New England

from the rest of the country. Thanks to the “swarming” tactics of the Continental militias and the skilled leadership at Saratoga of Brigadier General Benedict Arnold (later famously a traitor who defected to the British), Burgoyne’s army was forced to surrender. This victory gave U.S. ambassador to France BENJAMIN FRANKLIN the opportunity that he had been waiting for. Franklin had already succeeded in getting the French to covertly supply the Continentals with small amounts of arms, munitions, and money. Once France was convinced by the victory at Saratoga that the Americans could win, a decision was made to declare war on Great Britain and actively aid the Americans.

While waiting for this promised aid to materialize, supporters of independence endured a difficult interlude. At Valley Forge in the winter of 1777–78, Continental soldiers were camped just miles from British forces who were comfortably housed in Philadelphia. The Continental army faced hunger, freezing temperatures, and outbreaks of deadly smallpox. Some 3,000 died and another thousand deserted.

Nevertheless, Washington continued to train the Continental army for line-of-battle confrontations with the British, with the help of such European military officers as Friedrich von Steuben, a Prussian army veteran. Evidence that this training was making progress was the good showing of the Continental army in combat with British lieutenant general Henry Clinton’s regular forces at the Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, in 1779 as the British evacuated Philadelphia and withdrew to New York. Yet when the army was led poorly, as it was in battles in the South at Savannah and Charleston by officers like Horatio Gates, the results could be disastrous.

### MOBILIZING LOYALISTS

Faced with defeats or stalemates in the North and increased opposition to the war at home and in Parliament, the British cabinet decided to strike at the South in 1779 and 1780 in the hope of mobilizing Loyalists. Loyalists—opponents of American independence, many of whom eventually fled to Britain or Canada—were present in all 13 colonies, though it was not always clear in what numbers. Loyalists tended to be wealthier, Anglican, and, in the South, slaveholders, but, fearing Patriot militias, they were reluctant to show themselves unless British military supremacy was demonstrated in their local areas. What followed was a brutal military struggle in the South from 1780 to 1782 that epitomized the multiple dimensions of this war.

The American Revolution was not just a colonial rebellion against an imperial power. It was the first modern war of national liberation in which a people mobilized themselves with revolutionary nationalism to establish a republican form of government. Yet estimates are that only about 40 percent of the American population was Continental or “Patriot,” with Loyalists comprising another 20 percent, and neutrals, many of them of non-British origin, the remaining 40 percent of the population. The war, therefore, at times deteriorated in all areas of the country into guerrilla fighting between Continentals and Loyalists. Encouraged by British leaders, including former Virginia royal governor Lord Dunmore, tens of thousands of slaves escaped from bondage to British lines, although many others chose to or were forced to serve in the Continental forces. At times, a wartime decline of law and order

led to wide-scale banditry by armed groups who owed loyalty to no one except themselves.

#### AGGRAVATED BRUTALITIES

The war in the South especially aggravated these tensions and brutalities. When the Americans lost control of the southern coastline and cities, Major General Nathaniel Greene took command in the South and proceeded to employ unconventional strategies and tactics to ruin Major General Charles Cornwallis’s army. Greene employed large guerrilla forces under leaders like Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox, as well as local militia and Continental army units to lure Cornwallis into the southern countryside, fighting when it was advantageous and retreating when it was not.

With subordinate generals like Daniel Morgan at battles like Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse, Greene



American, British, and Hessian soldiers fight furiously at the Siege of Yorktown, the climactic battle of the Revolutionary War. The American War of Independence started in 1775, but its causes stemmed from long-term disagreements with British rule.



was able to damage Cornwallis's army severely. Heading to Yorktown, Virginia, Cornwallis hoped to be evacuated by the British navy to New York. Instead, since the French navy had by now gained temporary control of Chesapeake Bay, he found himself trapped by a French and American force led by Washington and French lieutenant general Comte de Rochambeau. The victory at Yorktown in October 1781 convinced the British government to begin peace negotiations with the United States.

While negotiations went on for 18 months, fighting by both guerrilla and regular units continued, especially in the South. When the war ended in April 1783, the Americans rejoiced at their victory but also had much reconstruction to perform. The fighting had taken place entirely on U.S. soil. Both national and state governments were heavily in debt from the war, inflation was rampant, and America's agricultural economy was so heavily damaged by the British naval blockade that it would not regain 1774 production levels until 1799.

Yet the Revolution changed American society and the world permanently. The European system of social deference made way for a new sense of individualism. African-American slaves drank deeply of revolutionary rhetoric and language, and the war began the slow process of abolishing slavery. So, too, did women and men commoners begin to advocate for revolutionary political rights that most Patriot leaders thought would be reserved for elites. By creating the first large-scale republic in the world, the American experience would become the model for revolutions and wars of national liberation for the next 200 years, starting with the FRENCH and HAITIAN REVOLUTIONS in the late 1700s, Latin American and central European revolutions in the 1800s, and the Marxist-Leninist revolutions in the 20th century.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN; GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE; TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

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HAL FRIEDMAN

## American temperance movement

When the first European settlers began arriving in North America in the 17th century, they brought their alcoholic beverages with them and soon found local ways to quench their thirst by using new raw materials like sugarcane. Fermented drinks like cider and beer and distilled ones like rum and whiskey were viewed by virtually all settlers as a gift from God. These beverages protected drinkers from the dangers of tainted water and were perceived as both healthful and energizing. Men, women, and children drank, in varying quantities and strengths, from early morning to bedtime, at work and at play.

Drunkenness, however, was frowned on and was punishable in many colonies. Puritan cleric Increase Mather called liquor "a good creature of God . . . but the Drunkard is from the Devil." As rum became a significant moneymaker for the New World, Americans began distilling and drinking beverages with much higher alcohol content than colonials' traditional tipples. The introduction of homegrown corn and rye whiskeys also made it harder to keep drunkenness under control. In 1774 on the eve of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, a Philadelphia Quaker called distilled liquor a "Mighty Destroyer" that was both unhealthy and immoral.

In 1784 famed physician and patriot Benjamin Rush attacked the health and moral deficiencies of "ardent," or distilled spirits. Drinking these, he wrote, would surely lead to disease and what in modern times is called addiction. Intemperance, Rush further argued, disrupted family and work life and was the enemy of those republican virtues on which the new nation had been founded and depended for its success.

Rush's idea of restricting or even banning what was becoming known as "demon rum" seemed impossible at first but eventually became part of a larger pursuit of moral perfection in 19th-century America. Although hard drinking increased between 1790 and the 1830s, new forces were at work. Temperance appealed especially to clergymen, mothers, health advocates, owners of factories, and builders of railroads whose new machines were getting faster and more complicated. It would also strike a chord with native-born Americans fearful of the rising tide of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants and their presumed heavy drinking habits, and, to a lesser extent, Germans bringing their beer-making skills to America.

Presbyterian and Methodist religious leaders began agitating against strong drink in 1811. By 1826 a new organization, the American Temperance Society, called for abstinence from whiskey, but found no fault with

moderate use of nondistilled beverages. That same year, Congregationalist minister Lyman BEECHER called for total abstinence from alcohol of any kind. Many agreed; rejecting alcohol entirely became known as teetotaling.

For the most part, early temperance efforts were spearheaded by religious and political elites, but there were exceptions. In 1840 six men, possibly while actually drinking in a Baltimore bar, created the Washington Temperance Society, a group that would help drinkers give up their unhealthful and immoral habit. In religious revival-like mass meetings, thousands of men pledged to stop drinking and a fair number fulfilled their promise.

In 1851 Maine became the first state to enact a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor. By 1855 a dozen states and two Canadian provinces had also adopted Maine laws. Between 1830 and the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, annual per capita consumption of alcohol by persons aged 15 and over fell from 7.1 gallons to 2.53 gallons.

The temperance movement suffered a setback when the impending breakup of the Union and the ensuing Civil War dominated public concern. With the war's end, the drinking issue revived. Founded in 1869 by Civil War veterans, the Prohibition Party fielded its own presidential candidates in eight post-Civil War elections, never winning more than 2.2 percent of the vote, but helping to advance the cause.

More successfully, the Anti-Saloon League, founded by a minister in 1893, worked with both major parties to achieve its dry agenda through local-option elections and other techniques, paving the way to 20th-century prohibition.

Most important was the 1874 emergence of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. For the first time, large numbers of women, not yet able to vote, would play a leadership role in a major public controversy. Focusing on the evils of the neighborhood saloon, WCTU members began holding prayer meetings at places that purveyed alcohol. The exploits of WCTU member Carrie Nation, a Kansan who wielded a hatchet to destroy saloons and smash whiskey bottles, became famous but were not typical of the organization's strategies or goals.

Led by Frances E. Willard, a former women's college president, the WCTU highlighted home protection against the disastrous effect that predominantly male drinking had on the women and children who depended on them.

The 150,000-member organization also campaigned successfully for antialcohol education in the nation's

public schools and sought drinking bans at federal facilities and on Indian reservations. President Rutherford B. Hayes complied; lemonade was served at White House events. Anti-drinking propaganda, including songs, plays, and heartrending novels such as the famous *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*, helped spread a message of sobriety that could be assured only by public action.

By the time Frances Willard died in 1898, her WCTU, as well as the Prohibition Party and Anti-Saloon League, were closer to their goal than any could have known. Persuaded by political considerations and progressivist arguments, all brought into sharp focus by America's entry into World War I, the nation implemented a far-reaching prohibition on alcohol sale and use in 1920.

See also WESLEY, JOHN (1703–1791) AND CHARLES (1717–1788); WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, RIGHTS, AND ROLES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Andean revolts

In what has been called the age of Andean insurrection, there erupted in the Andean highlands of Peru and Bolivia from 1742 to 1782 a spate of revolts, uprisings, and rebellions that rocked the Spanish Empire, threatening their rule across much of the Andes and prompting a host of reforms intended to quell the disturbances and reassert the Crown's hegemony. Unlike the situation in the viceroyalty of New Spain, where revolts and uprisings were common but generally small-scale and localized, several of the Andean rebellions assumed the character of major regional conflicts, most notably the Great Rebellion led by the second Tupac Amaru from 1780 to 1782 (the first Tupac Amaru had been captured and executed two centuries earlier, in 1572). Taken together, these Andean rebellions reveal the deep fissures of race and class that marked 18th-century colonial Peruvian society; the enduring persistence of preconquest indigenous forms of religiosity, culture, social organization, and political and communal practices; and the intensification of the structural violence and systemic injustices of Spanish colonialism under Bourbon rule.

The first major rebellion in 18th-century Peru was led by the Jesuit-educated mestizo Juan Santos Atahualpa, who claimed direct descent from the Inca emperor Atahualpa, captured and executed by the Spaniards in 1533. For more than 10 years, from 1742 to 1752, Juan Santos Atahualpa led a small army of Indians and mestizos in a protracted guerrilla war against the Spanish authorities. Based in the eastern *montaña*, between the Central Highlands to the west and the vast Amazonian jungles to the east, the army of Juan Santos Atahualpa was never defeated in open battle and the leader himself never captured; in 1752 he and his troops launched an audacious foray into the heart of Spanish-dominated territory before retreating back into the eastern jungles. The movement itself, like others of this period, was inspired by a messianic ideology that foretold the end of Spanish domination and the return of Inca rule.

A major point of contention among scholars has been the extent to which this movement represented a genuinely highland Indian revolt or whether it is better understood as a frontier movement with only tenuous links to the core highland zones of Spanish domination and control. The preponderance of evidence indicates the movement's frontier character while also underscoring substantial, if diffuse, highland Indian sympathy in the heartland of the Spanish domain. It is true that highland Indians did not rise up en masse in support of the movement. Yet substantial evidence also shows the movement's ranks populated by significant numbers of highland Indians and that Spanish authorities perceived the movement as a grave threat to their rule.

A series of other, more localized revolts and uprisings marked the decades between the 1750s and the early 1780s. By one count, the 1750s saw 13 such revolts; the 1760s, 16; and the 1770s, 31. The year 1780 saw 22, and 1781, 14, including the launching of the Great Rebellion by Tupac Amaru II in November 1781. The causes of this upsurge in insurrectionary activity have been attributed to a host of interrelated causes, all having to do with the structural oppression and exploitation of Spanish colonial rule—more specifically, the practice of forced *mita* labor in the Andes; onerous and rising tax rates; the forced sale of goods under the institution of *repartimiento*; and the quickening pace of reform under the Bourbons, whose economic policies from the mid-1700s intensified the demands for Indian labor.

The Great Rebellion, which rocked the entire southern highlands in 1781–82, represented the most serious threat to Spanish domination in the Americas during the colonial period. The subject of an expansive scholarly

literature, the insurrection launched by Tupac Amaru II sought to expel the reviled Spaniards and in their stead install a divinely inspired neo-Inca state. The depths of the millenarian impulse propelling the movement and the breadth of the popular support the movement garnered constitute powerful evidence for the profundity of the cultural crisis among indigenous and mestizo Andean highland peoples in the late colonial period.

The Great Rebellion began on November 4, 1780, with a raid on the Indian town of Tinta in southern Cuzco Province, where rebels captured and executed a local official infamous for his abuses of the *repartimiento* system. Moving south, the rebels quickly gained control of much of the southern highlands, from Lake Titicaca to Potosí and beyond, suggesting a high degree of advanced preparation and planning. In January 1781 the rebels laid siege to the ancient Inca capital of Cuzco. The siege faltered with the speedy arrival of Spanish reinforcements, and soon after Tupac Amaru II and numerous lieutenants were captured and, in May 1781, executed.

The executions failed to staunch highland rebel activity, however, as remnants of Tupac Amaru's army joined forces with a similar movement led by one Tupac Katari, laying siege to La Paz (Bolivia) from March to October 1781. Tupac Katari also was captured, and in January 1782 the Spaniards negotiated a peace agreement with surviving rebel leaders. Sporadic outbreaks continued through the early 1780s across the southern and central highlands.

It is estimated that altogether some 100,000 people died in the Great Rebellion of 1780–82. In response to these crises, the colonial authorities exacted swift retribution while also attempting to address some of the root causes of the violence, reforming the judicial system and selectively easing tax burdens. Yet social memories in the Andes are long, and the deep social divisions exposed by these massive upsurges of violence endured. In subsequent decades, the Creole, mestizo, and Indian elites of Peru, Bolivia, and adjacent highland Andean regions emerged as among the most conservative in all of Latin America, the specter of violence from below representing an ever-present danger to their privileges and interests. The deep social and cultural divisions exposed in the age of Andean insurrections remain, for some observers, readily apparent to the present day.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Anglo-Chinese Opium Wars

The Anglo-Chinese Opium Wars were two conflicts in which the British and French (in the second war) fought against the Chinese in support of the sale of opium in China. The first of the wars, between Britain and China alone, lasted from 1839 to 1842, and the second from 1856 to 1860, also known as the Arrow War, or sometimes the Anglo-French War in China. Because the cause of both were disputes over opium, the two wars are known colloquially as the Opium Wars.

The sale of opium, produced in British India, to the Chinese had generated massive wealth for the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY and many other British companies and individuals. It reversed the flood of British gold and silver to China to purchase Chinese products and replaced it with a trade balance in Britain's favor.

The massive increase in opium addiction in China beginning in the late 18th century had resulted in major social and economic problems. As a result, the Chinese government appointed an imperial commissioner, Lin Zeku, in Guangzhou (Canton), who seized all the opium held in warehouses operated by British merchants, producing a crisis. As tensions escalated, some drunken British sailors were involved in a fight with some Chinese, killing a Chinese villager. The British refused to hand the men over, exacerbating the crisis.

When fighting broke out, the British enjoyed overwhelming superiority, taking Shanghai and then moving upriver capturing Jingjiang (Chingkiang) and threatening Nanjing (Nanking). The Treaty of Nanking, dictated by Britain, was signed on August 29, 1842. It forced the Chinese to cede Hong Kong and to pay an indemnity in compensation for Britain's military effort and the destroyed opium. The ports of Guangzhou, Shanghai, Fuzhou, and Xiawen were opened as well. Additionally, British citizens were no longer subject to trial by Chinese courts. These concessions led to other foreign powers demanding similar treatment; these treaties were known as the Unequal Treaties.

In 1856, using the pretense of Chinese officials lowering the British flag on the ship *Arrow*, Britain went to war against China. The French joined the battle on the side of Britain, using the murder of a French missionary as a rationale. The two powers moved swiftly

against the Chinese, forcing the Treaty of Tientsin on June 26–29, 1858, which opened more ports to Western trade and residence; acknowledged the right of foreigners, including missionaries, to travel to any part of China they wanted; and provided for the British and French to establish permanent legations in Beijing. However, since the treaty also legalized the opium trade, China refused to sign, and the war started anew.

On October 18, 1860, the Chinese were forced to sign the Peking Convention, another of the Unequal Treaties. It imposed terms on the Chinese forcing them to accept the Treaty of Tientsin. It was after this that CHARLES GORDON had the Summer Palace burned down in a reprisal for the torturing of the British delegation under Sir Harry Smith Parkes. The British and the French sent missions to Beijing, where they purchased palaces in the Manchu City to turn into their legations. Gordon was to move to Shanghai, where he was to raise a force to fight against the Taiping rebels in the war that followed.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Anglo-French agreement on Siam (1897)

The Anglo-French agreement concerning Siam (later Thailand) was the result of British and French imperialism in Southeast Asia in the 19th century. The British and French were expanding their influence into Burma and Indochina respectively and used Siam as a buffer state between the two expanding empires. Siam was able to use this agreement to ensure some degree of autonomy, as European imperialism was increasing in Asia and Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The conclusion of the Anglo-French agreement marked an important event in European relations with Siam that had extended as far back as the 16th century.

In the 16th century Portugal began attempting to extend trading relations into Southeast Asia. British, Dutch, and French merchants were also interested in

the riches of Southeast Asia and sent in merchant fleets in the 17th century.

The BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY was concerned with acquiring posts in Southeast Asia in order to expand trade with this region. In 1786 the East India Company negotiated an agreement with the Sultan of Kedah that allowed it to occupy Penang. In order to acquire control over Penang, the East India Company had to assure the sultan that it would defend him against hostility from Selangor. In 1826 Captain Henry Burney concluded with the Siam government another agreement that opened up Southeast Asia to greater British influence, as this agreement prevented the Siamese government from disrupting British trade in the Trengganu and Kelantan regions.

The Siamese court negotiated an agreement with the British in 1855, which allowed British subjects to enjoy extraterritorial rights in Siam, allowed a British consul to take up residence in the country, and fixed tariff rates.

At the same time, France was also seeking to expand its influence in Southeast Asia. In 1862 the French government cited the maltreatment of French missionaries in Vietnam as an excuse to take control of the southern region of the country. This region was important to the French because it exported rice and could produce rubber. In 1867 France sent a naval squadron that forced Siam to relinquish its control over Cambodia, allowing the French to assert their influence over the region. In 1884 France went to war with China over Vietnam, although Vietnamese guerrillas continued to create instability in the region. Britain became concerned that a conflict between the Siamese and French governments would give the French an excuse to occupy the region.

During the 1890s the British government also became concerned about Germany and France acquiring influence over the Malay Peninsula. Joseph Chamberlain, British colonial secretary, stated in a letter in 1895 that it would be in the best interests of the British Empire to acquire a sphere of influence in the region between the Malay States and Tenasserim in return for recognition of a French sphere of influence in northern Siam. The result was the Anglo-French agreement, an attempt by the British and French governments to transform Siam into a buffer zone between their two empires to lessen tensions in Southeast Asia. Lord Robert Cecil, the British prime minister, dispatched a message to the British ambassador to France assuring him that the agreement would not result in the end of an independent Siam. The government of Siam responded by appointing Westerners to government positions and

reforming the Ministry of Finance. The Siamese government attempted to learn technology in an attempt to improve its international position.

Following the signing of the Anglo-French agreement, the British and Siamese governments negotiated an accord in 1897. It required the Siamese government to gain permission of the British government before it could grant concessions to a third country. This new agreement strengthened the British position on the Malay Peninsula. The Anglo-French agreement, however, failed to end tensions in Southeast Asia caused by imperial rivalry between Britain and France.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Anglo-Russian rivalry

The Great Game was the name given by British poet Rudyard Kipling to the struggle between czarist Russia and the British Empire for influence in Central Asia. The contest could actually be said to have begun as early as the 18th century. That was when CATHERINE THE GREAT of Russia conquered the last remnants of the Mogul Golden Horde that had first entered Russia in the time of Genghis Khan in the 13th century. In 1784 the last khan of the Crimea surrendered the Khanate of the Crimea to Catherine in exchange for a pension.

During the same period, the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY was conquering the entire Indian subcontinent. In 1799, at Seringapatam, Tipu Sultan was defeated and killed by troops of the East India Company. Between 1814 and 1816 Nepal was subdued, and the famed Nepalese Gurkha warriors first entered British service. In 1818 Governor-General Warren Hastings finally crushed the Maratha Confederacy, firmly establishing British supremacy.

The first documented mission of the British to learn Russian intentions dated from 1810, when ALEXANDER I, czar of Russia, was temporarily allied to NAPOLEON I of France by the Treaty of Tilsit. Britain had been at war with France since 1793, and the idea of huge Rus-

sian armies marching south to conquer India caused the British great alarm. Although Napoleon and Alexander I went to war in June 1812, making Britain and France allies again as they had been before the Treaty of Tilsit, it did not mean the end of the Great Game. In fact, it was only the beginning.

### CONSTANT COMBAT

The collapse of the Golden Horde had left in its wake many independent khanates, such as those of Bokhara and Khiva. While strong enough to wage bloody wars among themselves, they were no match for the armies of Britain or Russia, which had been in almost constant combat for over two decades. With the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the wartime alliance against him between Russia and Britain was soon forgotten. Instead, both great powers began to focus their imperial goals on Central Asia. The Russians desired to conquer the khanates, and the British desired to keep them as buffer states between the Russian Empire and the British Empire in India.

Beginning in 1839 Russia began a systematic conquest of Central Asia that followed the methodical planning of Czar Nicholas I. Concern over the Russian threat to India precipitated the FIRST AFGHAN WAR in 1839. By this time, Persia had become an ally of Russia and was using Russian troops in an attack on the city of Herat in Afghanistan, a country Persia had had its own imperial designs on since at least the 18th century.

George Eden, Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India since 1835, suspected that DOST MOHAMMED of Afghanistan's Durrani dynasty sided with the Russians. Auckland invaded Afghanistan in 1839. In August, the British army entered Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, with the former ruler, Shah Shuja, who Auckland felt to be more pro-British. Although the invasion went successfully, the occupation of Kabul ended in disaster. Auckland's emissary, Sir William Macnaghten, was killed, and only one man arrived in safety back in British territory in January 1842. A second British invasion as an expression of Britain's power succeeded in reaching Kabul and evacuated successfully in December 1842. Although the Afghans were suitably awed by the British ability to recoup their losses so quickly, this war was an unnecessary loss of lives and treasure, since the Russians abandoned their attempts to bring Afghanistan into their orbit before Auckland began the war.

Meanwhile, the British were consolidating their control of India. In 1843 the British under Sir Charles Napier conquered Sind. During the SIKH WARS the British defeated the once independent realm of the Sikhs in the Punjab, firmly adding it to their growing Indian empire.

Although the Sikh Wars were the most difficult the British ever fought in their conquest of India, the Sikhs ultimately became among the most redoubtable soldiers in England's Indian army. It could be argued persuasively that this sudden imperial push on the part of the British was to deny control of the Punjab to the Russians.

The British entry into the CRIMEAN WAR was in part due to British alarm over the seemingly unstoppable Russian march into Central Asia. Instead of being able to focus their energy on the khanates of Central Asia, the Russians had to face a British invasion of the Russian Crimea in 1854. The heavy Russian losses suffered in such battles as Inkerman, Balaklava, and the Alma River helped delay further Russian penetration of Central Asia by a decade.

### IMPERIOUS NECESSITY

Then, in December 1864, Czar Alexander II's foreign minister, Prince A. M. Gorchakov, wrote what would become the definitive expression of Russian imperialism in Central Asia. It contained an ominous note for the British. Like all other expanding powers, Russia faced one great obstacle—"all have been irresistibly forced, less by ambition than by imperious necessity, into this onward [movement] where the greatest difficulty is to know where to stop."

Soon the British understood what Gorchakov's memorandum meant. Czar Alexander II began a massive campaign of conquest in Central Asia. As with the Crimean War, tensions between England and Russia contributed to a war scare in the RUSSO-TURKISH WAR of 1877–78. Throughout the 19th century, Russian foreign policy vacillated between seeking empire in Central Asia and desiring to expand into the Balkans. Thus in 1877 the Russians invaded the Ottoman territory in the Balkans, which would ultimately lead to the establishment of an independent, pro-Russian Slavic Bulgaria.

However, when it seemed that the armies of Alexander II would continue on until they conquered the Turkish capital of Constantinople, British prime minister WILLIAM GLADSTONE threatened to intervene on the side of Turkey. When events seemed to be leading to a general European war, the German Chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK called all the parties to the CONGRESS OF BERLIN in 1878, which ultimately provided a peaceful solution to the crisis.

The Russo-Turkish War had immediate repercussions in Central Asia. A Russian mission arrived in Kabul under General Stolietov, supported by the czar and the czar's governor-general for the Central Asian

provinces, General K. von Kaufman. The same scenario repeated itself as in 1839. With the Congress of Berlin ending a major crisis, the czar had no purpose in creating another crisis in Central Asia, so Stolietov was withdrawn from the Afghan capital.

Nevertheless, the British ruler of India, Robert Bulwer-Lytton, Lord Lytton, the viceroy, prepared for a military invasion of Afghanistan. Lytton was a member of what was known as the Forward Policy school, which, believing war with Russia was certain, was determined to fight it as far from India as possible. When the ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Sher Ali, refused to permit a British delegation to enter Afghanistan, Lytton's army crossed the Afghan frontier on November 21, 1878.

After Major-General Frederick Roberts defeated Sher Ali's effort to stop the British, the Afghans pursued a policy of guerrilla warfare. Sher Ali left the office of amir to his son Yakub Khan, who in May 1879 accepted a British resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari. In a gesture of peace, Sir Louis Cavagnari entered Kabul in July 1879 with only an escort from the corps of guides, the elite of the British Frontier troops. In September, Afghan troops attacked the residency and killed Cavagnari, most likely acting on orders from Yakub Khan.

Retribution soon followed. In October 1878 General Roberts consolidated the British position in Kabul and defeated Yakub Khan's men. A second skirmish led to his final victory over Yakub Khan on September 1, 1880. The British could now install Amir Abdur Rahman on the throne, a leader they felt would pursue at least a neutral foreign policy and prevent the Russians from using Afghanistan as a base from which to attack India.

Indeed, the British demonstration of force in Afghanistan may have come none too soon, for unlike in the aftermath of the First Afghan War, this time Russia's expansion into Central Asia rolled on like a juggernaut. Even the great Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky wrote in 1881, "in Europe we were hangers-on, whereas to Asia we shall go as masters. . . . Our civilizing mission in Asia will bribe our spirit and drive us thither." In 1885 under the new czar Alexander III, the clash Britain had long awaited took place. A Russian army that had just conquered Merv in Turkestan continued on to occupy the Penjdeh Oasis in Herat—the Afghan buffer for British India had been breached. In Britain, the response was swift. Some £11,000,000 were voted by Parliament for war with Russia, a huge sum in those days.

Given such firm British opposition, the Russian force withdrew from Penjdeh. Taking advantage of the

Russian withdrawal, Sir Mortimer Durand drew the Durand Line in 1893, which established the eastern frontier of Afghanistan. Two years later, the British had the Wakhan region added to Afghanistan, no doubt pleasing Abdur Rahman, so that Russian territory would not border India.

The Great Game in Central Asia would continue with both nations attempting to influence Tibet and China, whose province of Xinxiang (Sinkiang) was China's closest to Central Asia. However, as the 19th century waned, the British and Russians were both faced by a greater threat in the growing power of the German Empire of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Already, the kaiser had made clear his interest in seeking German influence in the lands of the Ottoman Empire, even entering Jerusalem on horseback in 1898.

In 1907, in the spirit of cooperation brought about in the face of a mutual danger, Britain and Russia peacefully settled a dispute over oil rights in Persia by effectively dividing it into Russian and British spheres of influence. The Great Game had officially come to an end.

See also RUSSO-TURKISH WAR AND NEAR EASTERN CRISIS.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Arabian Peninsula and British imperialism

During the 19th century, the British extended their economic and political presence throughout the coastal areas of the Arabian Peninsula. With the largest and most powerful navy in the world, the British needed ports to serve as refueling stations and to replenish supplies of fresh foods and water for their sailors. After the Suez Canal provided an easier and faster transportation route between Europe and Asia, the coastal areas of the Arabian Peninsula increased in importance.

In 1839 Britain occupied Aden on the southern coast of Yemen, then on the further fringes of the Ottoman Empire, making it a British Crown Colony. After the Suez Canal became a major trade route, Aden became a bustling port city and trading center. Britain and the Ottomans clashed repeatedly over control of northern and southern Yemen. In the late 19th century, the British signed formal treaties with a number of tribes in the regions around the port of Aden; these became known as the Aden Protectorates. The largest of these sultanates, sheikhdoms, emirates, and confederation of tribes was the two sultanates of Hadhramaut. In the early 20th century the British and Ottomans agreed to specific borders demarking their respective territorial claims.

Britain also sought to protect its vast holdings in India and to prevent rival European imperial powers from expanding into Asia by extending its control over neighboring areas both east and west of the Indian subcontinent. Consequently, British foreign service officials in Delhi sought to extend British control along the Persian Gulf. The British secured a number of treaties with the ruling families along the Persian Gulf, which in Arab provinces was frequently referred to as the Arabian Gulf.

The patron-client relationship between Arab rulers in the Gulf and the British lessened Ottoman control and freed local rulers from Ottoman taxation while increasing their own political power. The local economies were dependant on income from pearls and sponges obtained by divers who were paid by a few trading families who often had ethnic and commercial ties with Persia. Because the area was largely poverty stricken, local sheikhs were also interested in possible economic gains from ties with the British.

The first British treaty agreement in the region was with the sheikh of Muscat (part of present-day Oman) in 1798. Successive agreements were signed between the British and the ruling Al Khalifah clan in Bahrain in 1820 and with the Sabah family in Kuwait in 1899. Under the latter, Britain had the right to conduct all the foreign relations for Kuwait, and no foreign treaties could be signed nor could foreign agents operate in Kuwait without the approval of Britain.

This enabled Britain to ensure that the proposed Berlin to Baghdad railway would not be extended to the Persian Gulf, and it also made Kuwait an unofficial British protectorate. Similar agreements were reached with the Thani clan in Qatar and with a number of local rulers in the Trucial Coast (present-day United Arab Emirates). As a result, acting through its surrogates, Britain

was able to control the coastal areas along almost all of the Arabian Peninsula.

See also EASTERN QUESTION.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Arab reformers and nationalists

During the 19th century a number of Arab intellectuals led the way for reforms and cultural changes in the Arab world. Rifa'a al-Tahtawi from Egypt was one of the first and foremost reformers. A graduate of esteemed Muslim university al-Azhar, Tahtawi was sent to France to study as part of MUHAMMAD ALI's modernizing program. He returned to Egypt, where he served as director of the Royal School of Administration and School of Languages, was editor of the Official Gazette, and Director of Department of Translations.

Tahtawi published dozens of his own works as well as translations of French works into Arabic. In *A Paris Profile*, Tahtawi described his interactions as a Muslim Egyptian with French culture and society. His account was an open-minded and balanced one, offering praise as well as criticism for many aspects of Western civilization. For example, Tahtawi respected French originality in the arts but was offended by public displays of drunkenness.

Tahtawi urged the study of the modern world and stressed the need of education for both boys and girls; he believed citizens needed to take an active role in building a civilized society.

KHAYR AL-DIN, an Ottoman official from Tunisia, echoed Tahtawi's emphasis on education while also addressing the problems of authoritarian rule. He advocated limiting the power of the sultan through law and consultation and wrote the first constitution in the Ottoman Empire.

The Egyptian writer Muhammad Abduh dealt with the ongoing question of how to become part of the modern world while remaining a Muslim. He was heavily influenced by the pan-Islamic thought of JAMAL AL-DIN AL-AFGHANI. Abduh taught in Lebanon, traveled to



Paris, and held several government positions in Egypt. He became mufti of Egypt in 1899 and was responsible for religious law and issued fatwas (legal opinions on disputed points of religious law).

Abduh became one of the most highly respected and revered figures in Egypt, although some conservatives opposed his reforms and open-mindedness while some more radical nationalists berated him for not being liberal enough. In his publications, including *Face to Face with Science and Civilizations* and *Memoirs*, he urged the spiritual revival of the Muslim and Arab world, arguing that Islam was not incompatible with modern science and technology. He also stressed the importance not only of law but of reason in Islamic society.

Originally from Syria, Muhammad Rashid Rida was a follower of Abduh. He moved to Egypt and founded the highly respected journal *al-Manar*. His writings had a wide influence on Islamic thought, and he became one of the foremost spokespersons for what has become known as political Islam. Rida also discussed socialism and Bolshevism and the role religion should play in contemporary political life.

Egyptian Abdullah al-Nadim edited several satirical journals and was a staunch supporter of the URABI REVOLT of 1881–82. He also knew Jamal al-Afghani. Al-Nadim was exiled to Istanbul after his fiery nationalist stance earned him the enmity of the British.

Al-Nadim spoke openly about the growth of the nation (*watan*) and was one of the first modern Egyptian nationalists. In 1899 Anis al-Jalis started an Egyptian magazine that carried articles dealing with the role of women in society.

A new educated elite emerged as graduates of the many government and other schools that had been established as part of the reforming era of the TANZIMAT entered public life. In the Sudan, the British founded Gordon College to educate male youth for government service. Other schools founded by missionaries included the Syrian Protestant College (American University of Beirut, AUB), the Jesuit University St. Joseph in Beirut, and various Russian Orthodox schools scattered throughout Greater Syria. The Alliance Israelite sponsored schools for Jewish students throughout the Ottoman Empire. Separate mission schools were also established for girls. A spirit of outward-looking, pro-Western thought prevailed, and many of the elites had extensive experience with the Western world. Many were bilingual in French or English.

Nineteenth-century Arab intellectuals, many of whom were Christians, fostered a literary renaissance with a revival of interest in the Arabic language. Some

sought to modernize Arabic prose and poetic styles. Butrus Bustani was one of the era's foremost experts in the Arabic language. He also wrote a multivolume encyclopedia with thoughtful entries on science and literature as well as history. Numerous newspapers were published, especially in Cairo and Beirut. *Al-Muqtataf* produced in Cairo by Yacoub Sarruf and Faris Nimr was one of the most famous. In 1875 the Taqla family founded *al-Ahram*, which became the premier newspaper in the Arab world. Many of these new journals were published in Egypt, where there was greater freedom of the press afforded by the British than in Ottoman-controlled provinces.

Nationalism spread around the world in the 19th century, and the Arab provinces were no exception. A generation of Arab nationalists began to talk and write about the relationship of the Arabs within the Ottoman Empire and the role religion should and did play in modern nationalism. These early nationalists did not deny the importance of religion but used nationalism as their point of reference.

The first group that dealt with the controversial issue of separation from the Ottoman Empire on the basis of national identity was formed at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1847. Its members, who met secretly to avoid prosecution from the Ottoman intelligence services, included Faris Nimr. They met under the guise of being a literary society; while the members did discuss literature they also delved into the important political questions facing the declining Ottoman Empire as well as the emergence of nascent Arab nationalism. Various groups continued to meet at the college from 1847 to 1868 when a Beirut society began. Its members discussed the key political issues of Arab identity. The so-called Darwin affair of 1882 caused a number of the leading figures of the movement to leave the college. In a public address, Dr. Edwin Lewis, a professor at the college, discussed Darwin's theory of evolution; his positive conclusions about Darwin's controversial theory roused the enmity of conservative American Christians on campus. They attacked Lewis in print and forced his resignation. Several of the liberal Arab junior faculty, including Nimr and Sarruf, resigned in outrage and moved to Cairo, where they became leading figures among Christian Arab secularists.

Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi was born in Syria, but after his writings about Arab identity roused the enmity of Khedive Abbas Hilmi, he left Syria and became a frequent contributor to *al-Manar*, the journal edited by Rashid Rida. In his writings, Kawakibi discussed the key role of the Arabs in Islam; he also described the

decadence and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire. He stressed the importance of Arab unity. Another Arab nationalist, Jurji Zaidan, wrote for the journal *al-Hilal*. Whereas pan-Islamists, such as al-Afghani, believed in the supremacy and integrity of the Islamic legacy, pan-Arabists like Zaidan emphasized its uniquely Arab character and the importance of history, language, and culture over religion. The ideas of these early Arab nationalists would come to fruition with World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## art and architecture (1750–1900)

The style of architecture in Britain changed considerably between 1750 and 1900. The Georgian mews and squares that were popular in the 1750s gave way to large suburbs, the ease of railway travel allowing for significant city sprawl. The Georgian style in Britain was very much influenced by the style of Andrea Palladio in 16th-century Italy. The architect Inigo Jones also built in the Palladian style, with some design features coming from classical Rome. Perhaps the best example in England of this neoclassical style is the city of Bath, with its crescents, terraces, and squares. Dublin is another example.

Sir Robert Taylor (1714–88) and James Paine (1717–89) also worked in the Palladian tradition. In 1760 there emerged two great architects: Sir William Chambers (1723–96), who designed Somerset House, and Robert Adam (1728–92), who was the architect responsible for Syon House near London, Kenwood in Hampstead, Newby Hall and Harewood House in Yorkshire, and Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire. Chambers, although remaining Palladian at heart, was influenced by the discovery of Baalbek in Lebanon. Adam, by contrast, discarded classical proportions. His work was elaborated on by John Nash (1752–1835), who designed Regent Street, London, and by Sir John Soane, who worked on the Dulwich College Art Gallery.

By the end of the 18th century, the influence of India and China led to the construction of buildings that either heavily incorporated Asian themes or were entirely Asian in style. Nash's Royal Pavilion at Brighton, England, constructed in 1815–22, represents British interest in Mughal Indian architecture. Chinese-style pavilions and towers became common in places such as Kew Gardens and the English Gardens in Munich. Later, the emergence of Victorian architecture saw the classical style being retained for the British Museum (1823) and Birmingham Town Hall (1846). However, the design by Sir Charles Barry (1795–1860) for the new Houses of Parliament signaled the Gothic revival, with architects such as Augustus Welby Pugin (1812–52) and others being involved in the work. The Crystal Palace in 1851 was designed by Sir Joseph Paxton (1801–65). Norman Shaw (1831–1912) developed functional architecture for houses, the Bedford Park estate at Turnham Green, London, built in the 1880s, being a good example. Other architects included Charles Voysey (1857–1941), W. R. Lethaby (1857–1931), and Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944). The Industrial Revolution also led to the construction of some iconic structures such as Iron Bridge in Shropshire.

Sculptors like John Flaxman (1755–1826), using a linear style, were responsible for many statues around London, with commissions for public monuments of national heroes such as Lord Nelson and, later, Queen VICTORIA. In terms of British art, painters like William Hogarth (1697–1764), Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92), John Constable (1776–1837), and Thomas Gainsborough (1727–99) were important from the Georgian era; famous Victorian painters are Pre-Raphaelites such as D. G. Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and J. E. Millais.

In France during the same period, neoclassical architecture appeared from 1740, remaining popular in Paris until the 19th century. This was, in part, a reaction against the rococo style of prerevolutionary France, with more of a search for order and the expression of republican values in Greco-Roman forms and more traditional ornamentation. Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–80), the architect of the Panthéon in Paris, drew parallels between the emerging power of Napoleonic France and that of the classical world. This can be seen in the Arc de Triomphe, La Madeleine, and the National Assembly building. In Paris, the Opera was built by Charles Garnier (1825–98) in 1862. Georges-Eugène, Baron Haussmann (1809–91) laid the plans for a new Paris, a features of which were open spaces, parks, and wide boulevards. The Eiffel Tower was built in 1889.

Even before the FRENCH REVOLUTION, paintings by Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) had a clear republican

theme. David was made Napoleon's official painter, his *Coronation of Napoleon* being perhaps his most famous work. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) continued the neoclassical tradition, and the *Raft of the Medusa* by Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) signaled the arrival of romanticism. Eugène Delacroix drew much on his travels around the Mediterranean, with his great work being *Liberty Leading the People*, commemorating the July Revolution of 1830. It was not long before the emergence of the Barbizon School, with Camille Corot (1796–1875) and Jean-François Millet (1814–75) taking peasant life as their inspiration and providing a basis for such later painters as Vincent Van Gogh (1853–90).

Impressionism saw the emergence of painters such as Edouard Manet (1832–83), Claude Monet (1840–1926), Alfred Sisley (1839–99), Camille Pissarro (1830–1903), Berthe Morisot (1841–95), and Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919). Other important painters of this style included Edgar Degas (1834–1917) and Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), providing an influence for Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), the foremost of the postimpressionists. Vincent Van Gogh from the Netherlands created haunting self-portraits and landscapes of bright color, making his work instantly recognizable. Mention should also be made of Henri Rousseau (1844–1910), who used a naïve style, and Gustave Moreau of the symbolist school.

In Italy and Spain, baroque architecture gave way to neoclassicism, with tastes becoming more sober and restrained. In Italy this was exemplified by Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770) and his son Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (1727–1804) and their work on churches and palaces in Venice. In Spain the reaction against classicism was marked, especially in Catalonia, where Antoni Gaudí (1852–1926) worked on a free-form style, a geometrically based style using a variety of material and mosaics, with work on his Sagrada Família Church in Barcelona starting in 1882. Francisco José de Goya (1746–1828) was the greatest of the Spanish painters in the last part of the 18th and first part of the 19th centuries. He was profoundly affected by the Peninsula War and his painting *El Tres de Mayo*, showing the execution by French soldiers of rebels in Madrid, is among his most well known. Other Spanish painters of the 19th century include Ignacio Pinazo (1849–1916), Francisco Domingo (1842–1920), Emilio Sala (1850–1910), Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945), and Joaquín Sorolla (1863–1923).

In Central Europe, increased wealth led to the construction of many major government buildings. In Austria, rococo design gave way to historicism, with the development of the Ringstrasse in Vienna. This changed

with the advent of the Secession movement in 1897. King Ludwig of Bavaria financed the construction of large numbers of “dream” castles throughout his kingdom. In Russia, the emergence of St. Petersburg led to the construction of massive public and private buildings. The Winter Palace, commissioned from Francesco Bertolomeo Rastrelli (1700–71) in 1754 by CATHERINE THE GREAT, is certainly the most well known, with others including the Yelagin Palace built for ALEXANDER I by the architect Carlo Rossi (1775–1849) also important. The Church of the Resurrection of Christ was built in the late 1880s on the site where Czar Alexander II was killed in 1881. The building of the Trans-Siberian Railroad led to the construction of large numbers of railway stations along the length of the railroad. It was a period when Russians were collecting art from around the world.

In China, with the capital Beijing divided between the Chinese City and the Tartar City, the major change came from the 1860s with the building of foreign legations in former princely palaces in the Tartar City. This followed the SECOND OPIUM WAR, which saw the sacking of the “Old” Summer Palace, with work beginning on the massive enlargement of the “New” Summer Palace in 1888. Building work continued on parts of the Forbidden City, and the Manchu Qing (Ch'ing) emperors also spent much energy in the late 18th century on enlarging the palaces at their summer residence at Chengde (Jehol). The late 19th century saw a massive influx of foreign influence into Shanghai, Tianjin (Tientsin), Weihai (Weihaiwei), Qingdao (Tsingtao), Macau, Hong Kong, Hankou (Hankow), and Guangzhou (Canton). As well as warehouses, bank chambers, office buildings, railway stations, and accommodations, there were also Christian churches for both Chinese and foreign parishioners.

There were also churches built around India—especially in Calcutta—with many buildings being erected throughout the Indian subcontinent for the military and traders. Herman Willem Daendels (1762–1818), governor of the Netherlands East Indies, helped redesign the city of Batavia (Jakarta). In Japan, many modern buildings were erected, including the famous Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. Holiday retreats such as Simla in India, Maymyo in Burma, and the Cameron Highlands in Malaya were also built toward the end of the 19th century. Many of these places, as well as earlier temples and landmarks, were the subject of drawings by Thomas and William Daniell.

In North America, vast change was reflected in the architecture. From the 1750s, there were small build-

ings such as Mount Vernon, the residence of GEORGE WASHINGTON. THOMAS JEFFERSON's home, Monticello, dates from 1768. After independence, there were a large number of government buildings erected throughout the country, with Pierre-Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825) drawing up the original plans for Washington. The White House was built beginning in 1792 in the Palladian style. The Irish-American architect James Hoban (c. 1762–1831) worked on it after winning the competition with skilled stonemasons coming from Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1793. At the same time, there was work on the Capitol, with the chamber of the House of Representatives completed in 1807. Both the White House and the Capitol were sacked by British soldiers in 1812, and it was not until 1857 that the South Wing was added to the Capitol.

There were also large numbers of other civic buildings constructed throughout the country. Southern plantation architecture was popular. In addition, around the United States, many towns and cities were being established. Unlike their counterparts in Europe, large numbers of the houses were built from wood, with log cabins constructed by pioneers. There was also the construction of the first skyscrapers with the Cast Iron Building, designed by James Bogardus (1800–74) in 1848, and the Haughwout Department Store in New York City in 1857. The first steel girder construction was the Home Insurance Company Building in Chicago, with work by William Le Baron Jenney (1832–1907) and also later his protégé, Louis Sullivan.

Prominent artists living in the United States painted pioneer scenes and portraits of political and society figures. There were a few new concepts, including the panoramic painting that illustrated some historical event. Painted in a way to show the battle or event unfolding, people paid a small fee to see the picture. There was also great interest in landscape painters.

In South America, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Lima, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, and other cities had large numbers of migrants arriving, with major public buildings, banking and insurance chambers, office buildings, hotels, and other buildings erected. In Australia, during the 1880s there was the period of "Marvelous Melbourne." As well as the Melbourne Public Library, Melbourne Town Hall, the university, and other major civic projects, there were also many Italianate mansions built throughout the city. In Australia there were many station properties, and in the country towns large numbers of wooden houses.

In North Africa, Cairo saw the construction of large numbers of mock-Parisian buildings, with the wealth

flowing into Egypt through tourism and the opening of the Suez Canal. The British and French built numbers of colonial buildings throughout their empire in Africa, with the Portuguese, Germans, and Belgians also constructing buildings, but on a much smaller scale. In South Africa, Cape architecture became popular not just in Cape Town and nearby areas but also elsewhere in Africa.

See also BAROQUE CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Asian migration to Latin America

There has been a long history of Asian migration to Latin America, with Chinese, Japanese, and Korean populations now in most countries in Central and South America. In addition there are also significant Indian communities in some countries, especially Guyana, and small numbers of Vietnamese.

The first links between the two areas may have been during the Ming dynasty in China, when some of the fleet of Chinese Admiral Cheng Ho may have reached the Americas. On many of his voyages members of the crew did not return with the fleet, and if any of his ships did reach the Americas, it seems likely that they would represent the first recent Asians to settle in the Americas.

It is also worth mentioning that in 1492, when Christopher Columbus sailed the Atlantic, he expected to reach Asia, and in 1519 Ferdinand Magellan started his voyage that was, after Magellan's death, to circumnavigate the world, sailing through what became the Straits of Magellan across the Pacific Ocean, proving that it was possible to make the voyage.

However, there was little migration from Asia to the Americas until the early 19th century. Few Chinese ventured overseas during this period, except for those already in Southeast Asia—the Nanyang, as they called

it. In 1637 the Japanese government banned travel overseas and requested their citizens to return home; Korea was so isolated that travel was extremely difficult until recently. It is probable, however, that some Filipinos did settle in Latin America, especially in Peru, the center of Spanish power, as there were close shipping ties between Lima and Manila.

In the early 19th century the increased frequency of traveling overseas by ship and overpopulation in China saw many Chinese begin to migrate, initially to the favored destinations in Southeast Asia and around the Indian Ocean, and then to the Americas. The California gold rush certainly saw many Chinese move to California and others moved in search of employment to Mexico and then to the Caribbean and South America. As a result, Chinese merchants started establishing businesses in cities and large towns along the Pacific coast. Some were farmers growing vegetables, others running shops, laundries, or restaurants.

A few Chinese families settled on the eastern coast of Latin America. A sizeable community was established in British Guiana (now Guyana), many working on plantations. The Chinese in British Guiana form the subject of novelist Robert Standish's *Mr. On Loong*. In addition, mention should be made of the family of Philip Hoalim from Guyana—Hoalim later became involved in politics in Singapore, forming the Malayan Democratic Union, the first political party ever established in Singapore.

As well as the Chinese in British Guiana, there was also a much larger Indian community. Known as the East Indians, to differentiate them from the West Indians, many spoke Hindi or Urdu, and there are numbers of Hindu temples and Muslim mosques in the capital of Georgetown. In neighboring Suriname, a former Dutch colony, there are also many East Indians and Chinese. There is even a statue of Mohandas Gandhi in Paramaribo, Suriname's capital. With its Dutch connections, there are also Indonesians (mainly from Java), many descending from indentured servants who came before the 1940s. Smaller Indian communities in Brazil, Paraguay, and northern Argentina have been instrumental in the introduction and breeding of zebu and Brahman cattle.

### CHINESE COMMUNITIES

During the latter half of the 19th century, economic opportunities encouraged many Chinese to migrate to Cuba and Peru, where they worked on sugar plantations, in mining, and on haciendas, as well as running shops in townships. However, Cuba started to restrict the number of Chinese migrants. At the same time, the

Mexican government started encouraging migration from China. PORFIRIO DÍAZ, president 1876–80 and again 1884–1911, wanted Chinese coolies as a cheap labor force for building infrastructure in northern Mexico, where many settled. As with the Chinese in Peru, there were gradual changes in the economic status of the migrant communities. Whereas in the 1870s most were manual laborers, by the 1900s many were running businesses.

By 1912 there were 35,000 Chinese in Mexico. Some used it as a route to the United States, but many others established businesses, often in poor suburbs. As a result, during periods of instability, especially during the Mexican Revolution, when rioting started, Asians were often the victims of mobs. The Mexican revolutionary hero Pancho Villa was definitely anti-Chinese, calling U.S. citizens *Chino blanco* (“white Chinese”).

When he took the town of Torreón on May 25, 1911, his forces and several thousand locals massacred 303 Chinese and five Japanese. When he was eventually defeated by Emilio Obregón, he is reported to have said “I would rather have been beaten by a Chinese than by Obregón.” In February 1914 anti-Chinese riots took place in Cananea, and local Chinese took refuge in a U.S.-owned building, and in March 1915 many Chinese were attacked and robbed in rioting in Nogales. In spite of these attacks, many Chinese continued to migrate to Mexico, with 6,000 arriving in 1919–20. The Chinese community remains important in Mexico.

In Central America, there were small Chinese communities in each country, and most were involved in running small businesses. By the 1930s they had begun to dominate trade in many towns in El Salvador, so much so that the 1939 constitution included protections for indigenous small traders. A new law, passed in March 1969, limited the running of small businesses in the country to people born in Central America, specifically excluding naturalized citizens. However, many Chinese continued to operate with their businesses owned by middlemen. In Honduras, many small businesses were also owned by Chinese until the 1969 war with El Salvador, which led to fervent nationalism breaking out in the country and moves to reduce the number of Chinese-owned shops. In Central America today there are small numbers of Vietnamese, and there is also a sizable Vietnamese population in Cuba, largely as a result of political ties between the two communist countries.

As well as in Peru, there are also significant Chinese communities in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. Indeed bilateral ties and trade (with China) with all three

countries have increased in recent years, offering many Chinese in Latin America new opportunities for establishing businesses. Chinese-language gravestones can be seen in cemeteries throughout Latin America, although most seem to be located in foreign cemeteries, such as the British Cemetery at Chacarita in Buenos Aires or its counterparts in Chile. Most Latin American countries now recognize the People's Republic of China, but a few still extend diplomatic recognition to the Republic of China (Taiwan) as the legitimate government of the whole of China. For these, most ties are with Taiwan. In Paraguay, the Taiwanese government and community plays an important role in commercial life in Asunción and has been involved in major projects, such as the refurbishment of the Paraguayan foreign ministry.

### JAPANESE AND KOREAN SETTLERS

In Brazil, the largest country in Latin America, there are many people of Chinese and East Indian ancestry and also some migrants from Malaysia involved in rubber cultivation. In the southern part of the country there are also increasing numbers of Japanese—there are said to be over 600,000 Brazilians with Japanese ancestry. A number of the Japanese can trace their origins in Brazil back to 1908 when an agreement with the municipal authorities in São Paulo allowed Japanese to settle in the hinterland. They established many vegetable farms, and there are Japanese grocery stores, bookshops, and even geisha in São Paulo today.

There were also numbers of Japanese farmers who left Japan during this period, with many settling in Peru, Brazil, and Paraguay, where the government was encouraging foreigners to move to the country and establish colonies. Many were poor Japanese in search of work, but quite a number were well educated. Some of the latter settled in Panama—a few involving themselves in businesses so closely linked to the Panama Canal that spying by them has long been alleged. One of them, Yoshitaro Amano, a Japanese store owner who had lived in Panama City, spied on U.S. ships using the Panama Canal. He later fled Panama and was arrested for spying in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and then Colombia.

Perhaps the most prominent example of the role of the Japanese in Latin America concerns two of the Japanese who left Kumamoto, Japan, moving to Peru in 1934: Naoichi Fujimori and his wife, Mutsue. Four years later their son, Alberto, was born, and the parents applied to the local Japanese consulate to ensure the child retained Japanese citizenship. He worked as an agricultural engineer and became dean and then rector of his old university, also hosting a television show. In

1990 Fujimori, heading the Cambio 90 party (“Change 1990”), defeated the author Mario Vargas Llosa in the election for president in a surprise result. Although he was Japanese, Fujimori gained the political nickname “el chino” (“the Chinese man”), with many observers crediting his victory with his ethnicity, which set him apart from the political elite of Spanish descent.

Fujimori had campaigned on a platform of “Work, technology, honesty” but in what became known as Fujishock, he instituted massive economic reforms and invested the office of the president with many new powers. His wife, Susana Higuchi, also of Japanese descent, in a very public divorce, accused him of stealing from donations by Japanese foundations. Reelected in 1995, Fujimori won the 2000 election, but soon afterwards a massive corruption scandal emerged. Fujimori, overseas at the time, then went to Japan, where he resigned. In November 2005 he flew from Japan to Chile and was arrested on his arrival. On September 22, 2007, he was extradited to Peru where he was jailed awaiting trial. On December 12, 2007, Fujimori was convicted of abuse of authority and sentenced to six years in prison. He faces three other trials on charges including murder, kidnapping, and corruption. Fujimori remains the best-known politician of Asian ancestry to hold high office in Latin America, but he has also become a byword for corruption and political sleaze.

Of the Koreans who have settled in Latin America, many run shops and small businesses. There are parts of Buenos Aires and also Rio de Janeiro with large Korean populations. In Uruguay there has been an influx of Koreans, many associated with Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

Despite the high-profile involvement of Fujimori in Peruvian politics, most of the Asians in Latin America shun media hype. Although many operate small businesses either importing Chinese merchandise or household consumer products into Latin America or run restaurants, a new generation of highly educated Asians fluent in Spanish is emerging, many of whom were born in Latin America. They are starting to enter the professions of law, accountancy, and banking, many having totally assimilated into the communities in which they live. When Hu Jintao, the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, visited Brazil, his first overseas visit after assuming the leadership of the People's Republic of China, he was greeted by thousands of Brazilians of Chinese ancestry.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Australia: exploration and settlement

The island continent of Australia was the last to be discovered and explored by Europeans. It was called Terra Australis Incognita, the unknown southern land. The first European to sail into the Australian waters was a Dutchman, Abel Tasman, working for the Dutch East India Company, who discovered the western and southern coast of an island he named Van Dieman's Land (now Tasmania) in 1618. Subsequent Dutch explorers of areas of coastal Australia called it New Holland.

In the mid-18th-century France and Great Britain also became interested in exploring the unknown land. Between 1768 and 1776 Captain JAMES COOK, an officer of the British Royal Navy, made three great voyages of discovery. His first voyage sailed around New Zealand and then the eastern coast of Australia. Sir Joseph Banks, a scientist and naturalist who accompanied Cook, recorded the flora and fauna of southeastern coastal Australia, which he named New South Wales, indicating its possibilities for settlement.

Fifteen years after Cook's discovery, British Home Secretary Lord Sydney decided to set up a penal colony in Botany Bay (named by Banks), where Sydney is today. This was to accommodate the overflowing British jails resulting from the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, when former British colonies would no longer accept British convicts.

In January 1788 Captain Arthur Philip arrived at Sydney Harbor in charge of 11 ships, 717 convicts and an army detachment named the New South Wales Corps formed for the purpose of guarding them. Philip oversaw the settlement through 1792, its most critical years, due to lack of food and the unsuitability of convicts as pioneers. Although free settlers began arriving in Sydney from 1793 the main purpose of the settlement remained a repository of convicts.

Three lieutenant governors followed Philip; the third, William Bligh, earlier of the MUTINY ON THE

*BOUNTY*, was a man of such fiery temperament that his tenure ended with the Rum Rebellion. The cause was the illegal liquor traffic by officers of the New South Wales Corps, the prevalence of drunkenness, and consequent problems. Bligh's attempt to rein in the officers resulted in his ouster. Although the leaders of the revolt were punished, the British government recalled Bligh and undertook reforms.

The new governor was Colonel Lachlan MacQuarie who came with his own Scottish regiment. The New South Wales Corps was disbanded and replaced by regular British army units that were rotated for tours of duty. MacQuarie made extensive reforms, built up the infrastructure, and encouraged exploration into the interior as well as free immigration with land grants. The governors who followed him continued his policies, resulting in accelerated development. Between 1802 and 1803, Matthew Flinders circumnavigated Australia, proving that it was an island continent and that there was no separate island called New Holland. Flinders recommended the name *Australia* for the continent, which was accepted. In 1829 Great Britain laid claim to the whole continent.

In 1813 the first overland expedition penetrated the low mountain range that separated the coastal plains of eastern Australia from the interior. Many explorations into the interior discovered river valleys and great grassy plains suitable for agriculture and pasturage. Waves of settlers followed, encouraged by liberal land grants to free settlers and emancipists (convicts who had served their terms). The natives, known as aborigines, were hunter-gatherers and no match for the white settlers; they were killed, driven off, or survived on the fringes of white society.

Great Britain established several other penal colonies in Australia in addition to the one in Sydney. One established in 1803 in Tasmania was used to house the most violent convicts and to preempt a possible French attempt to seize the island; another was on Norfolk Island, off the eastern coast. In 1824 Brisbane, north of Sydney on the eastern coast, became another penal settlement—it became the capital of a colony called Queensland. In 1850, convicts were sent to Western Australia at the request of free settlers there because of a severe shortage of labor. Two colonies, Victoria and South Australia, never had penal settlements.

### END OF THE PENAL SYSTEM

As the number of free settlers grew, local opposition to continued transportation gained ground in the

Australian colonies. At the same time, the transportation of convicts to remote colonies was questioned in Britain. In 1837 a parliamentary committee investigating the question reported against its continuation, beginning the movement to abolish it.

The last convicts were landed in New South Wales in 1840. By then it had received almost 75,000 convicts, with 25,000 still under sentence. No more convicts were transported to Tasmania in 1853, it having received 67,000 since 1803.

The first move toward representative government came to New South Wales in 1823 with an appointed legislative council. It was enlarged in 1842 to include some elected members, the electorate limited to men, including emancipists, paying certain taxes. In 1850 the British parliament passed the Australian Colonies Government Act that gave each colony the right to set up its own legislature, determine franchise, tariffs, and make laws, subject to royal confirmation. The six Australian colonies became states: New South Wales (capital Sydney), Victoria (Melbourne), Queensland (Brisbane), South Australia (Adelaide), which also administered the Northern Territory, Tasmania (Hobart), and Western Australia (Perth).

Each state adopted a constitution that with slight variations provided for a bicameral legislature of elected members (initially on a restricted male franchise) and a cabinet government on the British model.

By the mid-19th century, the interior of Australia had been crisscrossed; gold and other mineral deposits had been discovered and were being worked; steamships and telegraph connected it with other parts of the world; and railway lines were being built. The foundations of an Australian nation had been laid.

See also AUSTRALIA: SELF-GOVERNMENT TO FEDERATION.

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## Australia: self-government to federation

Beginning with the establishment of the legislative council for New South Wales in 1823, the Australian colonies had gradually received increasing measures of self-government from the British Colonial Office. In 1850 the British parliament passed the Australian Colonies Government Act that allowed the colonies to set up their own legislatures, pass laws to determine the franchise, tariff rates, and alter their constitutions, all subject to royal confirmation. In the following years, most of the colonies adopted their constitutions with slight variations. All provided for a bicameral legislature of elected members and a cabinet on the British model (except for the most recently settled and most sparsely populated Western Australia, which established responsible government in 1890). Evidence of their autonomy was indicated when Great Britain accepted a law passed by the legislature of New South Wales in 1851 that forbade the landing of convicts in that state. The last state to stop receiving British convicts was Western Australia, in 1867.

There was rapid progress on many fronts during the second half of the 19th century, shown by the founding of public universities in each state and the introduction of compulsory public education. Railway building began in 1850, followed by the arrival of regular steamships that shortened the time of voyages, and the opening of telegraphic communications with other parts of the world. Other signs of maturity are indicated by the withdrawal of British forces from the continent in 1870 as the colonies established their own militias and the colonies agreeing to subsidize financially the British naval squadron stationed in Australian waters in 1890.

However, the lack of a central government for the continent created problems and confusion. For example, each of the states built its railways using different gauges: the standard gauge of 4 feet 8 ½ inches for New South Wales, the wide gauge of 5 feet 3 inches for Victoria, and a narrow gauge of 3 feet 6 inches for South Australia, Western Australia, and Queensland. Another question that needed a common approach was immigration. Few non-British immigrants had settled in Australia up to 1850. However, in the aftermath of the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851, peoples of many nationalities flooded to the gold fields. Disputes over taxation resulted in an uprising by German and Irish gold miners in November–December 1854 who proclaimed the Republic of Victoria—it was quickly put down.



It was the presence of 33,000 Chinese in the gold rush that led the legislature of Victoria to pass laws in 1855 that levied a heavy poll tax and put other restrictions on the Chinese that shut down Chinese immigration. New South Wales and South Australia followed with their own laws to restrict Chinese immigration, and they prevailed despite British government pressure against them. Two other issues also affected all the Australian colonies. One involved the importation of laborers from the Solomon and other islands to work in Australia, mostly in the sugarcane fields in Queensland.

The condition of these laborers (called Kanaka) approached slavery and needed regulation. Another involved national security over control of the eastern portion of New Guinea (the Netherlands had annexed the western half). Queensland was located nearest to New Guinea and was most anxious to control all western New Guinea. However, due to British reluctance to act promptly, Germany had already claimed the northern half, leaving only the southern part, which became a British colony in 1884.

These many issues contributed to the sentiment for forming a federation of all the Australian colonies. In 1885 the British parliament established a federal council to meet every two years to consult on problems that concerned all the colonies, but it was inadequate because it had no enforcement powers. The first Australian Federal Convention to create a union with more power met in Sydney in 1891. It was composed of members of all colonial legislatures, including those from New Zealand, another British possession, presided over by Sir Henry Parkes, and failed to win acceptance of all the states. A second convention met in Hobart (Tasmania) without New Zealand in 1897 and drafted a constitution that won acceptance.

The union was called the Commonwealth of Australia, a federation that resembled the United States. The federal government was to control foreign affairs, defense, trade, tariffs, currency, citizenship, post and telegraph, etc. It would be headed by a governor-general who represented the British monarch but would be governed by a prime minister and cabinet that had a majority in the lower house of Parliament called the House of Representatives, whose members represented districts based on population. The upper house, or Senate, had six senators from each state. A supreme court guarded and interpreted the constitution.

A new city whose location would be determined later would become the federal capital. (A site in New South Wales was later chosen and named Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.) After acceptance in a referendum held

in all states, the British parliament passed a bill of ratification. The Commonwealth of Australia came into being on January 1, 1901. After Canada (in 1867), Australia became the second self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth.

See also AUSTRALIA: EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Austro-Hungarian Empire

The Austro-Hungarian Empire came together in 1867 and lasted until 1918 when it was dissolved at the end of World War I. The political entity that was formed in 1867 was a method of trying to tie together the lands that were controlled by the Habsburg dynasty as a successor to the Austrian Empire that had been created in 1804.

From the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the Austrian Empire had been one of the major military and political powers in Europe, with Count (later Prince) METTERNICH, the leading Austrian politician, helping influence European politics through the congress system. However, in 1848, the uprisings and revolutions that took place throughout central Europe—many of which were unsuccessful but still shook the ruling classes—forced the Habsburg rulers of Austria to try to come up with another political entity that would help hold together the Habsburg dynasty. One of the places that caused the Habsburgs the most trouble in 1848 was in Hungary, where the liberal revolution was crushed with great difficulty. Although the Austrian Empire stayed together, Metternich was forced out of office, and Austria had to accept a military decline in spite of its size as the largest country in Europe after the Russian Empire. This military decline was clearly demonstrated by the defeat of

Austria in the Austro-Sardinian War of 1859 and then the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.

Count Belcredi, the Austrian prime minister, felt that the Austrian government should make considerable political concessions to Hungary to ensure the support of the Hungarian nobility and the rising middle class yet retain Vienna as the center of the new empire. The agreement that the Austrian government eventually decided upon was the *Ausgleich* (*kiegyezés* in Hungarian), otherwise known as the Compromise of 1867. This established the Austro-Hungarian Empire, by which there would be a union within a dual monarchy, whereby the king-emperor would be the head of the Habsburg family who would be emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, running a unified administration but under which there would be an Austrian, or Cisleithanian, government and a separate Hungarian government. Both would have their own parliaments, each with its own prime minister. Many parts of local administration would be run separately, but there would be a common government working under the monarchy that would have the responsibility of controlling the army, the navy, foreign policy, and customs matters.

The administration of education, postal systems, roads, and internal taxation would be split between the Austrian or the Hungarian governments, depending on geography. The Compromise also led to Emperor Franz Josef II being crowned as the king of Hungary, whereby he reaffirmed the historic privileges of Hungary and also confirmed the power of the newly created Hungarian parliament.

There were also some regional concessions. This largely involved some parts of Austria, officially known as Cisleithania, such as Galicia (formerly part of Poland) and Croatia maintaining a special status. In Croatia, the Croatian language was raised to a level equal with the Italian language, and in Galicia, the Polish language replaced the German language as the normal language of government in 1869. This did gain support from the Poles but not from the Ukrainian minority. From 1882 Slovenia was to have autonomy, with Slovenian replacing German as the dominant official language and with the Diet of Carniola governing the region from Laibach

(modern-day Ljubljana). In Bohemia and Moravia, Czech nationalists wanted the Czech language to be adopted, and there were subsequent concessions made in 1882. There was also another problem dealing with the ethnic Serbs in Vojvodina, where the Hungarians were eager not to allow any part of their kingdom to gain any special status.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was one controlled by the Austrian and Hungarian hereditary nobility, and this class system was to lead to many problems. The major one was the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the nephew of Emperor Franz Josef and heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, marrying Sophie Chotek, from a wealthy Czech family. This led to consternation at court, and the marriage was declared to be morganatic; their children could not inherit the throne. The Austrian prime minister, Count Taaffe, until 1893, managed to maintain the support of conservatives from the Czech, German, and Polish communities—known as the Iron Ring. However, some radical Czechs agitated for more power, with demonstrations in Czech-dominated Prague leading to the city being placed under martial law in 1893.

Franz Josef had offered parliament the choice of choosing a prime minister, but the issue of nationalities so divided the legislative body that after two years of indecision, Franz Josef appointed Count Badeni, the Polish governor of Galicia, to the prime ministership. He remained in power for two years—being ejected in 1897 with the Czechs opposing his plans for language reforms and getting the reforms repealed in 1899. Many of these problems were to become far more evident during World War I, which led to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its fragmentation.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD





## Balkan and East European insurrections

In the region between Germany, Russia, and the Balkan Peninsula, one nation after another lost its political independence, while others never even succeeded in gaining political independence to lose. In addition to the history of the empires that controlled East Central Europe and the Balkans, there is a history of nations striving for nationhood. The conquest of the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire was the dominant event of this region's history in the later Middle Ages. But when that advance turned into a retreat, the question of Eastern authority appeared. During the 1800s large numbers of Balkan peoples passed from Ottoman to Austrian rule. In addition to these political changes, the stimuli of the ENLIGHTENMENT spreading to eastern Europe promoted a revival of cultural and national traditions.

Romanians of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were among the first to expect liberation from Turkish rule, which Russia's victories in 1770 against the Ottomans seemed to make possible. The Küçük Kaynarca Treaty of 1774 shaped the future of the region. Russia was later to claim that it had won a right to interfere on behalf of the sultan's Orthodox subjects, giving those subjects the reassurance that they had an ally in Russia.

In Poland, divided between Austria, Russia, and Prussia between 1772 and 1795, a resistance movement began. This insurrection had a promising start in 1794, but the Prussian failure to support the Poles

was a devastating letdown. Consequently, the failed insurrection served as an excuse for the total dismemberment of the country.

### SERBIAN NATIONALISM

The Balkan nations' wars for independence started in Serbia, where the struggle against Ottoman rule continued throughout the Napoleonic period, in part because of the response that the ideology of the FRENCH REVOLUTION evoked within the region. Ottoman authority in Serbia was the weakest and foreign influence strongest than anywhere else in the Ottoman provinces. The revolutionary leader George Petrovich founded the Karageorgevich dynasty. The revolt began in 1804 with hope of success until another RUSSO-TURKISH WAR broke out two years later. Serbian insurgents were encouraged by a series of victories against regular Ottoman troops in 1805 and 1806, but also by the capture of Belgrade in January 1807. The Russians, however, abandoned the Serbs to their fate when the Peace of Bucharest was concluded in 1812.

The fight resumed in 1815, the year of the CONGRESS OF VIENNA, under a new leader, Milosh Obrenovich. His descendants were to be for almost 100 years the rivals of the Karageorgevich. Obrenovich realized that independence would not be won immediately, so he tried to gain gradual concessions from the Ottomans. In 1817 Obrenovich became prince of a small Serbia with partial autonomy. Advantage was taken of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29. This time, the peace treaty included full autonomy for Serbia, and in 1830, Obrenovich was

recognized as hereditary ruler, and Serbia's territory was enlarged. In 1839 the parliament (created in 1835) elected the son of George Petrovich, Alexander, under whom great progress was made toward unity with the Croats. The center of the Yugoslav movement was in Montenegro, where the throne was occupied by Petar Njegosh from 1830 to 1851.

### **GREEK NATIONALISM**

In Greece the new-Hellenic movement wanted to create an independent Greek state. That movement had a strong appeal in western Europe, and the Greeks had a good chance to find outside support. Prince Alexander Ypsilanti raised a rebellion against the Turks in 1821, and a genuine Greek insurrection broke out simultaneously. Russia seized the opportunity to intervene along with Britain and France, thus accelerating the achievement of independence. Instead of merely an autonomous status, the independence of Greece had to be recognized by the Ottoman Empire in the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. The treaty confirmed the autonomous position of the Danubian principalities and recognized the autonomy of Serbia.

### **POLISH, UKRAINIAN, AND CZECH NATIONALISM**

In former Poland an insurrection against Russian rule broke out in November 1830. Under Czar ALEXANDER I, the Poles were deeply disappointed. Alexander's promises proved impossible to fulfill. The tension increased when Alexander died in 1825. His successor, Nicholas I, considered the parliamentary regime of Poland incompatible with the Russian autocratic form of government. Hence the Poles rose in defense of their constitution, and the struggle ended in a Russian victory. The uprising saw participation in the Lithuanian and Ruthenian regions contributing to the rise of Lithuanian and Ukrainian nationalism.

The Ukrainian movement was influenced by the rising ideology of Pan-Slavism. In contrast to the Poles, the Ukrainians claimed cultural autonomy rather than independence. Such ideas belonged to the group that founded the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in 1846. The name indicates its ideas of Slavic solidarity on religious grounds and its cultural character. But it was also dedicated to the idea of national freedom. In Russia's Baltic provinces, the local self-government favored the small German upper class. There was a separation between these German Balts and the Latvian and Estonian peasant population, but among both non-German groups, a cultural revival emerged during the

first half of the 19th century. The movement began with the study of folklore and the appearance of newspapers in the native tongues.

The same change from cultural to political nationalism can be found in the Austrian Empire. Since 1830, the *Matica ceska* (Czech mother) encouraged the use of the Czech language, thereby reviving national traditions in opposition to Austria. Czech writers of Slovak origin contributed to the revival of those Slavs who had never experienced independent states, like the Slovenes and the Slovaks. Playing the various nationalities against one another, the government used Czech officials in Polish Galicia and welcomed the antagonism between the Magyars and the other groups in Hungary. Hungarian nationalism, too, made rapid progress. The Hungarian Diet prescribed instruction in the Magyar language in the schools of Croatia. Croat nationalism was more alarmed by the pressure coming from Budapest than by the centralization being promoted in Vienna. The idea of Yugoslav unity became popular when the writer Ljudevit Gaj propagated the Illyrian movement.

### **HABSBURG MONARCHY**

Another crisis began with a Polish insurrection directed against all three partitioning powers. Fighting started on May 9, 1848, and the insurrectionary forces had to capitulate. A violent anti-Polish reaction followed. In Austria, too, the Polish question was reopened, and concessions were made. When Polish activity was transferred to the eastern part of Galicia, the Austrian government favored the claim of the Ruthenians. The whole province was again subject to strict control by the central authorities.

During the 1848 Revolution Bohemia was invited to send representatives to the Frankfurt parliament, but the invitation was declined by historian and new Czech leader František Palacky. When a revolution broke out in Vienna in March 1848, there seemed to be hope of cooperation among peoples who anticipated that their national rights would receive consideration under a liberal constitution. The Slavic Congress opened in Prague on June 2, 1848, and delegates met to represent their constituents' desire that a reorganization of the Habsburg dynasty would give them a chance for freedom. In the end, the congress was disbanded. A constituent assembly drafted a constitution that would satisfy the claims of the various nationalities. Self-government was provided for each of the historic lands of the monarchy. Although constructive, these ideas never materialized.

The Slavs, though a majority in the Habsburg monarchy, were not the only group that had to be taken into consideration. Any change in authority was met with opposition between the historic concept of Hungary and the aspirations of the non-Magyar nationalities. They were afraid of the Magyar leaders and were not prepared to recognize the equality of all nationalities. The Slavs and the Croats were the strongest opponents of the Hungarian Revolution. Fearing for Croatia's traditional autonomy, the Croat army crushed the Magyars. Even the occupation of Budapest in early 1849 did not put an end to the Magyar resistance. They decided to dethrone the Habsburgs, and in April 1849 declared Hungary's independence. The Magyars had to fight both the Austrians and the Russians because the emperor had enlisted Russian aid. Attacked by superior forces, the Hungarians had to surrender in August 1849. For their uprising and resistance, the Hungarians were ruthlessly punished. The non-Magyar nationalities were equally disappointed; even Croatia lost its autonomy. Only the Poles made some progress toward independence.

#### ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE AND UNIFICATION

In 1853 the **CRIMEAN WAR** started as one more conflict between Turkey and Russia. The next year, France and Britain came to Turkey's aid. The matter of Russia protecting the Christians in Turkey was connected with the problem of the liberation of the Balkan peoples. In the wake of its defeat in the Crimean War, it turned out that Russia was less weakened than the Ottoman Empire was. At the 1856 peace conference in Paris, only the Romanians made their problems known. The sultan had to enlarge the autonomy of both Romanian principalities.

The delayed unification of the two Danubian principalities seemed a prerequisite for a fully independent Romanian state. In 1858 Moldavia and Wallachia received the right to choose their own princes. The choice of the same prince by both of them ended their separation in 1859. But even then, Romania was far from including all Romanian populations, which remained partly under Austrian and Russian rule, while the principality (and Serbia) remained under Ottoman suzerainty. Serbia was going through a crisis because of the feud of the two dynasties, and as a result of this, Obrenovich returned to power in 1858. He resumed the idea of cooperation with the other Balkan peoples. Despite his assassination in 1868, his policy was continued.

#### POLISH UPRISING

Another Polish insurrection broke out in January 1863. As early as 1860 patriotic demonstrations had created tension. The independence movement created a National Committee that decided to arm the peasants in preparation for the planned uprising. Russian countermeasures hastened the outbreak of the insurrection. It found support in Lithuania, while it proved impossible to win the Ukrainian peasants, and the uprising was quickly crushed. Poland was turned into another Russian province. Even more complete was the elimination of everything Polish in historic Lithuania. The Russians decided to stop the national movement among the Lithuanians by forcing them to use the Russian alphabet. Thus Lithuanian nationalism developed in Prussia, which did not consider its Lithuanian minority dangerous. The Poles had no similar opportunities, but instead they found possibilities for cultural progress in Austria. The Habsburg dynasty officially promoted Catholicism, which was an advantage for the Poles. In spite of the Polish presence in Galicia, the Ruthenian population of that province also found conditions favorable to national development.

#### DUAL MONARCHY

The reorganization of Austria took place with an 1867 compromise with Hungary and the establishment of basic laws determining the constitution of the Austrian part of what was now a dual monarchy. **FRANZ JOSEF**, Emperor of Austria, admitted the difficulties of ruling a multinational state in which non-Germans constituted about three-quarters of the population. After the disastrous war of 1866 against Prussia and Italy, the emperor tried to federalize the Habsburg dynasty. But he was inclined to an intermediary solution, fully satisfactory only to the Magyars. In its historic boundaries, Hungary was recognized as an independent state with its own constitution, parliament, and government, reducing the ties with Austria to the creation of joint ministries for foreign affairs, war, and common financial affairs.

Much less satisfactory was the situation of the other nationalities of Hungary. Only the Croats in 1868 received autonomy in an additional compromise. There remained in Croatia an opposition to that settlement. Furthermore, the 1867 compromise did not end pressures from other nationalities for equality and independence. In Hungary, the Yugoslav movement was strengthened by the existence of independent Serbia. The South Slavs were in a situation similar to that of the Romanians in Transylvania and of the Slovaks and

Ruthenians. Neither group had any autonomous rights or guarantees of free cultural development.

A part of the Croats and all the Slovenes, together with the Czechs, the Poles, and the Ukrainians of Galicia, and some Romanians, remained under the Austrian part of the monarchy. They were disappointed by the fact that, unlike Hungary, the other areas of the kingdom only received provincial autonomy, with equal rights for all languages in local administration, the courts, and the schools. Even the Poles had to give up claims for a real national self-government. Particularly opposed to the 1867 settlement were the Czechs. Under these conditions, the leadership of the Czech national movement passed from the moderate Old Czechs to the radical Young Czechs.

### **BULGARIAN NATIONALISM**

During the 1870s another Balkan crisis was approaching in connection with the Bulgarian independence movement. When the Turks repressed a revolt in 1876 in Bulgaria, Russia again intervened and made an agreement with Austria and Hungary. The Balkan Peninsula was divided into autonomous states, and both Austria and Hungary were promised some rewards in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The conflict ended in a complete victory for Russia, allied with all Balkan nations. In the Peace Treaty of San Stefano, signed on March 3, 1878, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro were declared fully independent, and a large Bulgarian state was created. The borders, however, conflicted with the aspirations of other Balkan peoples. Alarmed at this extension of Russia's influence, European leaders met to discuss boundaries at an international congress held in Berlin, where the Peace of San Stefano was completely revised.

The disappointment felt by the Bulgarians convinced them that Russia was their only protector. Serbia and Romania became independent principalities. In Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, the nephew of the Russian czar, was chosen as prince. There was a strong movement for real independence, both in the principality and in the Turkish province of Eastern Rumelia. These incompatible policies led to inevitable clashes in which Alexander proved unpredictable. The union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria was finally achieved in 1885. Battenberg's replacement by Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg in 1887 strengthened German and Austro-Hungarian influence in Bulgaria.

In the 1878 Berlin Congress, Austria was granted the provisional right to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina. That acquisition introduced almost 2 million Orthodox and Muslims into the Habsburg realm. This was a blow

to Serbia, which had hoped to gain these provinces with their predominantly Serbian population. Nevertheless, after 1878 Serbia pursued a pro-Austrian policy under Obrenovich, who proclaimed himself king of Serbia in 1882. When he declared war on Bulgaria in 1885 after Bulgaria's occupation of Eastern Rumelia, Serbia was defeated. After securing Thessaly from Turkey in 1881, Greece fought another war against the Ottoman Empire in 1897 that only brought minor remedies regarding the Thessalian frontier.

### **ONGOING NATIONALISTIC CONFLICT**

It was not until the 1905 revolution that Europe realized the importance of nationalism within the Russian Empire. Before that crisis, the dissatisfaction of the non-Russian minorities did not appear to be serious. In the czarist empire, the Russian majority seemed immense because the Ukrainians and the White Russians were not official nationalities. However, the larger non-Russian ethnic groups made steady progress in their national consciousness. The Byelorussians, the Ukrainians, and other nationalities formed a belt of foreign elements along Russia's western frontier. Russia kept even the most developed nationalities under strict control. Even the Poles had to postpone their hopes for liberation, focusing instead on economic and social progress.

In the Baltic, the Estonians and the Latvians emerged in opposition to Russification. Landmark events in the rise of Estonian nationalism included the compilation of the national epic (*Kalevipoeg*, published 1857–61) and a later collection of popular traditions. Similarly, the Latvians created their own epic (*Lacplesis*) and started a collection of popular songs. The Lithuanian national renaissance was different because a medieval tradition of independence could be evoked. A new tendency arose that disregarded the tradition of the former Polish-Lithuanian Union and based Lithuanian nationalism on ethnic and linguistic grounds. Writing in the Lithuanian language was making progress despite restrictions imposed by the Russian government. Lithuania's nationalism, however, carried no clearly expressed political aim.

Discouraged by Russia's imperialism, many Slavs looked with hope to the Habsburg monarchy, where the problem of nationalities was continually discussed in an entirely different spirit from that in the czarist empire. The nationalities of Austria and Hungary were divided into two groups—nations that were living entirely within the monarchy and those with smaller fragments in other nations. As for the latter, an additional distinction should be made between minorities attracted by an

independent nation on the other side of the border (as within the Serbs and the Romanians) and those who had no nation of their own at all (as in the case of the Poles and the Ukrainians).

The Hungarians, fearful of Slavic influence, were invested in the future of the Dual Monarchy, in which they enjoyed a privileged position. After 1876 the trend toward Magyarization of all non-Magyar nationalities became even stronger. Even Croatia's autonomy was hardly respected. The controversies between Magyars and Croats were a special danger because they opened the question of Yugoslav authority. Despite old rivalries that separated Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, the movement toward Yugoslav unity made progress. There was unrest among these southern Slavs that was exacerbated by influences from the independent states of Serbia and Montenegro. Any concession to the Yugoslavs meant a revival of the Czech claims for a restoration of their historic statehood.

In the Balkans, but not in east-central Europe, the 19th century saw the formation of several independent states. A first period between 1800 and 1830 brought some national liberation during the first Balkan revolutions against Ottoman rule. Next came a long period (lasting from 1830–78) of political and social development, while a third phase saw the inclusion of the Balkan peoples into the European power play during the age of imperialism between 1878 and 1903.

The development of a national consciousness of all these peoples varied according to the different political and social conditions prevailing in the respective regions. National consciousness, formerly limited to the upper strata of society, penetrated into the lower classes. Considerable political development occurred under Habsburg rule. As the Ottoman Empire weakened in the 19th century, the Balkan nations began to reemerge, though their independence was compromised as they became pawns for competing European powers. Revolutionary risings were frequent under the Ottomans and, as far as the Poles are concerned, in the czarist empire.

All these processes had both nationalistic and agrarian elements. The former aimed primarily at the organization of national states, while the latter was marked by endeavors to get rid of foreign landlords. The Balkan people, up to the eve of World War I, profited from the Ottoman Empire's notorious weakness. The non-German Habsburg peoples in the Austrian part of that empire were awarded some degree of cultural autonomy, while in Hungary only the Magyars reached their goal of a practically autonomous state. The Russians

faced a massive wave of Russification after the disastrous failure of several Polish uprisings. The final elimination of all political freedom through and after the partitions of Poland between 1772 and 1795 struck a nation with such a long tradition of independence that the divided Polish territories remained throughout the 19th century a permanent center of unrest. Nevertheless, non-Russian people made considerable progress in cultural, social, and economic matters, thereby preparing the way for their independence after 1918.

See also GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE; POLAND, PARTITIONS OF; POLISH REVOLUTIONS.

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MARTIN MOLL

## Banerji, Surendranath

(1848–1925) *Indian statesman*

Surendranath Banerji (also Banerjea, Banerjee) was one of the creators of modern India and a staunch proponent of an autonomous Indian nation within the British Commonwealth. He was born in Calcutta to a Brahman family and, after earning his B.A. in English literature in Calcutta, traveled to London in 1869 to take the examination to join the Indian Civil Service. (This examination was not offered in India until 1921.) He achieved a high score but was disqualified over a misunderstanding about his age. When this was clarified, he received an appointment for three years, until he was dismissed for a minor rule infraction. Banerji later recalled that these early experiences demonstrated to him the essential injustice of British rule and the powerlessness of the Indian people under it.

Banerji returned to India to work as a journalist and educator, and in 1876 founded the Indian Association, the first nationalist political association in Bengal (an area now divided between northeastern India and



Bangladesh). The aim of this association was to encourage Indians of different religious backgrounds to work together, although it was never entirely successful. The Indian Association did, however, serve as the vehicle for India's nationalist movement and attracted ambitious members of the Indian middle and upper classes (like Banerji himself) who sought greater political and economic opportunities. In 1879 Banerji purchased a newspaper, *The Bengalee*, which he edited for 40 years. This paper served as a mouthpiece for the Indian Nationalist movement and had the highest circulation of any Indian weekly paper of its time.

Banerji was an effective political speaker and was twice elected president of the Indian National Congress. He advocated moderation and the achievement of reforms through the political process, and he believed the goal of British policy should be for eventual self-government for India. He also argued that India should have a constitution similar to that of Canada and that basic civil rights such as habeas corpus should be ensured. Banerji was knighted in 1921 and accepted the post of minister of local self-government in Bengal. His moderate political views were not always popular with the local populace, and after defeat in 1924 by a more radical *Swaraj* (independence party) candidate, Banerji retired from public life to write his memoirs, published in 1925 as *A Nation in the Making*.

See also BRAHMO AND ARYA SAMAJ.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

## Banks of the United States, First and Second

Between 1791 and 1836, two federally chartered banks, both headquartered in Philadelphia, helped the United States manage its national wealth and regulate economic activity. Always controversial, each bank in turn

faced major political and managerial obstacles. When ANDREW JACKSON denied the Second Bank a new charter, America's experiment with central banking ended, not to be restored until the 20th century.

In 1790 Treasury Secretary ALEXANDER HAMILTON submitted to Congress what he believed would be a permanent solution to the young nation's shaky finances. His proposed national bank unleashed deep-rooted anxieties about the use and abuse of money and newer concerns for legitimacy. The recently ratified CONSTITUTION gave little guidance on monetary issues. THOMAS JEFFERSON, then secretary of state, was one of many Americans who believed that only specie—gold and silver coins—was honest. Paper notes and financial instruments could be (and were) used to cheat honest people while enriching corrupt businessmen and speculators. Creation of a powerful national bank raised tensions between North and South, farmers and merchants, debtors and creditors. Some feared that European investors would use the bank to undermine national independence.

After a secret meeting at which Hamilton agreed to a plan creating a capital district near Virginia, the First Bank of the United States won a 20-year charter from a regionally split Congress. Opening in 1791, it was both a private, profit-making corporation and a government agency. Five of the bank's 25 directors were presidential nominees requiring Senate confirmation. The bank's public duties included issuing paper money, collecting federal taxes, and paying federal debts, all on behalf of the Treasury.

Although President Jefferson never welcomed this powerful institution, he generally worked with it harmoniously. Meanwhile, privately held and state-chartered banks proliferated. Under pressure from local interests, especially after Jefferson's 1803 LOUISIANA PURCHASE, the bank authorized eight regional branches. In this era of slow travel and communications, this posed a problem of central oversight and led to a scandal for the Second Bank.

As the largest U.S. corporation, the bank was a lightning rod for political attacks. When the bank's charter expired in 1811, it failed by one vote in each house to win renewal. President JAMES MADISON's distrust of banking, added to denunciations by competing state banks and the enmity of important businessmen, helped kill the First Bank as the WAR OF 1812 loomed.

While British troops attacked Washington and other important sites, the Treasury struggled to finance the war and protect the economy. Many of the nation's 200 state and regional banks issued paper currency of

dubious value; some banks failed. At war's end, Madison called for a new bank, as did House Speaker Henry Clay, who had helped kill the first one. In 1816 the Second Bank of the United States won a 20-year charter and soon opened in a new Philadelphia location.

Organized on the same public-private lines as the previous bank, the Second Bank had a rocky start. During the panic of 1819, it abruptly curtailed lending, harming its reputation. In the Baltimore branch, a group of officials, including cashier James McCulloch, embezzled more than 1 million dollars. Ironically, McCulloch also figured in a major 1819 victory for the bank. Maryland, at the behest of its state banks, had imposed a tax on the federal bank's local operations. In its unanimous *McCulloch v. Maryland* decision, the Supreme Court declared the bank to be a "necessary and proper" use of federal power and forbade state taxation.

In 1823 Philadelphian Nicholas Biddle was promoted to the bank's presidency and began reshaping its oversight mission and role in the economy. Generally considered a banking success, although he lacked business training, Biddle would fail politically, as his arrogance and restrictive policies collided with the fiscal exuberance of an era of explosive growth.

Andrew Jackson was steeped in Jeffersonian ideals of agrarian republicanism. He opposed public debt, paper money, and federally financed improvements. The president's intentions toward the bank vacillated. He reappointed Biddle yet called the bank a "hydra of corruption" in his first message to Congress. Jackson's inner circle, including New York political mastermind Martin Van Buren, had additional reasons for undercutting Biddle's bank. A rivalry for banking predominance pitted New York City and Philadelphia. Elsewhere, Jacksonian entrepreneurs and speculators seethed over Biddle's efforts to curb credit and restrain inflation.

In 1832, a presidential election year, Biddle made a serious political error. He allowed anti-Jackson political leaders, including Henry Clay, to persuade him to force Jackson's hand by pressing for charter renewal four years early. Congress passed the extension but could not override the president's July veto, the first significant veto in U.S. history. In his fiery message, Jackson called the bank an enemy of "the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers."

Easily beating Clay to win a second term, Jackson was not content to allow the bank to complete its remaining years. By the fall of 1833 Treasury Secretary Roger B. Taney (later Supreme Court Chief Justice) had found ways to transfer government deposits

from the bank to so-called "pet" banks that supported Jacksonian initiatives. By 1836, when the bank ceased to exist, deposits had been moved to 91 of the nation's 600 banks.

The death of the Second Bank of the United States was not the only cause of the orgy of lending, speculation, and bank failure that fed the panic of 1837, but it was an important factor. Financial and political battles over gold or silver, greenbacks or hard currency, roiled the 19th century, fueling populism after the CIVIL WAR. Centralized banking did not reemerge until a Federal Reserve banking system was established in 1913 under President Woodrow Wilson.

See also FINANCIAL PANICS IN NORTH AMERICA; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## baroque culture in Latin America

The term *baroque*—originally a pejorative label meaning "absurd" or "grotesque"—is used to designate the artistic style that flourished in Europe and abroad in the 17th and early 18th centuries. The baroque influence reached Latin America in the mid-17th century and continued to make its presence felt long after 1750, the year conventionally given as the end of the baroque movement in Europe. The artistic movement, which originated in Rome in tandem with the Catholic Counter-Reformation, emphasized vigorous movement and emotional intensity. Baroque works were typically characterized by a highly ornamental style and extensive use of decorative detail. Given the movement's roots in the Counter-Reformation, it comes as little surprise that most (though certainly not all) baroque art served a religious purpose. Life-sized images aimed to capture the emotional states of their subjects (typically biblical figures), so that viewers could connect with the subject on an emotional level. On major holy days, religious statues, often dressed in ornamental garments, were paraded through the streets of Latin American cities.

While Latin American culture was clearly influenced by European styles and aesthetic ideals, Latin American baroque was by no means a mere duplicate of

European artistic forms. Baroque music was generally more lively and less technically complex in a Latin American context than it was in Europe. European innovations in the visual arts were selectively appropriated and transformed to suit a very different context. The result was a hybridization of European, Indian, and African cultural influences. Many baroque churches in Latin America, for example, include detailed carvings and other ornamentation that incorporate elements of indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices. Similarly, paintings and sculptures from the baroque era often portray their subjects clad in the native garments or situated in surroundings suggestive of the local climate and geography. The biblical scenes found in the interior of the San Francisco Church in Santa Fé de Bogotá, Colombia, for example, depict biblical figures in a rich tropical environment.

Some of the finest examples of Latin American baroque art and architecture can be seen in the work of Antônio Francisco Lisboa, known more popularly as O Aleijadinho (the “Little Cripple”). This Brazilian sculptor and architect’s masterpieces include baroque churches in São João del Rei and Ouro Preto, as well as the statuary (most famously the Twelve Prophets carved out of soapstone) at the Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Matozinho in Congonhas do Campo. Aleijadinho’s work, some of which he produced in the early years of the 19th century, serves as a reminder of the inapplicability of rigid periodization of artistic styles in the Latin American context.

The decades following independence witnessed a backlash against baroque culture among educated elites in Latin America. The movement for political independence had been inspired in large part by European ENLIGHTENMENT ideals, and it was to European—and particularly to French neoclassicist—ideals that the Creole elites turned for a cultural model on which to base their newly independent societies. On a more popular level, however, devotional art and pageantry and other expressions of popular culture continued to demonstrate a taste for theatricality and ornamentation characteristic of baroque culture well into the 19th century and beyond. In fact, the enduring presence of baroque aesthetic norms can still be observed in Latin American cultural expression.

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KATHLEEN RUPPERT

## Beecher family

*U.S. ministers and reformers*

Bestriding the 19th century, members of the large and well-educated New England–based family headed by patriarch Lyman Beecher would play crucial roles in the development of American Protestant theology, women’s education, and the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. Daughter Harriet Beecher Stowe’s antislavery best seller, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, was credited with helping to spark the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR; her elder sister, Catharine, reinvented women’s household work as home economics. Their brother Henry Ward Beecher was one of America’s most successful preachers before the scandalous 1875 adultery trial that almost destroyed him.

Born in 1775 to a long line of Connecticut blacksmiths, Lyman Beecher studied at Yale College and was ordained a Congregationalist minister in 1798. At a time when the staunch Puritanism of early New England was giving way to Unitarianism and TRANSCENDENTALISM, Lyman Beecher clung to the harsher beliefs of the First GREAT AWAKENING. He would enjoy national fame and weather severe disapproval during ministerial postings in Hartford, Boston, and Cincinnati, where he was preacher, professor, and president of the fledgling Lane Theological Seminary. A stern but loving father, Lyman Beecher was deeply involved in the religious and professional lives of his 11 children by two marriages. He saw all seven of his sons become clergymen before he died in 1863.

His eldest child, Catharine, lost her fiancé, a promising mathematician, in a shipwreck and devoted her life thereafter to female education. Beginning in 1823 when she established the Hartford Female Seminary (soon hiring sister Harriet as a teacher), Catharine advocated an expanded academic curriculum for girls and helped make teaching an honored career for women at a time when men still dominated education. Her 1841 *Treatise on Domestic Economy* was a huge success, endowing women’s work with scientific rigor. In 1850 she founded Milwaukee Female College, where young women were trained systematically to become



Harriet Beecher Stowe, her father, Lyman, and her brother Henry Ward. The Beechers were prominent abolitionists and reformers.

respected homemakers. Yet she continued, despite her own independent achievements, to proclaim male superiority at a time when other women were beginning to agitate for equality.

Harriet recalled stories of cruelty she heard as a child and developed a keen understanding of slavery and racism as a wife and mother in Cincinnati, on the border between free Ohio and slave Kentucky. Moving back east in 1850 with her theology professor husband, Calvin Stowe, she became keenly aware of the uproar over the just-enacted Fugitive Slave Law. Inspired by events and encouraged by family members, Harriet began writing. The first installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in a tiny periodical on June 5, 1851. When the entire novel appeared the next year, millions of copies were sold. The book was an international moral and literary triumph despite hate letters from Southerners, one possibly containing the severed ear of a slave. Harriet wrote more best sellers in a long writing career; none would approach the impact of *Uncle Tom*.

Her younger brother, Henry Ward, first resisted a religious vocation, but having yielded to his father's dearest wish, became a huge success. After eight years ministering in malarial Indianapolis, where his cautious antislavery sermons sometimes put him in harm's way, Henry was invited to lead a new Congregational church in Brooklyn, New York. This "bully" pulpit was well paid, prestigious, and a place where the elo-

quent Henry could gain national attention. Unlike Lyman, Henry was no Calvinist. God's love, not God's implacable wrath, infused his sermons.

Soon, Henry was a celebrity, drawing huge Sunday crowds. He counseled temperance, denounced America's Mexican War, and took up collections to free slaves, although he long resisted abolitionism and remained patronizing toward African Americans' potential for full citizenship. After the Civil War, he supported WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, despite opposition from his wife and his sister Catharine.

Preacher, writer, novelist, and journalist, Henry almost lost it all when Theodore Tilton, one of his closest associates, accused the minister of an adulterous affair with his wife, Elizabeth. It was almost certainly true and may not have been Henry's only affair. He denied it steadfastly; Mrs. Tilton kept changing her story. The trial lasted almost six months, ending with the jury voting nine to three to acquit. Tarnished, Henry resumed his career on the national lecture circuit, raking in high appearance fees. In later years, he condemned labor unions but stood up for Native Americans and Jewish immigrants.

The offspring of Lyman Beecher, through both achievements and mistakes, played a major role in transforming their America. Leading the way to more socially conscious religious practices, they also helped destroy slavery and elevated women's roles, foreshadowing greater changes to come.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Berlin, Congress of (1878)

The Congress of Berlin in July 1878 was held in response to nationalistic revolts against Ottoman Turks in the Balkans between 1875 and 1877. In 1875 the peasants of Bosnia had rebelled against their Turkish landlords, bringing fellow Slavic states such as Serbia and Montenegro to their aid. Although the Turks defeated the Serbians and Montenegrins, the Balkan conflagration spread to Bulgaria, where the population rose in revolt against Turkish rule. The atrocities perpetuated against Bulgarian insurgents—real, imagined, and exaggerated—had an impact on public opinion in Europe.

In the wake of these revolts, Pan-Slavic sentiment supported Russian intervention to come to the rescue of their Orthodox coreligionists and Slavic brothers. They went to war in the summer of 1877 and, early in 1878 after vigorous Turkish resistance, forces were approaching Constantinople, the Ottoman capital. The Turks then signed the Treaty of San Stefano. Under those terms Serbia and Romania became officially independent (they had long enjoyed *de facto* sovereignty), and Montenegro had its independence confirmed.

It was the fear of other powerful nations, especially Austria and Great Britain, that led to the assembly of the congress. The Treaty of San Stefano had, in fact, been made because these powers had threatened to intervene. Austria had moved troops to the border of Romania, where it could strike at the flank of Russian troops if necessary, and the British fleet entered the straits adjacent to Constantinople so as to bombard Constantinople if Russia attempted to take it. This concern was related to the EASTERN QUESTION, which dealt with control of the Strait, including access to the Dardenelles (which controlled the route between the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Bosphorus (the link between Asia and Europe)). The decline of Turkey, the ruler of the Straits, had aroused fear and uncertainty regarding the future of these important passageways. When the British noted that Russia's entrance into Constantinople would be cause for war, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed.

Without regard for the anxiety of other European powers, Russia dictated the treaty to create a huge Bulgaria that not only included Bulgaria proper but most of Macedonia from the Aegean to the Serbian border. Other Turkish areas were taken (with the exception of Albania), and Russia annexed territories that it had conquered in the Caucasus. Austria and Italy were opposed to the treaty, and Britain feared that Russian dominance of the Straits would endanger British dominance in the Mediterranean and the route to India. Other Balkan states such as Greece and Serbia opposed the creation of a large Bulgaria, and Romania resented the loss of all of Bessarabia to Russia and part of its southern province of Dobruja to Bulgaria.

German Chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK realized his carefully constructed system of alliances would be torn asunder, so he invited Russia, Great Britain, and Austria to a German-hosted conference held in Berlin. The results of this Congress of Berlin (also attended by France and Italy) were much less favorable to Russia, which had to give back some of the territory it had won in the Caucasus. In effect, Bismarck supported Austria

over fellow Russian member in the Three Emperors' League of Austria, Germany, and Russia. The Bulgaria of San Stefano was split into three parts. Eastern Rume-  
lia, the southeastern section, received a Christian governor but remained under the military and police control of the Turks (in 1885 it was annexed to Bulgaria). The north was made a virtually independent monarchy under a king (and in 1908 its independence was declared), and the rest, including Macedonia, was given back to the Turks.

Other changes took place. Greece received Thes-  
saly to the north; Great Britain received Cyprus as a protectorate; and Austria received the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina as protectorates. The result of the Congress of Berlin was ultimately negative. Although BENJAMIN DISRAELI, British prime minister, informed the Turks that they had been given breathing space, he also cynically observed that he doubted that they would take it. He was correct in that assumption. Russia became estranged from Germany's ally, Austria, and closer to France, Germany's greater enemy. Austria's acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina infuriated the Serbs who began a campaign for the territory that ultimately led to World War I when the heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia.

See also BALKAN AND EAST EUROPEAN INSURRECTIONS; BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Bismarck, Otto von

(1815–1898) *German statesman*

Otto von Bismarck was born on April 1, 1815, at his family's estate of Schoenhausen in Prussia. The same year, Prussia became again the most important country in Germany when its army under Field Marshal von Blücher would help the British duke of Wellington defeat NAPOLEON I at Waterloo, on June 18, 1815. Bismarck came

from the hereditary warrior caste of the Junkers, Prussian nobles who had centuries before formed the cutting edge of the campaigns of the Teutonic knights in their wars in eastern Europe. At first, Bismarck did not follow the traditional Prussian Junker calling into the military, but took up legal studies in Hanover, Göttingen, and Berlin. Bismarck showed a disinclination toward the practice of law; his interest centered on a career in diplomacy.

When the wave of revolutions swept throughout Europe in 1848, Bismarck was a conservative and relieved to see the revolutions largely fail. In France, the revolution did succeed, and NAPOLEON III, the nephew of Prussia's old nemesis Napoleon, was elected to power. Nevertheless, Bismarck was not a doctrinaire conservative but more of a political pragmatist ready to adopt ideas from political liberalism that would benefit Prussia. Throughout his career, Bismarck was characterized by this political adaptability, which helped to make him the master statesman of his day.

Bismarck became a rising star in the Prussian diplomatic service, which had been the fast track to success in the kingdom since the time of FREDERICK THE GREAT, who by his death in 1786 had made the comparatively small monarchy one of the great powers in Europe. He was sent to represent Prussia in France in 1862 and in czarist Russia in 1859, two of the three countries that could either help—or inhibit—Prussian foreign interests.

The Austrian Empire, as heir to the old Holy Roman Empire that Napoleon had destroyed in 1806, would prove to be the most important diplomatic threat to Prussian ambitions. While the Holy Roman Empire might be no more, the German Confederation existed in its place, and Prussia chafed at being subordinate to Austria. In 1851 King Frederick William (Friedrich Wilhelm) IV, in recognition of Bismarck's loyalty during the 1848 uprising, appointed him to the Diet, or assembly, of the Confederation as Prussia's representative. In one way or the other, von Bismarck would remain at the center of German affairs for the next four decades. At this time, Britain, ruled by Queen VICTORIA, treated developments in Europe, so long as one power did not become too powerful, as a second-class interest against those of Britain's developing empire overseas.

Bismarck made clear from the start that he had little liking for letting Austria take the lead in German affairs and believed that Prussia should lead instead. After serving as Prussia's minister to France and Russia and as Prussia's representative to the German Federal Diet in Frankfurt, he was rewarded with the positions



*Germany's most notable diplomat, Otto von Bismarck, oversaw the unification of Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm I.*

of Prussian foreign minister and prime minister in 1862. Well-schooled in diplomacy among the Great Powers, he would find politics within Prussia to be an entirely different game than the diplomatic game of nations. The kings and Bismarck came grudgingly to live with the political liberals and to realize that some accommodation with liberalism was needed if the country was to be governed at all.

Bismarck saw the army as the key to Prussia's future. On February 1, 1864, a combined Prussian-Austrian army swept over the German frontier to invade Schleswig-Holstein and the Danish garrison occupying it. In August 1865 the Convention of Gastein apportioned Holstein to Austria and Schleswig to Prussia. Although the situation seemed resolved, Bismarck secretly hoped for a casus belli, a cause of war, with the Austrians. Mutual attacks in the parliament of the German Confederation between the Prussian and Austrian representatives were finally followed by a Prussian invasion of Austrian-held Holstein. Open hostilities soon broke out between Prussia and Austria. On July 3, 1866, Prussian commander Helmuth von Moltke launched his attack on the

Austrians and their Hungarian allies. In the Six Weeks' War, the Prussians and their German allies defeated the Austrians and Hungarians. Peace between Prussia and Austria came in the Treaty of Prague in August 1866.

To Bismarck, the defeat of Austria was only a means to remove Austria from the German equation—to leave Germany's destiny in Prussian hands. Accordingly, out of the war came the North German Confederation, which Bismarck saw as a stepping stone to complete Prussian domination of the Germanic states. Bavaria, a southern contender for prominence, had also been humbled—but not crushed—during the Austrian war. With FRANZ JOSEF of Austria-Hungary removed from the equation, there was only one player on the European scene with plans for Germany: Emperor Napoleon III of France.

Although popularly elected in the wake of the FRENCH REVOLUTION of 1848, in 1852, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte had seized power in a military coup, much as his uncle had done in November 1799. Napoleon began to see himself also as the arbiter of German affairs, which was something Bismarck could not abide. At first, Napoleon desired only territorial compensation from Bismarck in return for his neutrality in the Six Weeks' War. However, when Napoleon decided he wanted Luxembourg, Bismarck was able to marshal German opposition to French desires on German land.

The flash point, however, came in Spain. There was a succession crisis when Queen Isabella II of Spain was deposed in 1868. Spain looked for a candidate for the throne and decided on a member of the House of HOHENZOLLERN—the reigning house of King Wilhelm I of Prussia. Napoleon feared encirclement, and tension rose in both France and Prussia. The Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn, but Napoleon III foolishly kept up the diplomatic pressure to make it appear as a clear-cut French triumph. Rather than suffer a strategic blow, Bismarck doctored the infamous Ems Telegram to King Wilhelm I to make it appear that the French had deliberately tried to humiliate the Prussian monarch.

The end result was predictable. French pride rose up, and Napoleon answered with hostility. On July 19 France declared war on Prussia. By August 1870 France and Prussia, backed by the North German Confederation, began hostilities. From the beginning, the odds were in the favor of the Prussians and their allies: In the face of their 400,000 troops, Napoleon III only was able to muster about half of that number. On September 2, 1870, Napoleon surrendered to the Germans. With peace

of a sort in place with France, Bismarck had achieved his goal. Germany was united under the new emperor, or kaiser, Wilhelm I. Bismarck had no more territorial aspirations. Instead, he devoted his career so that the new imperial Germany could progress in peace. With France militarily neutralized (at least for a time), Bismarck devoted his attention to the Austrian Empire, the Dual Monarchy, and czarist Russia. Bismarck's goal was essentially to re-create the balance of power that had been put in place by the Congress of Vienna, which had brought 40 years of peace until Britain and France had confronted Russia in the CRIMEAN WAR of 1854–56. The peace he sought for imperial Germany would also benefit the rest of Europe and became his lasting contribution to history.

Bismarck, the minister-president (prime minister) of Prussia and the Iron Chancellor of the German Empire, died on July 30, 1898. He did not live to see the adventurist policies of Wilhelm II contribute to the coming of World War I in August 1914 and the ultimate destruction of the German Empire that he had worked so passionately to create and to preserve.

See also BERLIN, CONGRESS OF (1878).

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Bolívar, Simón

(1783–1830) *liberator of South America*

Revered throughout Spanish-speaking Latin America as the “Liberator,” whose single-minded determination forced Spain to grant independence to South America's nascent nation-states in the 1820s, Simón Bolívar occupies a singular position as perhaps Latin America's greatest patriot and hero. Statues and busts of Bolívar grace public plazas across the continent, while his contemporary relevance remains readily apparent, as in Venezuela's Bolivarian revolution, brainchild of President Hugo Chávez, elected in 1998. This

popular reverence contrasts sharply with the contemporaneous opinion of Bolívar in the years before his death, when many Latin American elites reviled him as an autocrat and dictator. His political trajectory is the subject of an expansive literature, as his political philosophy evolved from a broad republicanism and democratic idealism in the early 1800s to an anti-democratic autocracy and repudiation of republican ideals by the late 1820s. Weeks before his death from tuberculosis, Bolívar himself expressed his disillusionment and lamented his failure to achieve his vision of a politically unified nation-state embracing all of South America, when he famously proclaimed: “America is ungovernable . . . he who serves a revolution ploughs the sea.” His lament proved prescient, foreshadowing the endemic civil wars that wracked much of the first century of Latin American independence.

Born on July 24, 1783, in Caracas, capital of the Provinces of Venezuela of the Viceroyalty of Gran Colombia, Simón Bolívar was the son of Juan Vicente Bolívar and María de la Concepción Palacios y Blanco, one of the most distinguished Creole (American-born Spanish) families in the city of 20,000 inhabitants. His education was eclectic and unconventional, influenced by emergent ENLIGHTENMENT ideals of republicanism, popular sovereignty, and democracy, and by romantic notions regarding nature and the arts. As a youth, he traveled widely in Europe and North America, continuing his studies in Madrid, southern France, and elsewhere. He married in May 1802 in Madrid and eight months later his wife died, a catastrophic personal event that he later claimed changed the trajectory of his life. “If I had not been left a widower . . . I should not be General Bolívar, nor the Liberator,” he later observed.

Returning to Europe, in December 1804 he attended the coronation of NAPOLEON I in Paris, an event that left an enduring impression. He was particularly struck by the popular adoration for the French emperor, which he envisioned for himself for liberating South America from Spanish rule. In August 1805 on the Monte Sacro on the outskirts of Rome, he solemnly vowed that he would “not rest in body or soul till I have broken the chains that bind us to the will of Spain.” He would spend the next two decades struggling to fulfill that vow.

Bolívar’s military campaigns against the Spanish armies, culminating in LATIN AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, comprise the subject of a vast literature. The evolution of his political philosophy can be seen in three key documents. The first, the Jamaica Letter of September 6,



*A statue of Simón Bolívar, considered the George Washington of South America, stands in Caracas, Venezuela.*

1815, offered a critical appraisal of the status of the Latin American revolutionary movements and a series of predictions regarding Latin America’s future. The political views inspiring Bolívar’s Jamaica Letter can be characterized as broadly nationalist and republican. The second document, a major speech before the Congress of Angostura in 1819, evinced far greater emphasis on the need for political unity and a strong central executive. The third document, the Bolivian Constitution of 1825, represents the acme of Bolívar’s political shift toward a belief in a unitary executive and strong central state and his fears of civil war and political anarchy.

Many of his prognostications on Latin America’s future proved accurate, most notably the monumental difficulties of governing territories with no tradition of democracy and shot through with deep divisions of race and class. Indeed, throughout his career as the Liberator, Bolívar sought to achieve a political revolution, independence from Spain, without sparking a social revolution from below. Remarkably, he largely succeeded. The process by which popular memories of Bolívar transformed so dramatically after his death, from a despised autocrat to a popular hero and Liberator, represents yet



another puzzle in the history of this revered Latin American patriot.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Bourbon restoration

During the FRENCH REVOLUTION, the French monarchy was officially abolished on September 21, 1792, by the revolutionary National Convention. With the radical Jacobin party of Maximilien Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, and Georges Danton in control of the Convention, King LOUIS XVI was condemned to death and sent to the guillotine on January 21, 1793. His son, whom French monarchists considered Louis XVII, died in June 1795 in prison, either the victim of neglect or beatings by his jailors. Although the monarchy in France was officially abolished, the Bourbon dynasty continued in exile with others who had fled the increasingly radicalized revolutionaries. Due to the death of Louis XVII, the older brother of Louis XVI, the comte de Provence, assumed the title of King Louis XVIII.

During the early years of the Revolution, the comte de Provence participated in the National Assembly, as did the other royal princes, the princes of the blood. Sensing the growing radicalization of the revolutionaries, however, he fled France in June 1791, at the time that Louis XVI and his wife, Marie Antoinette, attempted to escape, only to be captured by the revolutionaries. Luckily, the comte de Provence had taken a different route and went to Coblenz. He was undoubtedly one of the émigrés with whom Louis XVI intrigued during the Revolution to help him regain his throne. It was the discovery of Louis XVI's secret correspondence, deemed proof of treason by the radical Jacobins, that was a major reason for his execution.

Throughout the years of the Revolution, the comte de Provence pursued his own interests, with little interest in Louis XVI's safety. The Revolution and the period of the Napoleonic Wars were unkind to Louis XVIII, when he was compelled to rely on the hospitality of other rulers. At the same time, his brother, the comte d'Artois, pursued a conflicting plan from his refuge in London, thus making the Bourbon dynasty a two-headed

beast. The comte de Provence remained in Great Britain until NAPOLEON I's defeat and abdication on April 11, 1814. Due to the astute negotiations of a diplomat who had switched allegiances to the Bourbons, the victorious allies accepted Louis XVIII as king of France. On May 2, 1814, he entered Paris in triumph.

Although he greeted the French people with great promises, Louis XVIII alienated the French army. When Napoleon escaped from exile on February 26, 1815, and landed in France, Louis XVIII knew that the army would never support him against Napoleon. So he fled to the Austrian Netherlands, and Napoleon triumphantly entered Paris on March 20, 1815. However, the European crowns were determined to keep Napoleon from ruling France again. On June 18, 1815, near the town of Waterloo in the Austrian Netherlands, Napoleon was decisively defeated by the British and Prussian armies. Forced to abdicate a second time, Napoleon was this time sent away to Saint Helena, far out in the Atlantic, where he died in May 1821. The nature of Louis XVIII's rule indicates that he supported absolutism. In 1815 he signed the Holy Alliance with Prussia, Austria, and Russia, with the intention of quelling any resurgence of the political liberalism that was the strongest legacy of the French Revolution. The Holy Alliance was expanded to the Quintuple Alliance in 1822, with the addition of England. These European monarchies represented a conservative ideology backed by military might.

On September 16, 1824, Louis XVIII died, and the crown passed to his brother, the comte d'Artois, who assumed the throne as King Charles X. Charles X was a very different king than his brother had been. He wanted to see a reactionary reconstruction of France. In March 1830 the liberal Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of the French Assembly, passed a vote of no confidence on the actions of Charles X's chief minister, Polignac. In response, Charles X dissolved the Chamber and called for new elections. But when the new Chamber deputies were sworn in, they held the same opposition as the one Charles had dissolved. Abandoning any pretext of supporting the parliamentary system, on July 26, 1830, Charles X issued four drastic decrees. Known as the July Ordinances, they dissolved the new Chamber, imposed strict censorship of the press, limited voting rights to certain favorable groups and businessmen, and called for a new election.

The effect of the July Ordinances was cataclysmic. The very next day, revolutionary disturbances broke out in Paris. From July 27 to July 29, the revolutionaries raised barricades in Paris and battled the police

and the soldiers. Most soldiers refused to fire on the crowd. Charles X, having no desire to go to the guillotine, quickly abdicated and sought refuge, for the second time in his life, in England.

The marquis de Lafayette, who had played important roles in both the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the French Revolution, found a solution to the political crisis. Using his still immense popularity, he offered the French people to replace Charles X with Louis-Philippe, the duc d'Orléans, who had fought with the armies of the French Revolution. With the promise that the duc d'Orléans would respect the charter of 1814, the Chamber of Deputies offered him the crown on August 7, 1830. Louis-Philippe would now rule France as the "citizen king."

See also LATIN AMERICA, BOURBON REFORMS IN.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Brahmo and Arya Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj were two important institutions that developed in 19th-century India against existing social practices. The impact of the West resulted in a social and cultural renaissance in India. To regenerate society, it was felt that modern sciences and ideas of reason were essential.

RAM MOHAN ROY, occupying a pivotal position in the awakening, was the founder of Brahmo Sabha in 1828, which was known as Brahmo Samaj afterward. Roy was an enlightened thinker and well versed in Sanskrit, English, and Arabic. An accomplished Vedic scholar, he was also a great admirer of Jesus Christ. Roy wanted to bring reform to Hindu society, which had become stagnant. Evils like the sati (suttee) system of self-emulation of widows, child marriage, polygamy, and other social ills had crept in. The goal of the

Brahmo Samaj was to rid Hindu society of evils and to practice monotheism. Incorporating the best teachings of other religions, it aimed at a society based on reason and the Vedas. A golden age in Vedic society had begun. Rajnarain Bose, Debendranath Tagore, and Keshab Chandra Sen enriched the Samaj through inculcation of novel ideas that aimed at reforming Hindu religion and society. Bose used the Hindu scriptures like the Vedas, Upanishads, and the Bhagavad Gita as the holy books of the Hindus.

Debendranath Tagore, the father of Rabindranath Tagore, revived the Brahmo Samaj, which had become dormant after Roy's death in 1843. He established the branches of the Samaj and spoke out against idol worship, pilgrimages, and rituals of Hindu society. Membership of the Samaj continued to rise; from six in 1829 to 2,000 after 1835. Starting in Bengal, it spread to different parts of India. But a schism developed, as Debendranath and the older generation did not like the radical ideas of Sen, who formed the Brahmo Samaj of India in 1866. The older organization was called the Adi (original) Brahmo Samaj.

### EMANCIPATION OF HINDU WOMEN

The crusade of the Brahmo Samaj resulted in the emancipation of Hindu women within the fold of the Samaj. The British government passed the Civil Marriage Act in 1872, prohibiting child marriage and polygamy, as well as the abolition of caste distinctions. When Sen violated this act at the time of his daughter's marriage, there was another split in the Brahmo Samaj of India in 1878 with the formation of Sadharana (Common) Brahmo Samaj by Ananda Mohan Bose and others. The Brahmo Samaj had done laudable work in the field of education. The urban elite of West and South India came under its spell. It remained a sort of guiding spirit for reformed Hindu society. At the time of World War I, it had 232 branches in major cities of South and Southeast Asia. Apart from the Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore, the Congress presidents and nationalist leaders like SURENDRANATH BANERJI and Bipin Chandra Pal were members in the 19th century.

Swami Dayananda Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj in the colonial city of Bombay in 1875, but its growth came in the Punjab after the establishment of Lahore Arya Samaj three years later. It grew rapidly in different parts of India, with provincial branches in Uttar Pradesh (1886), Rajasthan (1888), Bengal (1889), and Madhya Pradesh (1889). It also spread to the British Empire outside of India, especially in South

Africa, Fiji, and Mauritius, where people of Indian descent lived.

### REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Dayananda Saraswati was against idolatry, polytheism, ritual, the caste system, the dominance of the Brahmans, and the dogmatic practices of Hinduism. He launched a crusade for social equality, removal of untouchability, and in favor of female education and adult, widow, and intercaste marriages. He toured India, spreading his message. He promoted Vedic learning and its sacredness with his slogan, "Go back to the Vedas." His platform, however, was not to be misconstrued as encouraging going back to the Vedic times; he showed rationality in his approach toward reforms in Hinduism. The Vedas were to be interpreted by human reason. He also rejected all forms of superstition. He was influenced by the intellectual traditions of reason and science of the West.

He translated the Vedas and wrote three important books, *Satyartha Prakas*, *Veda-Bhashya Bhumi-ka*, and *Veda-Bhashya*. Of the Ten Principles of the Arya Samaj, the following were paramount: infallibility of the Vedas, the importance of truth, the welfare of others, the promotion of spiritual well-being, and contributing one-hundredth of one's income to the Samaj.

Unlike orthodox Hinduism, the Arya Samaj welcomed the Hindu who had embraced other religions either of his or her own will or because of force. The *suddhi* (reconversion by ritual purification) generated a lot of controversy in the 20th century. Some historians believed that the religious program of the Samaj was one of the factors responsible for the growth of communalism. Beginning in the 1890s it was also involved in the cow protection movement, leading to widespread communal violence. After Saraswati's death, the Arya Samaj became aggressive. It preached supremacy of Arya dharma (religion) and contributed to a pan-Hindu revivalist movement.

One of the objectives of the Arya Samaj was the spread of education, and it did pioneering work by establishing schools and colleges throughout the country. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School opened in Lahore in 1886 and was converted to a college three years later. The educational campaign of the Samaj created a schism in its rank. The orthodox faction held the teachings of Dayananda as the creed of the Samaj, whereas the liberal group saw him primarily as a reformer. After a split in 1893, the orthodox group controlled the major branches of the Samaj, including the Arya

Pratinidhi Sabha. This group emphasized reconverting the Hindus through the *suddhi*. Reviving the Vedic ideals, they established Gurukul Kangri at Haradwar in 1902. The liberal wing concentrated on relief work and Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Schools promoted modern curricula in addition to Indian values.

The Arya Samaj remained in the forefront of political agitation against British colonial rule, and Lala Rajpat Rai of the Arya Samaj was an important leader of the extremist faction of the Indian National Congress.

See also ALIGARH COLLEGE AND MOVEMENT.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Brazil, independence to republic in

Unlike many Spanish-American countries that fought for independence and founded republics thereafter, the Portuguese colony of Brazil gained its independence virtually without bloodshed and remained under the same royal family that had once ruled the territory from afar. Hence Brazilian independence entailed a large degree of continuity. The abolition of the monarchy later in the 19th century represented Brazil's break with its European past, though the economic and cultural evolutions of the first few decades of independence prepared the way for political change by profoundly altering Brazilian attitudes and society.

NAPOLEON I's armies disrupted both Iberian monarchies; the Portuguese prince, unlike his Spanish counterpart, decided to take advantage of his country's overseas holdings and moved the royal family to Brazil in 1807. At Rio de Janeiro, the new capital of the Portuguese empire from 1808, João became king in his own right in 1814, following the death of the mentally unstable queen for whom he had served as regent. When he became king, João proclaimed Brazil a king-

dom, equal in status to Portugal. This new standing permitted freer trade and led to the creation of various institutions in Rio de Janeiro, including a naval academy, a medical school, and Brazil's first newspaper. Further, the new king established a full royal court in Rio, complete with 15,000 courtiers, bureaucrats, and aristocratic families who had also accepted exile from Portugal. The Portuguese elites came to Brazil with strong senses of entitlement and an appreciation for French culture, neither of which had been damaged by the Napoleonic conquest of their country. Brazil enjoyed a comparatively smooth transformation from exploited colony to sovereign country with its own monarch in residence.

Not all Brazilians appreciated the Portuguese monarchy's presence in Rio. Even though João himself became quite popular, his courtiers did not. In the years prior to João's 1821 return to Portugal, Brazilians began to manifest a growing nationalism that triggered revolts, including that of 1817 in Recife. French practices and aesthetics permeated Brazilian elite culture, but otherwise growing numbers of Brazilians became convinced that they could do without the ongoing presence of Europeans in their country.

After returning to Europe to defend his throne from Portuguese republicans, João left his son Pedro in Brazil to act as prince regent. Pedro followed his father's advice and soon came to identify more with Brazil than with Portugal. He refused the demand of the Portuguese Cortes that he return and acquiesce to Brazil's demotion back to the status of colony. Pedro's wife, Leopoldina, along with a group of Brazilian Creoles including José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, encouraged their prince to lead an independence movement.

Pedro pronounced his famous Grito de Ipiranga on September 7, 1822, as he rode along the Ipiranga River. He removed the Portuguese colors from his uniform and avowed, "The hour is now! Independence or death!" Despite some opposition from army garrisons and a weak attack from a Portuguese fleet, Brazil achieved its independence by 1824 with almost no blood being shed.

The first constitutional assembly of 1823 attempted to create a constitutional monarchy, with Pedro as merely a figurehead. However, Pedro dissolved that assembly and summoned a smaller group that wrote a far more conservative constitution that satisfied his tastes. Republicans in Pernambuco expressed their opposition to the arrangement; resentment of Pedro's Portuguese advisers and his arrogance displeased many Brazilians who otherwise accepted having an emperor.

The monarchy survived the early years of uncertainty. Brazil experienced a period of relative stability, if not unity, following independence. The country established close commercial and financial relations with Britain, though the advantage was entirely on the side of the European power. Brazil accrued an enormous trade deficit with Britain that translated into monetary problems at home. The polarization between conservatives and liberals typical of South America also became characteristic of Brazilian politics, though alignments differed somewhat: Conservatives represented the urban-based civil service and merchants, whereas liberals associated themselves with wealthy landowners of the north and south. The liberal landowners gained control of the general assembly but encountered resistance to their modernizing agenda from the rather autocratic Pedro.

### INFLATION AND COLLAPSE

The emperor's power declined after the failed war against Argentina for control over Banda Oriental, which had been annexed to Brazil in 1820 as Cisplatine Province but would soon become known as Uruguay. The Brazilian government responded to the financial crisis brought about by the external trade deficit and the war by printing paper currency unsupported by gold reserves. The ensuing inflation and collapse in the value of Brazilian money angered urban salary earners and merchants, who joined forces with the liberals to oppose the policies of PEDRO I's government. The emperor mobilized military forces to suppress protestors, but he concluded that it was best to depart the scene. He abdicated in favor of his five-year-old son, the future PEDRO II.

During the regency, liberals passed an assortment of constitutional reforms that reigned in the executive and weakened the central government relative to the states. Federalism released energies previously kept in check by the central government, however, and revolts spread through the north/Amazonia region and the southern cattle ranching areas after 1835. In response, the assembly reversed decentralization; liberals cooperated with conservatives, at least temporarily, to defend Brazilian unity against such centripetal forces.

Pedro II came to the throne early, at age 15, and provided a focus of loyalty for the Brazilian people. The monarchy continued to provide Brazil with political, social, and cultural stability in its independence. He would be the last emperor of Brazil and did not oppress his people or adhere to retrograde ideas. Instead, he encouraged Brazilians to pursue education and science. He also allowed for the formation of the organized and

articulate opposition movement that sought to eliminate the monarchy entirely.

By the later 1860s and especially by the 1870s, however, the combined pressures of economic modernization, the effects of the decision to abolish slavery, social change, and the PARAGUAYAN WAR encouraged Brazilians to support liberal reformers and intensified demands for sweeping change. Liberals began to demand the abolition of the monarchy and the creation of a republic, in addition to other constitutional changes. When a coup led to the abolition of the monarchy and the institution of a republic, most Brazilians celebrated. Nevertheless, decades would pass before ordinary citizens gained the means to participate actively in the political system and before Brazilians began to acknowledge the various, non-European influences that made their culture unique.

The long struggle of the Paraguayan War undermined the military's support for the monarchy while alienating liberals. Army officers, especially the relatively young, developed a sense of common identity and purpose during the war. Since these officers typically came from families not part of the ruling elite or from urban centers of political influence, they had no reason to support the government run by a small portion of Brazilian society.

Further, they embraced the positivistic ideals of efficiency and professionalism in government and civil service; they did not believe that the Brazilian government of Pedro II possessed these attributes. Within a decade, general military backing for a republic became marked, especially after officers united to defend a colleague who had published a critique of the minister of war and ran the risk of imprisonment.

### **LIBERAL CAMPAIGN**

Meanwhile, liberals intensified their campaign against the emperor's policies. During the Paraguayan War, the emperor had given control of the government to the conservatives. The army commander, the duke of Caxias, had found the previous liberal cabinet unwilling to accept his demands; he convinced the king to replace it with men who would prove more cooperative. Now out of government, the liberals added a republic to their list of demands, along with increased federalism and a parliament.

The last major base of support for the monarchy began to crumble in the 1870s as the Catholic battle against FREEMASONRY continued. Bishops pronounced Catholicism to be antithetical to Freemasonry after priests attended Masonic ceremonies in 1871. Since

several imperial ministers were Freemasons, the government castigated the bishops for overreaching and imprisoned those who would not apologize. The clergy banded together in support of the Brazilian prelates and represented themselves as resisting the forces of secularism. Pedro II and his government lost face when they felt compelled to acknowledge the power of the church and released the imprisoned bishops without further punishment in 1875.

Banking collapses after the 1873 financial crisis in Europe, to which Brazil had become closely tied as it accrued external debt during the Paraguayan War, further eroded confidence in the emperor's government.

The final phase in the disintegration of the Brazilian monarchy occurred in the late 1880s. Economic change, which favored coffee over the traditional cash crops of cotton and sugar, meant that wealth increasingly moved into the region around Rio de Janeiro (central-southern Brazil) and dwindled in the northeast. Rubber plantations began to spread through the Amazon and turned towns such as Manaus into rich cities seemingly overnight. The rubber boom lasted from the 1870s until World War I, changing the distribution of Brazil's population and wealth in the process. Newly wealthy groups began to demand political influence commensurate with their economic status.

### **ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**

Meanwhile, the growing urban elite won ever greater support for the abolition of slavery. The Brazilian emperor and his daughter, Isabel, had both supported the various incarnations of lawyer Joaquim Mabuco's abolition campaign ever since he established the Humanitarian Society for Abolition in 1869. The government enacted a series of laws that limited the extent of slavery, before abolishing it completely. In 1871 the Law of the Free Womb emancipated children born to slaves; however, the Rio Branco Law required those freeborn children to work unpaid for their mothers's masters until they turned 21. In 1879 Mabuco resumed his campaign to end slavery as a member of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies. A Chamber dominated by representatives from cotton- and sugar-growing areas rejected both his 1879 and his 1880 bill, either of which would have abolished slavery within 10 years. In 1880 Mabuco formed the Brazilian Antislavery Society.

Throughout the early 1880s Mabuco, along with black journalist José do Patrocínio and other allies, continued to publicize the antislavery agenda. Meanwhile, Jose Duarte Ramalho Ortigão, leader of the Bahian Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, led opposition

to abolition on behalf of large plantation owners. In 1885 legislation emancipated slaves with at least 65 years of age. Despite important steps toward abolition and the formation of strong organizations working for the cause, Princess Isabel might not have signed the Golden Law (Lei Aurea) if not for broader economic and social change. Immigrants from Iberia and southern Europe began to arrive in Brazil in large numbers; approximately 3.5 million such people added themselves to the existing population between 1888 and 1928. The number of immigrants who arrived in Brazil over these decades surpassed the number of slaves brought to Brazil over the course of several centuries. The new availability of large amounts of inexpensive labor, paired with technological advances, made it economically feasible to operate plantations without slavery. Abolition encouraged further immigration and permanently altered both the economic and the social structure of Brazil.

While her father was abroad in Europe, Isabel assented to the Golden Law on May 13, 1888. The law provided for the complete and unconditional abolition of slavery in Brazil. Slavery came to an end with virtually no bloodshed, though its abolition alienated large landowners who had previously supported the monarchy. They resented the absence of any provision for indemnities to slave owners.

Thus by 1888 the imperial government had lost the support of the military, liberals, the church, and conservative landowners. Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca led the military coup that brought an end to the Brazilian Empire in November 1889. He met almost no resistance, though relatively few ordinary Brazilians participated in the coup or in the subsequent creation of a republic. Meanwhile, Pedro and the royal family went into exile; Pedro died in Paris in 1891.

Deodoro, who became the first president, resigned. A period of intense political contestation preceded the election of Prudente de Moraes, the first of many presidents from the state of São Paulo. The first Brazilian republic enjoyed booms in coffee and rubber exports, effected boundary settlements with its neighbors, and started to recognize the particular racial and cultural mixture that characterized Brazilian society.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; LATIN AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE IN.

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MELANIE A. BAILEY

## Brethren movements

Many religious denominations call themselves brethren. Pious German immigrants established most of these groups in America. The oldest and largest of them is the Church of the Brethren, founded in Germany by Alexander Mack in 1708. This denomination, with well over 200,000 American members, is one of the historical peace churches. Nevertheless, it is known for its foot-washing ritual as much as for its pacifist orientation. The more socially conservative Brethren in Christ Church was founded in 1778 by Jacob Engle and is part of the Holiness Movement, with an American membership of more than 18,000. The much smaller separatist Old Order River Brethren broke from this group in the 1850s and observes plain dress, head coverings for women, and beards for men. The Church of the United Brethren in Christ was founded by Martin Boehm in 1800. The majority of this community eventually joined with the United Methodists in 1968. The others who continued under the brethren name highlight their evangelicalism and have a current American membership of over 27,000.

However, with a North American membership of 90,000, the Christian Brethren (Plymouth Brethren) have had the most significant impact on religious thought. This evangelical and nondenominational movement, which generally practices weekly communion and functions without a traditional ecclesiastical structure, was born in Britain in the 1830s. Today, there are two primary groups of Christian Brethren in America, those who exclude from communion all but their own and those who hold an open ritual. Nonetheless, all groups within the movement of the Christian Brethren are devoted to the unique theology developed by John Nelson Darby. A priest in the Church of Ireland, he became the movement's primary theologian by the late 1840s. Darby was unhappy with the formalism of the state church, and after joining the Brethren movement in Plymouth, England, his pessimism led

him to promote ecclesiastical separatism and to create a most provocative theory of biblical prophecy, which he called dispensationalism.

Dispensationalism widely influenced the preaching of America's late 19th-century evangelists, such as Dwight L. Moody, and the teaching of early 20th-century Bible scholars, such as C. I. Scofield. The famous Scofield Reference Bible was published in 1909 by Oxford University Press to support Darby's theory. Darby claimed that history was divided into seven divinely appointed periods. Each of these seven dispensations represents a different stage in God's progressive revelation and sovereign plan for humanity's development. Darby focused his attention on the seventh period and the rise of a millennial kingdom, which was to be preceded by a series of events that included a rapture, or departure of the earthly church at Christ's first coming.

According to Darby, with the loss of Christian moral judgment, the people of Earth would be easily seduced by an Antichrist, which would lead to a time of Tribulation concluded by the so-called Battle of Armageddon. This battle between the forces of evil and Christ, who returns to Earth again, but this time with a heavenly army, would end with the establishment of a thousand-year kingdom of peace. Darby's theology has been connected to Fundamentalism and absorbed by many evangelical Protestant denominations. Moreover, it has become the dominant prophetic theory in a large number of American Bible colleges and seminaries, foremost among them being Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and Dallas Theological Seminary.

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RICK M. ROGERS

## British East India Company

The British East India Company was founded in 1600, during the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I of England, for trade in the East Indies, which had been opened to European trade by the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama.

Because of rivalries for the spice trade in the East Indies, the English East India Company armed its mer-

chantmen to fight the galleons of Spain, Portugal, and, later, the Netherlands, all of which threatened British trade with the East. Because of its setback in the Spice Islands at the hands of the Dutch, the English East India Company decided to focus its energies on India, where the Dutch presence was far less powerful. The relative ease with which the British would be able to expand in India during the late 17th and 18th centuries was due to the decline of Mughal central power.

In 1757 the British East India Company—or John Company, as it was often called—took a critical step. Taking advantage of the worsening situation in India, it went from being a trading company to taking control of Indian territory as circumstances dictated. By this time the French *Compagnie des Indes* had taken the place of the Portuguese and Dutch as the main rival of the British in India. In 1756 the SEVEN YEARS' WAR broke out in Europe and quickly spread to India, where Robert Clive decisively defeated the French client in Bengal. In 1758 Robert Clive became the first governor of Bengal, signalling the transition of the British East India Company from a trading company to the ruler of a large province of India. A year before Clive's death, Parliament passed the 1773 Regulating Act, which made the governor of Bengal the governor-general, a title the chief company officer in India would hold until the British Crown took over the government of India after the INDIAN MUTINY of 1857.

Warren Hastings set in motion future British expansion in India. He instituted direct British rule, but where possible, he left native Indian rulers on their throne, but under British tutelage. Between 1784, when Hastings left India, and the beginning of the 19th century, the company's British troops continued to enlarge its domains due to the anarchy caused by the collapsing Mughal Empire. As company territory expanded, so did its direct rule. Its magistrates dispensed justice, impervious to bribery, something that local Indians had never before witnessed.

The peace the company brought to India helped undermine Indian society. The company permitted English Protestant missionaries to come to India in 1813, establishing missions and schools among the Indian population. Gradually, British authority began reforms in India. For example, William Bentinck, who was governor general from 1833 to 1835, outlawed the practice of sati (suttee), by which a Hindu widow was burned on her dead husband's funeral pyre.

The flash point of conflict between the company administration and the Indian governor-general came under the marquess of Dalhousie, who served from 1848 to 1856. He aggressively sought to enlarge lands



*BOOMBAY on the Malabar Coast, belonging to the East India Company of ENGLAND...*

*The British East India Company's port on the Malabar Coast of India with company trading vessels in the foreground and quayside warehouses and buildings behind. Copperplate engraving, London 1755*

under the company's control by the doctrine of lapse, which allowed the company to annex Indian principalities. Many points of friction culminated in a violent outbreak.

The Indian Mutiny broke out in Meerut in 1857 when some of the company's Indian soldiers rose in revolt. A terrible massacre took place at Cawnpore when an Indian ruler, Nana Sahib, had British prisoners brutally killed. Inflamed by the tales of mass murder, the British troops who retook territory that had fallen to the mutineers and their Indian princely allies showed no mercy. By the time the mutiny ended with Sir Hugh Rose's victory at Gwalior in June 1858, thousands had been killed.

The mutiny also ended the rule of the British East India Company. Although it would continue as a trading organization until 1873, in August 1858, the British parliament passed the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, which formally passed the administration of British India from the company to the British government. A secretary of state for India became responsible for the administration

of British India under the prime minister. For its complicity in the mutiny, the last impotent Mughal emperor was dethroned. In 1877, under Prime Minister BENJAMIN DISRAELI, Queen VICTORIA became empress of India.

See also SIKH WARS.

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## British Empire in southern Africa

The first British involvements in South Africa were a result of maritime traffic going around the Cape of Good Hope to India. In the 17th century, the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY had established trading stations at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. By the 18th century, a thriving trade led the British East India Company to have its own navy to carry goods and personnel back and forth from England to India. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company founded a trading station near what is now Cape Town and was busy attempting to extend its settlement into the interior, in the face of opposition from the indigenous African tribes.

The wars of the FRENCH REVOLUTION began in 1792, and the Netherlands was conquered and occupied by the French. To the British, with their unparalleled Royal Navy and need for a way station to India, the Dutch colony at Cape Town was a tempting target. In 1806 the British captured Cape Town and kept it even after NAPOLEON I's final defeat in 1815.

### BRITISH EXPANSION

As the years progressed, the British became intent on making the colony more British; English replaced Dutch as the official language of the colony and its government. Anglican missionaries came to convert the Boers, the descendants of the Dutch settlers, to Anglicanism. (The Boers were staunch Calvinists of the Dutch Reformed Church.) The missionaries also advocated the abolition of slavery. Indeed, due to the influence of the London Missionary Society, slavery was virtually abolished in South Africa even before it was in the empire as a whole in 1833.

With wars against indigenous tribes an ongoing struggle for European settlements in the area, the British did not wish to take on any new imperial responsibilities in South Africa. The Kaffir Wars waged between the Europeans and the native Xhosa people were particularly lengthy and brutal. Consequently, between 1852 and 1854 the British government recognized two Boer republics, the Orange Free State, named for the Orange River, and the Transvaal Republic, on the opposite side of the Vaal River. In 1853 the Convention of Bloemfontein formalized, at least for the time being, the British relationship with the Boers.

Indeed, the entire government of South Africa was reorganized when in 1853 an Order in Council for Queen VICTORIA established fully representative government in the Cape Colony, with a parliament set up in Cape Town.

In 1877 the imperialist prime minister BENJAMIN DISRAELI expanded the Cape Colony with the annexation of the Boer Transvaal Republic. He sent out a new governor of Cape Colony to oversee the process in the colony: Sir Henry Edward Bartle Frere, who arrived in Cape Town in April 1877. The ninth, and final, Kaffir War broke out in October 1877, and although it ended with the defeat of the Africans, Frere was still alarmed. In Frere's view, the most immediate problem lay in the relations with the Zulu Kingdom, now under King Cetewayo.

Frere felt that the presence of the Zulu Kingdom, with its 50,000-man army, had to be dealt with by force. On January 11, 1879, British commander Chelmsford's South African Field Force crossed the border into Zululand. Early on the morning of January 22, Chelmsford set off after the Zulu regiments. He left a force to hold Isandhlwana, the main force of which was the 1st Battalion of the 24th Regiment. The Zulus, some 20,000 strong, pounced on the force left behind at Isandhlwana; not one British soldier was left alive. From there, the Zulu advanced to a garrison that was mostly from the 2nd Battalion. After 12 hours of fighting, the Zulu retreated.

On March 28, 1879, the British, fighting the Zulu at Hlobane, narrowly escaped another disaster like Isandhlwana. Almost immediately, plans were made to reenter Zululand; the image of a victorious Cetewayo was more than the London government could tolerate. On May 31 Chelmsford again advanced into Zululand, determined on a final conquest to redeem himself for his fatal miscalculation at Isandhlwana. On July 4, Chelmsford attacked Cetewayo's royal kraal at Ulundi and crushed the Zulu regiments. Cetewayo was captured on August 28, 1879, but Queen Victoria intervened to free him in 1883. On February 8, 1884, Cetewayo died amid rumors he had been poisoned.

### AGITATION FOR FREEDOM

Ironically, the removal of the Zulu threat did not mean peace for British South Africa. After the war, the Transvaal Boers began to agitate again for their freedom, taken from them by Shepstone's annexation in 1877. On December 12, 1880, they united to fight for their independence.

The British forces were unprepared for the superior marksmanship, modern weapons, and guerrilla tactics employed by the men of the Boer commandos. Prime Minister WILLIAM GLADSTONE, opposed to the imperialist philosophy of his rival Benjamin Disraeli,

made peace with the Boers. By August 8, 1881, the Boers ruled again in the Transvaal capital of Pretoria.

In 1871 diamonds were discovered in the Cape Colony. One of those caught up in the diamond rush was CECIL RHODES. In 1881 he founded the De Beers Diamond Company. Pressing north into native African country (and away from stronger Boer resistance), Rhodes was instrumental in the annexation of Bechuanaland, today's Botswana, in 1885. His primacy among those in the Cape Colony was recognized in 1890 when he became prime minister of the Cape Colony.

Coveting the possible diamond hoard in the Transvaal, Rhodes sent Leander Starr Jameson, his assistant during prior wars, on a raid into the Transvaal Republic on December 29, 1895. Jameson and his men were quickly arrested and handed over to the British for trial and sentencing. For Rhodes, the punishment was more embarrassing; in 1896 he was forced to resign as prime minister for the Cape Colony.

The Jameson Raid seemed to the Boers another British attempt to conquer them and end their independence once and for all. In 1897 Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, or secretary of state for the colonies, appointed the ardent imperialist Alfred Milner as high commissioner for South Africa. His views on empire were very similar to Frere's. Instead of the Zulus, Milner saw the Boers as the main threat to British rule in South Africa. The British prime minister, Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, was an ardent empire-builder. While sporadic negotiations continued, both sides prepared for war, and Chamberlain sent reinforcements from England. Paul Kruger, a leader of the Boer resistance, determined to strike before the reinforcements could arrive. He issued an ultimatum, which would expire on October 11, 1899. This saved the British the trouble—and the blame—of declaring war themselves.

Kruger followed his ultimatum with a lightning advance by his commandos into both the Cape Colony and Natal Province. Kruger had 88,000 men and knew the British only had 20,000. However, Kruger underestimated the immense forces the British Empire had available. According to some estimates, by the end of the war, the British Empire committed a staggering 450,000 men to fight the Boers. The British forces in South Africa were commanded by General Sir Redvers Buller, who proved to be a disappointing commanding officer. Time and again, he and his troops were defeated.

On January 10, 1900, General Frederick Sleigh Roberts arrived in South Africa to replace the befuddled Buller. Roberts immediately went on the offensive against the Boers. Roberts led the British to victory on February 27

and 28, and March 13, and on May 27, 1900, he entered the Transvaal, determined to bring the war to a conclusion. On June 2 Kruger retreated from the capital of Pretoria, which Roberts entered in triumph three days later. The defeat of the Boer armies was sealed when Buller arrived in the Transvaal from Natal on June 12.

Between August 21 and 27 the last major battle of the war took place when Roberts and Buller defeated Boer general Louis Botha at Bergendal. In December 1900, with formal hostilities over, Roberts returned to Britain to become commander in chief of the army. Roberts's second-in-command, Kitchener, was left to oversee what soon became a guerrilla conflict. He adopted a draconian policy to stop the commandos, ordering his men to burn down Boer homesteads, destroy their crops, and run off or kill their livestock.

Kitchener introduced concentration camps in which to hold the dispossessed Boer families of the commandos. The conditions of the camps were appalling, and disease was endemic. According to some estimates, 28,000 Boers died in 46 camps, and between 14,000 and 20,000 Africans died in the camps. At the same time, the movement of the Boer commandos was hampered by a series of armored blockhouses. On January 28, 1901, Kitchener began a series of fierce offensives designed to wear down the commandos in a battle of attrition. On May 31, 1902, a peace settlement was made bringing the war to an end at Vereeniging. The Boers had been defeated on the battlefield, but had retained their independent spirit. Just two months earlier, on March 26, 1902, Rhodes had died, to be buried in his beloved Rhodesia. As a new century opened, a new and unknown future began for the British in South Africa.

See also SHAKA ZULU; SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN.

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## British governors-general of India

The office of the governor-general of India was established in 1773 when Warren Hastings was made the first governor-general of the presidency of Fort William, Calcutta, taking up the position in the following year. Initially the office only had control over Fort William, but it quickly came to control the Bengal region of northeastern India.

The position was created because of the widespread belief that there was massive corruption in the East India Company that necessitated some form of British government oversight, which led to the Regulating Act. However, Warren Hastings, who held the position from October 20, 1774, to February 1, 1785, was himself subject to widespread allegations of corruption and was impeached in 1787, with the trial lasting from 1788 until his eventual acquittal in 1795.

When Hastings left for England, Sir John MacPherson was made provisional governor-general until Earl Cornwallis (later Marquess Cornwallis) arrived in India to serve as governor-general from September 1786 until October 1793. He is perhaps best remembered for his surrender of the port of Yorktown in the American War of Independence. In India in 1792 he defeated Tipu Sultan at Mysore and was succeeded by Sir John Shore who retired in March 1798. His successor was the earl of Mornington (later Marquess Wellesley), who was the brother of Arthur Wellesley, the first duke of Wellington. Arthur Wellesley became the military adviser to the governor-general and established Fort William into a training college for the British administrators in India.

Marquess Wellesley left office on July 30, 1805, and was replaced by Marquess Cornwallis, who died two months after starting his second term. After a long period of Sir George Barlow serving as provisional governor-general, Lord Minto was appointed. The earl of Moira (later marquess of Hastings), who had served in the American War of Independence, was the seventh governor-general from 1813–23. During this time he oversaw the purchase of Singapore and also worked on improving the Mughal canal system.

However, he was forced out of office owing to a financial scandal, and his successor was Lord (Baron) Amherst (later Earl Amherst) who had led a British embassy to China and hoped to expand British possessions with his involvement in the First Anglo-Burmese War of 1823. Although the war was a British victory, large numbers of British soldiers were killed.

In 1828 he was replaced by Lord William Bentinck, who had previously served in India as governor of Madras. His task in India was to massively reduce British government expenditure. He also tried to introduce some social reforms such as ending suttee, a tradition where widows sacrificed themselves on their husband's funeral pyres. His successor, Lord (Baron) Auckland (later first earl of Auckland), quickly found himself involved in a disastrous war in Afghanistan and was replaced by Lord Ellenborough. When Ellenborough arrived in India, he received news of the massacre of the British in Kabul under policies introduced by his predecessor. Although his time as governor-general included a war in Sind, he himself was largely concerned with trying to prevent increasing Russian involvement in Central Asia. Sir Henry Hardinge was briefly governor-general from July 1844 until January 1848, presiding over British India during the First Sikh War.

In 1848 Lord Dalhousie (later first marquess of Dalhousie) was appointed as governor-general. He was determined to enlarge British India and oversaw the annexation of much of Burma during the Second Anglo-Burmese War. He was more controversial for introducing his “policy of lapse.” Under this policy in any Indian feudatory state under the direct influence of the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, if the ruler was either “manifestly incompetent or died without a direct heir,” the territory could be annexed by the British. This led to the annexation of Jhansi in 1854 and Oudh (modern-day Awadh) in 1856, two of the major causes of the INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857.

Viscount Canning was appointed as governor-general in February 1856, and it was during his term that the Indian Mutiny of 1857—now often called the Indian War of Independence—broke out. In 1858 there was a complete overhaul of the British administration in India, and one result was that Canning, who became Earl Canning, was appointed to the newly created position of governor-general and viceroy of India. He was succeeded by the earl of Elgin, who died in 1863, resulting in the subsequent appointment of Sir John Lawrence (later Lord Lawrence). Lawrence had helped prevent trouble in the Punjab in 1857 and was able to maintain the status quo in India in the 1860s. When Lawrence left India in 1869 it was relatively peaceful, and the remaining governors-general, all British nobles, presided over an increasingly prosperous colonial India until its independence in 1947.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## British occupation of Egypt

Through diplomatic negotiations in 1881–82, the British and French reached an agreement whereby the French occupied Tunisia in North Africa and Britain took Egypt. The British militarily defeated Egyptian nationalist forces led by Ahmed Urabi at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir in 1882. The Dufferin Commission was then sent to Egypt to make recommendations as to what should be done.

Initially, the British claimed that the occupation was a temporary one, but geopolitical considerations and ongoing conflict in the Sudan under the Mahdi led to the long-term occupation of Egypt by the British. The British superimposed their own administration and became the de facto rulers of Egypt while maintaining the facade of Egypt as an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire as arranged during the rule of MUHAMMAD ALI.

The khedive was retained, with British advisers in the key government offices. A nonelective legislative council of Egyptians served in an advisory capacity. This two-tiered, often-cumbersome administration led to British control over all aspects of government from the judicial to financial to education.

Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer, was appointed consul general in 1883. Cromer was the virtual ruler of Egypt until 1907, when he was forced by the British government to retire following an increase of Egyptian nationalist discontent. A fiscal conservative, Cromer attempted to lessen the financial burdens on the fellahen (peasants) but devoted few resources to education or other social programs. The British did improve the irrigation systems in Egypt and also abolished forced labor. The railway system that benefited British commercial interests was also extended to the detriment of road and water transportation systems. Mixed courts dealt with all cases involving foreigners, and civil courts with Egyptian judges and lawyers served the Egyptian population. A lively press that covered a wide range of political and social issues also developed, although the

British carefully monitored it for subversive or anti-British opinions.

Over the years the number of British advisers proliferated. The presence of foreign troops and often arrogant British bureaucrats increased nationalist opposition to the occupation, particularly among the urban educated youth. Mustafa Kamil who led the Watan (Nation) Party from 1895 until his death in 1908 was one of the most vociferous and fiery of the new generation of Egyptian nationalists.

Much to the dismay of the British, Tewfik's successor, Khedive Abbas Hilmi supported the nationalist cause. Mounting Egyptian nationalism led to the emergence of political parties that the British vainly attempted to control. British control was not formalized until Egypt was declared a British protectorate with the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

See also URABI REVOLT IN EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Buganda, kingdom of

The early history of Buganda begins with the dynasties starting in roughly 1300. Among them, the Chwezi were the most prominent. The balance of power was changed by the arrival of Luo-speaking people from the Upper Nile who were looking for good land, which they found in Uganda. Arriving in the 1500s, they represented a continuation of the migration of peoples from the Sahara region as desert encroached on the grazing area of their cattle. These pastoralists came as conquerors in many cases, imposing their ways on the more advanced people who became their unwilling subjects.

In 1497 the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama stopped in East Africa to take on Arab sailors familiar with the Arabian Sea. In 1498 he would visit India. Yet the riches of East Africa were not lost on the Portuguese, and they would return to attempt to carve out their own commercial empire in East Africa, with again the slave trade as one of their most lucrative markets. In 1505 the Portuguese, with their firearms, would take both Kilwa and Mombasa as part of a virtual conquest

of the entire Indian Ocean, presenting the Bugandan kings with a new and rich source of trade.

The tumultuous changes going on outside Buganda's borders inevitably had an impact on the country and its people. Portuguese and Arabs clamored to have influence with the king, the kabaka, and contributed to instability within the royal house itself. The kabakas were still strong and took astute advantage of the turmoil between the Portuguese and the Arabs to expand their kingdom.

The 19th century saw even more powerful foreign powers enter the African scene. In 1806 Britain would conquer the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch, beginning the modern history of South Africa. In 1830–31 the French would begin the conquest of Algeria, opening their history of empire in North Africa. It was inevitable, as the European colonial powers expanded their control in Africa (Britain conquered Egypt in 1882), that the kingdom of Buganda could not stay immune from their influence. Buganda was visited by explorers, such as Henry Morton Stanley and John Hanning Speke, who were impressed by what they saw of the native kingdom. By this time, the internal pressures were causing Buganda to begin to fail as a viable state.

Finally, in 1885 the kabaka Mwanga II took an irrevocable step that would inevitably cost Buganda its independence. Between 1885 and 1887 Mwanga II had some 45 Christian converts, some 22 Catholic and 23 Anglican, murdered. Although he did this to thwart the growth of Christianity in his kingdom, the brave example of the martyrs only caused others to join their faith. At the same time, Muslims conspired to have a Muslim placed on the throne instead.

In 1867 a Bugandan king converted to Islam, if only in name. Mwanga II lost his throne, but managed to regain it. British intervention was guaranteed when, in the beginning of his persecution, Mwanga II had Anglican bishop James Hannington killed; Hannington had just been appointed to oversee the growing Anglican flock in East Africa.

At this time, Germany also entered the competition for Buganda. Carl Peters had established the colony of German East Africa, eventually known as Tanganyika. In November 1886 Great Britain and Germany signed an agreement dividing East Africa into the German zone and British East Africa, which bordered Buganda. Peters was determined to add all of Uganda to what the British called "German East."

By May 1890 Peters got Mwanga II to agree to a German protectorate over Uganda. This sent shock waves through London, where the headquarters of

the British East Africa Company could see their plans for an East African empire wither. On May 13, the British prime minister Lord Salisbury succeeded in convincing Kaiser Wilhelm I to give up any claims to Uganda and nearby territories in return for the island of Heligoland, which he saw as vital to the defense of the Kiel Canal. However, the British were taking no chances the kaiser might change his mind. The British government of Prime Minister Lord Roseberry dispatched Frederick Lugard in 1894 to end the chaos that was now causing Buganda to implode. Establishing a firm British protectorate over Buganda, as he later would do in Nigeria, in 1897, Lugard finally deposed Mwanga II.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## **Burlingame, Anson, and Burlingame Treaty (1868)**

Anson Burlingame was a lawyer who served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1855 to 1861 and as minister to China from 1861 to 1867. In 1868 the Chinese government appointed him ambassador to negotiate treaties on China's behalf with the United States and European nations. He died in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1870.

As a result of defeat by Great Britain and France in 1858 and again in 1860, China was forced to sign the Treaties of Tianjin (Tientsin) and Beijing (Peking), whereby Britain and France gained the right to establish legations in China's capital. Because of the most-favored-nation clause in the treaties, the United States also obtained that right.

Burlingame was the first U.S. minister to China, arriving in Beijing in 1862. He and British minister Sir Frederick Bruce championed a cooperative policy toward China based on four principles: cooperation among Western powers, cooperation with Chinese officials, recognition of legitimate Chinese interests, and enforcement of treaty rights. A decade of peace and goodwill prevailed in Sino-Western relations as a result.

China did not at first reciprocate in establishing diplomatic missions abroad despite urgings by Western nations. In 1862 a minor, Emperor TONGZHI (T'ung-

chih), ascended the Chinese throne; his uncle PRINCE GONG (K'ung) acted as regent and took charge of foreign affairs. Prince Gong needed to understand international law and Western diplomatic practices and obtained the help of an Englishman, ROBERT HART, who commissioned W. A. P. Martin and his Chinese assistants to translate 24 essays on international diplomacy into Chinese from a book by Henry Wheaton titled *Elements of International Law*. Burlingame played a role in their publication and presented a copy to Prince Gong in 1864.

The Treaty of Beijing was up for revision in 1868. That prospect aroused fear among Chinese officials due to the persistent demands of Western merchants for a more aggressive policy toward China to force further concessions. At this juncture Burlingame's tour of duty in China ended. He volunteered to represent China in a roving diplomatic mission to the West. Prince Gong accepted and appointed him and two Chinese as coenvoys.

They arrived in the United States in 1868, were received by President Andrew Johnson, and signed a treaty (called the Burlingame Treaty) with Secretary of State Seward. By its terms the United States agreed not to interfere in China's development, allowed China to establish consulates in the United States, permitted Chinese laborers to enter the United States, and granted reciprocal rights of residence, travel, and access to schools in either country. The embassy next traveled to Britain, Prussia, and Russia, where Burlingame died as a result of pneumonia. The other envoys then visited several other European countries before returning to China in 1870. All European nations agreed not to force China into new agreements.

This was China's first diplomatic mission abroad since being opened by the West. It was a great success in achieving China's immediate goals by securing Western powers' commitment to a policy of restraint and noncoercion toward China.

See also TONGZHI RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT.

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## Burmese Wars, First, Second, and Third

The three Burmese Wars were the result of frictions between the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, which ruled a growing British dominion in India, and the kingdom of Burma, or Ava. The First Burmese War was fought from 1824 to 1826 over long-standing frontier disputes that the East India Company inherited from the MUGHAL DYNASTY of India.

At the same time that the British East India Company was expanding in India, Burma had regained unity as the kingdom of Ava in 1752. The first king of a reunified Burma is considered to be Alaungpaya, who reigned from 1752 to 1760. Even before Alaungpaya had reunited Burma, there had been friction between the British and the kingdom of Pegu. In the 1730s the British established a diplomatic resident in Syriam in Pegu to help its trade and gain access to valuable timber. But in 1743 internal unrest caused Syriam to be sacked, and the British representative returned to India. The reign of King Bagyidaw began in 1819. He annexed Assam in 1819 and went on to claim Manipur in 1822.

Faced by the Burmese invasion, the local rulers preferred protection under the British East India Company and sought its help. The Burmese struck first on September 23, 1823. In March 1824 the East India Company declared war on Burma and the governor-general Amherst executed a three-pronged assault on the kingdom of Ava. During the British invasion, some Karens, a Burmese ethnic group, actively supported the British, serving as guides. By 1825 British forces had captured the ancient city of Pagan and the king decided to make peace with the British. The war ended with the Treaty of Yandabo in February 1826 that ended the First Burmese War, with Britain gaining valuable coast territory in southern Burma.

Peace between the East India Company and the kingdom of Ava lasted until 1852 when Governor-General Dalhousie, wishing to gain complete control of the sea lanes between India and Singapore, sent an ultimatum to King Pagan Min of Ava, threatening that hostilities would begin unless the company's demands were met by the Burmese within one month. The demands made by the British stemmed from the Treaty of Yandabo. While the Burmese were quick to appease the British, England found enough reason to attack. Facing no real opposition, Dalhousie's forces annexed the main towns of southern Burma. With the end of the Second Burmese War, the British were

masters of southern Burma. Pagan Min died in February 1853, succeeded by Mindon Min. The British, unsure of the determination of the new king to fight and reluctant to be drawn deeper into fighting in the jungles of Burma, were content with the gains they had already made.

Mindon Min proved to be an astute diplomat in the competition for empire between France and Britain in Southeast Asia. In 1878, Mindon Min was succeeded on the throne by Thibaw Min, who continued to play off the French against the British. Thibaw Min, however, lacked the diplomatic skill of his predecessor and eventually ended up in war against the British.

In 1885 the Third Burmese War began when a British force numbering 9,000, with 2,800 local levies under the command of General H. N. D. Prendergast, attacked the Burmese capital at Mandalay. The official reason for the war dated back to 1878 when King Thibaw came to the throne and sought to erode British influence. In early 1885 he insisted that British representatives remove their shoes when entering his palace. With rising tensions, Thibaw began to support tribesmen in Lower Burma who were opposed to British rule. The true reason for the war was more likely that the British were worried about increasing French influence in the region—the French foreign minister Jules Ferry having begun meetings with a Burmese delegation. This coincided with a French consul taking up residence in Mandalay, although he was withdrawn for “health reasons” by the French in a diplomatic retreat soon afterward.

On October 22, 1885, the British issued an ultimatum to Thibaw demanding that the Burmese accept a British resident in Mandalay and that the British control all foreign relations of the kingdom, thereby making it a protectorate. There were also minor issues such as the matter of a fine imposed on the Bombay Burmah Trading Company because the company had underreported its logging of teak and had been underpaying its local staff. Another influence was undoubtedly British interest in the oil deposits there. On November 9 the Burmese refused to consider the British demands, and war became inevitable, with the British mustering their forces at Thayetmo.

The British advanced up the Irrawaddy River from Thayetmo on November 14. They used flat-bottomed boats manned by the Royal Navy, taking with them 24 machine guns and many ships containing supplies and ammunition. The British land forces took control of

the redoubt at Minhla, where the Burmese put up some resistance on November 17. On November 26, with the flotilla close to Mandalay, envoys from Thibaw met with General Sir Harry Prendergast and offered to surrender. The British reached Ava on the following day and accepted the Burmese surrender.

On November 28, the British started sacking Mandalay, and then a number of them were sent to Bhamo, which they reached on December 28. The war ended with the British annexation of Burma on January 1, 1886. The war was conducted with little loss of life to the British and was a further example, after the Anglo-Zulu War, of what became known as the British Forward policy.

The governor-general had been replaced by a viceroy, who ruled India directly in the name of Queen VICTORIA, who by now was the queen-empress. At the time of the Third Burmese War, Viceroy Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood (later, first marquis of Dufferin and Ava) was able to martial Crown forces that Thibaw could not match. As expected Thibaw refused the British ultimatum. After an astonishing attack, Thibaw finally told his men to lay down their weapons and acknowledged British victory.

Mandalay fell, and King Thibaw was imprisoned, although his rank as king would have been respected. After Mandalay was captured, the British went on to capture Bhamo on December 28, 1885. The British wanted to overawe the Burmese and thwart any Chinese move into Burma. On January 1, 1886, the rump state of Thibaw’s Kingdom of Ava, or Upper Burma, was also annexed to British India. The final act took place when Upper and Lower Burma were united as Burma and placed firmly within the British Raj, or Indian empire. Sir Frederick Roberts, the hero of the Second Afghan War, completed the pacification of Burma, using Indian cavalry regiments and locally raised troops to subdue remaining pockets of Burmese resistance, although guerrilla warfare would last until at least 1890.

See also **ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WARS; NAPOLEON I.**

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## Canadian Confederation

Prior to 1867 North American Canada was better described as a collection of Canadas. The Atlantic Maritime provinces focused on fishing, lumbering, and shipping. Lower Canada was home to New France habitants pushed unwillingly into the British Empire when the SEVEN YEARS' WAR/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR ended in 1763. Upper Canada (Ontario) was the hub of British colonial power and wealth. North and west of the Great Lakes, a mixed population of Indians, fur traders, Hudson's Bay Company agents, and prospectors, many Canadian, others Americans, generally evaded supervision by either of their governments.

As early as 1790 in the wake of an AMERICAN REVOLUTION that fractured British power in North America, proposals emerged for a stronger union among Britain's remaining colonies. Not until the 1850s, however, did political and opinion leaders become serious about creating a real Canadian nationhood for the country's 4 million inhabitants. Among the issues at stake were continued fear of U.S. encroachment and economic power and controversial plans to assert control over western lands for the purpose of building a transcontinental railroad.

This simmering crisis over Canada's future came to a head when the United States erupted in CIVIL WAR in 1861. As Great Britain's government considered recognizing the seceding Southern Confederacy, Canada became a handy target for outraged Union supporters who often also harbored designs on Canadian lands.

Irish-American nationalists, called Fenians, used Union resentment against Britain to send their own anti-British message by attacking Canadian towns. More devastating to Canada was America's cancellation, as the Civil War was ending, of a 12-year-old United States/Canada trade reciprocity agreement vital to most Canadian provinces.

Against this backdrop, Canadian politicians began in 1864 to rough out a new plan for union. Although Britain's parliament would have the final say, the process of creating a new dominion of Canada was very much propelled by local leaders. Influential Toronto newspaper editor George Brown proposed a federal Canada, combining the constitutional model of U.S. federalism with Britain's parliamentary system, but with improvements to both. Powerful politician JOHN A. MACDONALD, later first prime minister of a federated Canada, insisted that all of Canada's provinces would be included. Québec leader George-Étienne Cartier won support among French-Canadians by assuring them that new provincial powers were strong enough to protect French culture and language. As Fenian attacks across the U.S.-Canada border crested in 1866, dominion backers used this threat to attract crucial political support to their plan. On July 1, 1867, after Parliament ratified the British North America Act, the Dominion of Canada was born. The new Canada, although still closely tied to Britain, had moved from colonial dependency to a status much closer to sovereign nationhood.

Dominion, of course, did not solve all of Canada's problems and, indeed, created some new ones. The



Maritimes, especially Nova Scotia, had little interest in sending their tax money to develop the west. Talk of secession was eased by financial and political concessions. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia joined Québec and Ontario in the Dominion in 1869. Prince Edward Island held out until 1873; Newfoundland did not formally join Canada until 1949.

Unlike their southern neighbors, Canadians had never adopted MANIFEST DESTINY, the idea that Canadians must dominate their continent from sea to sea. But the possibility of expanding Canada westward was crucial to the success of the dominion plan, and with dominion came the powers necessary to open new territories to immigration, trade, and development.

One problem was the role of the Hudson's Bay Company, a quasi-private fur and sundries trading company founded in 1670 under a royal charter granted by England's king Charles II. For practical purposes, company officers were the overseers, if not the actual governors, of the prairie lands west of Canada proper. The people of this huge territory, many of them members of Indian tribes or of mixed Indian and English or French heritage, were justifiably alarmed by the new central government's looming buy-out of "Bay" holdings.

In 1869 Canadian surveyors appeared in the Red River region, north of the United States's North Dakota/Minnesota border. They imposed new rectangular boundaries that ignored long-established farms and properties. Residents, many of them French, or French-Indian (also known as Métis) threatened violence. Resistance to faraway Canada became better organized under the leadership of LOUIS RIEL, a well-educated Red River native of Métis descent. Seizing the settlement of Fort Garry (now Winnipeg), Riel and his followers demanded negotiations.

The Red River Rising of 1869–70 began without bloodshed. But efforts to solve competing claims of territory and authority reawakened ancient hostilities between French, English, and Native Canadians. In March 1870 Riel and his men captured and executed a particularly insolent English opponent. Nonetheless, peace was uneasily maintained. In May 1870 the Red River region formally became part of the new Canadian province of Manitoba. The vast remaining unorganized territories between Manitoba and British Columbia, a Pacific coast province since 1858, became Canada's Northwest Territories. Even when these lands gained provincial status, Ottawa maintained far more control over their affairs than it did in "Old Canada."

By 1885 a private consortium, aided by huge government subsidies and land grants, completed the Cana-

dian Pacific Railway, connecting Canada's new west to the rest of the much-enlarged nation. The same year, the Northwest Rebellion in the new province of Saskatchewan revealed that Canadian federation had not resolved all the racial and sectional grievances of Métis, Native tribes, and other western settlers. Led once again by Riel, by then declining into mental illness, this uprising ended in Riel's execution, setting off outrage among French-Canadians. Canada in 1885 was a far larger and considerably more independent and developed nation than it had been on July 1, 1867. But it still faced the challenge of truly melding its disparate Canadas into a harmonious whole.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADA; FENIAN RAIDS; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Canton system

In mid-18th century the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY of China confined all foreign traders to the port of Canton (Guangzhou) in southern China and restricted trade. In Canton, all merchants were banned from direct contact with Chinese officials and were confined to an area of 13 factories, located outside the city walls. All foreign traders lived in quarters that came to be known by locals as factories. Since no women were allowed to enter these factories, the nearest families were housed in Macao, a nearby town that the previous Ming dynasty had ceded to Portugal. The area became the center of foreign trade in China.

While in Canton, all trade was controlled by the Chinese merchants, known as *hongs*, who imported goods from inland China to trade with the merchants who arrived in Canton each year. The responsibility for overseeing Canton trading activities and for collecting all taxes was delegated by the emperor to a *hoppo*. The *hoppo* and the guild of hong merchants were held accountable for all transactions, including the behavior of all foreign merchants.

As the foreign ships arrived in Canton, they were inspected by Chinese officials and assessed tariffs, and the Chinese frequently demanded bribes. Since they were

banned from learning Chinese, all traders were forced to hire local interpreters.

The Canton system of trade created resentment that was particularly strong among British traders who expected more respect of the foreign trade in China. However, as long as the foreign traders were greedy for Chinese goods such as tea, silk, porcelain, and lacquerware, they were forced to accept China's terms. In return for Chinese goods, the hong merchants imported tin, copper, lead, iron, wool, cotton, and linen. Up to the end of the 18th century, China enjoyed a trade balance with Great Britain.

In June 1793 King George III of Great Britain dispatched Lord George Macartney as ambassador to China to meet with Emperor QIANLONG (Ch'ien-lung) and request that China open up other ports for trading and other concessions. The emperor responded that compliance with Macartney's requests was inconsistent with "dynastic usage." He also summarily refused the king's request to open up additional ports.

By 1800 foreign traders had discovered a product that an increasing number of Chinese demanded: opium. Approximately 40,000 chests, each containing 133 pounds of opium, were being imported into Canton each year by the 1830s. Although opium was banned, foreign traders continued to smuggle it into the country. In an effort to call a halt to such smuggling, Emperor Daoguang (Tao-kuang) charged LIN ZEXU (Lin Tse-Hsu) with the task of ending the opium trade in China in 1839. Lin immediately set about reinforcing China's laws. Raids upon local opium dens netted thousands of opium pipes, but large quantities of opium remained in foreign hands.

Commissioner Lin next issued a two-pronged ultimatum to all foreign opium traders. They could either leave China immediately, or they could surrender all opium to officials. Failure to comply would result in their being prohibited in carrying out legitimate trade. A number of traders chose to leave China, some signed a bond, but others took a wait-and-see attitude. British traders developed a plan whereby they would surrender only a few chests as tokens. Lin was not deceived and continued the standoff.

Lin then removed all Chinese servants from the offending factories. The standoff lasted 47 days before the British traders surrendered some 20,000 chests of opium containing over 3 million pounds of raw opium. The opium of British merchants was first handed over to the British superintendent of trade in Canton, which made it British government property. Elliot then handed the chests over to the commissioner, Lin, who had them destroyed.

Major problems, however, remained unresolved between China and Britain, culminating in war. The first ANGLIC-CHINESE OPIUM WAR (1839–42) resulted in British victory. The Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking) ended the hong system and Canton's special position as the only port of entry in China's trade with the West.

See also MACARTNEY MISSION TO CHINA.

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ELIZABETH PURDY

## Catherine the Great

(1729–1796) *Russian czarina*

When Czarina Elizabeth died in December 1761, her nephew Peter ascended the throne. He had already alienated his wife, Catherine (Sophia Augusta, the princess of Anhalt-Zerbst in the Holy Roman Empire), by his evident lack of affection for her. Some historians believe that their son Paul was actually fathered by her lover Sergei Saltykov, a rumor believed at the time by Czarina Elizabeth prior to her death. Catherine lived in fear that without the czarina's protection, Peter might do away with her. He already had had at least one mistress, Elizabeth Vorontzov. Catherine decided to strike first, for she knew that if Peter killed her, he might have Paul killed too.

Besides his wife, Peter III had also alienated the most important political force in the capital of St. Petersburg, the regiments of the Russian Imperial Guard. Although Catherine was German by birth, she had successfully won over the Guards during the years since her first appearance at court.

To them, she was a Russian czarina, and Peter III a German usurper. Assured of the Guards' support by her current lover, Gregori Orlov, himself an officer in the Ismailovski Regiment, his brother Alexei Orlov, and other officers, Catherine seized power from Peter III in a coup on June 28, 1762.

In her manifesto Catherine declared that Peter III had intended to "destroy us completely and to deprive us of life." Peter was forced to abdicate and on July 6 was killed, apparently in a quarrel with one of those

guarding him. Whether Catherine was a party to his death, historians will never really know. But with Peter removed from the scene, she most likely slept more soundly than she had in years. On September 22, 1762, Catherine was crowned empress and autocrat of all the Russias.

Although the Imperial Guards regiments had supported her, some of them still felt a sovereign from the ROMANOV DYNASTY should rule them, not a German-born princess. To tighten her control of the Guards, and the rest of society, Catherine reinstated the secret police that Peter had abolished in one of his enlightened reforms. Catherine's secret branch became the model for the Okhrana, the special police who would serve the czars until the very end.

Foreign affairs first claimed her attention as Russia struggled with the aftermath of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. In 1763 Augustus III of Poland died, and the Poles began the process of electing a new king in their Sejm, or parliament. As the elector of Saxony in the Holy Roman Empire, Augustus's son Frederick Christian automatically became the elector, but there was dissension over who would succeed him as king of Poland. Catherine favored Stanislas Poniatowski to succeed Augustus as king, partly because Stanislas had once been her lover, and she wanted a friendly Poland. With the weight of the huge Russian army tilting the scales now in his favor, Stanislas was duly elected the next king by the Polish Sejm as Stanislas II Augustus in 1764.

Ironically, Poland would become the means of finally making peace among the belligerent nations of the Seven Years' War. Prussia, supported by England, had fought against the Austrian Empire, France, and Russia during the conflict. In an attempt to make peace among them, the three eastern powers, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, decided to partition Poland. The first partition took place in 1772, to be followed by subsequent partitions in 1793 and 1795. By the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, Poland no longer existed as a state, and Stanislas II, without a kingdom to rule, abdicated his no-longer-existing throne. It would not be until the aftermath of World War I that Poland would rise again as an independent nation.

With Russia's western front secured, Catherine now moved against Russia's traditional enemies to the south and east, the Ottoman Empire and its vassals, the khans of the Crimea, the Gerei dynasty. In 1768 Catherine began war against the Ottoman Empire, now in its decline under the sultan Mustafa III. On July 10, 1774, the Russians under Field Marshal Peter Rumiantsev and the Turks signed a peace at the village

of Kuchuk-Kainardji in the Balkans. Russia gained full access to the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Sea and the independence of the Crimean khanate from Ottoman rule. In return, Russia returned much of the lands in the Balkans and along the Danube that it had conquered from the Turks. But it was evident that the Russians reserved the right to intervene at any time in the region.

This became the bedrock of the Pan-Slav movement of the 19th century, when the Russians felt themselves to be the particular protectors of the Slavs who still lived under Turkish rule in the Balkans. In 1778 the Turks launched a fleet on the Black Sea to send an expeditionary force to help the foundering Crimean khanate, but the Turkish fleet sailed aimlessly in the Black Sea until foul weather forced it to seek refuge at the Ottoman naval base at Sinope. In 1783 Catherine II's new favorite, Prince Grigori Potemkin, threatened the khanate with a Russian invasion. Bahadur II Gerei, the last of his dynasty, abdicated to be pensioned off by Catherine II, now becoming known as Catherine the Great.

The great campaigns, however, had thrust an intolerable burden onto the peasants, the vast majority of the Russian population. The policy of serfdom, reducing peasants to virtual slaves on the great landownings of the nobility, had by now reached most of Russia. The need for weapons for the wars had put inhuman demands on the workers in the Ural mines, and often soldiers had to be sent in to quell labor disputes.

In 1773 a Yaik Cossack by the name of Emilian Pugachev proclaimed that he was Peter III, who had come back to save the Russians from the tyranny of "the German woman." With her forces largely committed to the war with the Turks, Catherine's military resources were limited. Pugachev seized the great city of Kazan, and Nizhni-Novgorod, the third city of her empire, was destroyed when the serfs there rose in support of Czar Peter. When she saw that Pugachev might reach Moscow, and perhaps St. Petersburg, Catherine brought her troops home. With the return of thousands of her veteran troops, the tide turned rapidly against Pugachev. On January 10, 1775, he was beheaded in Moscow.

The experience with the Pugachev rebellion did not deter Catherine from her desire to modernize Russia. A self-educated woman, she corresponded regularly with the leaders of the ENLIGHTENMENT, like VOLTAIRE and Denis Diderot in France. Among Catherine's initiatives to modernize Russia were the abolition of torture (even with Pugachev) and the encouragement of industrial and agricultural growth. She also extended equal rights to the empire's Muslim population, which had grown



A monument to Empress Catherine the Great in Vilna. Her reign encompassed several wars, but she saw herself as a peacemaker.

greatly with the annexation of the Crimea after 1783. They were given the right to build mosques, although, as with all religions, Islam was kept under scrutiny by the state, and the Russian Orthodox Church remained paramount in the empire.

By the late 1770s Catherine had become to see herself as a peacemaker in Europe. On December 30, 1777, Maximilian Joseph, the elector of Bavaria, died. Frederick II of Prussia was pitted against the Empress MARIA THERESA of Austria, who ruled jointly with her son, Emperor JOSEPH II. Although Frederick began the War of the Bavarian Succession in April 1778, neither side was anxious for another bloody war like the Seven Years' War of 1756 to 1763. Although Catherine favored Frederick, both sides accepted her mediation, and the war came to an end at the Peace of Teschen in April 1779. Both Austria and Prussia received Bavarian territory in compensation, but the new elector ruled a free Bavaria as Charles Theodore.

By this time, Catherine had to face a threat from an unexpected quarter. For nearly 60 years, the thoughts

of the French Enlightenment, enlivened by her friends Voltaire and Diderot, had undermined popular support for the Bourbon dynasty in France. In July 1789 revolution broke out in France, sending shock waves throughout the monarchies of Europe. Even worse was to come when, during the Turkish War, King LOUIS XVI of France was beheaded in Paris in January 1793 by the revolutionary Committee of Public Safety. The shock to Catherine was severe—the ideas of the very men she had supported and felt were her allies had led to the death of a king. In 1793, with the countries that had invaded France thrown back, the armies of revolutionary France began to spread the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity throughout Europe against the forces of the First Coalition, of which Russia was a member. Nobody will ever be fully able to gauge the result of the revolutionary upheaval upon Catherine the Great, but her beliefs in progress and enlightened rule were totally shaken by the upheavals upsetting the Old Order in Europe.

On November 6, 1796, following a massive stroke, Catherine died, having ruled Russia for 34 years. Whatever the results of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, neither Europe nor Russia would ever be the same again after the reign of Czarina Ekaterina, Empress Catherine the Great.

See also POLAND, PARTITIONS OF.

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## caudillos and caudillismo

Understanding the phenomenon of the caudillo is essential for understanding the political history of 19th-century Latin America. (The terms *caudillismo* and *caudillaje* refer to the more general phenomenon of rule by caudillos.)

While there is no universal definition that fits every caudillo under all circumstances, scholars generally agree on a cluster of attributes that most caudillos

shared and that together provide a viable working definition of the caudillo phenomenon.

In general, a caudillo was a political-military strongman who wielded political authority and exercised political and military power by virtue of personal charisma, control of resources such as land and property, the personal loyalty of his followers and clients, reliance on extensive clientage networks, the capacity to dispense patronage and resources to clients, and personal control of the means of organized violence. Some caudillos were also distinguished by their exceptional personal courage, physical prowess, or ability to lead men in battle. Many also displayed a kind of hyper-masculinity and macho swagger that emphasized their maleness in explicitly sexualized terms.

In many ways, the keyword is *personal*: a caudillo was a type of leader, marked by his style of leadership, and most defined by the personal nature of his rule. Constitutions, state bureaucracies, representative assemblies, periodic elections—these and other institutional constraints on individual and personal power, commonly associated with modern state forms, all were antithetical to the caudillo style of rule, while also often coexisting in tension with it. Ideology mattered little, as caudillos ran the gamut from populist revolutionaries to moderate liberals to staunch conservatives.

There is broad agreement that the shorter-term origins of caudillismo can be traced to the tumult of the independence period, as local and regional military chieftains emerged in the fight against the Spanish. A paradigmatic example is José Antonio Páez of the Venezuelan plains (*llanos*), “totally uneducated, illiterate, and unurbanized, reared in the sun, rain, and ranges of the llanos...built like an ox, bloodthirsty, suspicious, and cunning...an unrivalled guerrilla leader” who went on to become one of SIMÓN BOLÍVAR’s key allies, and, in 1830, first president of the Republic of Venezuela, where he dominated political life for the next third of a century. The process by which regional chieftains like Páez became national leaders is the subject of an extensive literature.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from Páez, in terms of both his personal background and rise to power, was the Argentine caudillo JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. Scion of an elite *porteño* (Buenos Aires) Creole family, Rosas left the port city as a young man to become a cattle rancher and property owner in the pampas of the interior, living and working among the GAUCHOS, from whom he demanded absolute obedience and loyalty, and among whom he developed his base of social support. In this he represented the rising

class of *estancieros* (estate owners) whose wealth and power were based not on inherited privilege or control of state offices but on control of land, men, and resources. Rosas did not participate in the independence battles against Spain but became a key player in the subsequent struggles that defined the shape of post-independence Argentina.

Rosas was opposed to the liberal, unitarian, modernizing regime of BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA, whose policies were designed to make Buenos Aires equal with the other provinces of the Río de la Plata. His opposition to Rivadavia was not rooted in ideology but in the belief that Buenos Aires should retain its superior power. With his base of support secure, Rosas allied with the federalists who overthrew Rivadavia. Soon after, he became the governor of Buenos Aires and then absolute dictator. His style of leadership was profoundly personal: All power and authority flowed directly from him. Dispensing favors and patronage to his loyal allies, he also terrorized his foes, in part through his feared *mazorca* (literally, “ears of corn”—effectively, “enforcers”), a kind of goon squad responsible for upward of 2,000 murders during his years in power. Rosas was overthrown and exiled in 1852.

Other 19th-century caudillos demonstrated variations on these general themes. The Mexican Creole and self-proclaimed founder of the republic and caudillo of independence JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA was first and foremost a political opportunist—beginning his career as a royalist army officer in the service of Spain, donning the mantle of pro-independence liberalism and federalism in the 1820s, and switching sides again to become a staunch conservative and centralist from the mid-1830s. What remained consistent was his style of leadership: the cultivation of personal loyalty via the calculated dispensation of patronage and favors to clients and allies, the ruthless crushing of foes, and ostentatious displays and titles intended to glorify his person and inculcate unquestioned loyalty among his followers.

One could continue in this vein, identifying individual caudillos who came to dominate the political lives of their nations—the populist folk caudillo Rafael Carrera in Guatemala, the dictator PORFIRIO DÍAZ in Mexico, and many others. Scholars have proposed various caudillo typologies, distinguishing between the cultured caudillo and the barbarous caudillo, for instance, or identifying the consular caudillo, the super caudillo, and the folk caudillo, among others. The multiplicity of types suggests the tremendous variability of the phenomenon.

Not all caudillos were national leaders, however. More often they remained lesser figures who dominated their own locales or regions—men like Juan Facundo Quiroga and Martín Güemes in the Argentine interior, Juan Nepomuceno Moreno of Colombia, and many others. Not uncommonly, at local and regional levels, and in areas with substantial Indian populations, the phenomenon of the caudillo melded with that of the cacique, a local or regional political-military strongman, who deployed the same basic repertoire of techniques and styles of personalized rule and patronage-clientage to dominate regions, provinces, towns, and villages.

Indeed, the rule of national caudillos was predicated on the support of local and regional strongmen who served as their loyal and subordinate clients, who in turn dominated their own locales. Thus there emerged in many areas a kind of hierarchical network of caudillo power, with the primary caudillo dominant over numerous lesser secondary caudillos, in turn dominant over numerous lesser tertiary caudillos, and so on down the chain of loyalty, alliance, and patronage-clientage.

Modernizing elites desirous of creating more modern state forms were among the most vociferous opponents of caudillo rule. A classic critique is the work of Argentine statesman and scholar Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, whose influential and scathing biography, *Facundo* (or, *Civilizacion y barbarie, vida de Juan Facundo*), first published in 1845, decried the rule of “primitive” caudillos like Facundo and Rosas, while framing the caudillo phenomenon in the broader context of the epic struggle between civilization and barbarism.

There is no scholarly consensus on when the caudillo phenomenon ended, or even if it has ended. Some point to the first half of the 19th century as the heyday of caudillos and caudillismo; others argue that the phenomenon continued into the 20th century and after, transmuted into various forms of populism and dictatorship, and manifest in the likes of Juan Perón of Argentina, Fidel Castro of Cuba, and Hugo Chávez of Venezuela.

Despite vigorous debates over definitions, origins, periodization, and other aspects, however, few disagree that understanding the phenomenon of the caudillo and caudillismo is essential to understanding the political evolution of post-independence Latin America.

See also LATIN AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE IN; LATIN AMERICA, MACHISMO AND MARIANISMO IN.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Cavour, Camillo Benso di

(1810–1861) *Italian statesman*

Count Camillo Benso di Cavour was an Italian statesman who forged the unified Kingdom of Italy. Cavour was born in northwestern Italy in Turin, the capital of Piedmont-Sardinia, ruled by the House of Savoy. Cavour was earmarked for an army career, and he enrolled in the military academy of Turin. Because of his liberal views, however, he had to leave the army in 1831. He then administered the family’s estate. Cavour traveled widely in Europe, visiting France, Switzerland, and Great Britain, and his journeys reinforced his dislike for absolutism and clericalism.

Witnessing the constitutional monarchy of France under King Louis-Philippe, he became a strong supporter of constitutionalism. Originally, Cavour was interested in making Piedmont powerful rather than pursuing Italian unification. Convinced that economic reconstruction had to precede political change, he argued for free trade and railroad construction in the Italian Peninsula. His mind gradually changed, and he began to dream of a united Italy free of foreign influence.

With the election of the liberal Pope Pius IX in 1846, Cavour felt that the chance to advocate reform had come. Generally, Cavour did not believe that the pope would play a leading role in the unification movement. Instead, Cavour looked to King Charles Albert of Piedmont to implement the national program. In 1847 Cavour founded *Il Risorgimento* (“The Resurgence,” later a term for the unification of Italy), a newspaper advocating liberalism and unification. As editor, Cavour became a powerful figure in Piedmontese politics.

During 1848 a wave of revolutions swept Europe. Demonstrations in Genoa called for liberalization of the state, and Cavour supported the demands for a constitution in *Il Risorgimento*. Pressured by the influential paper and by the dissent in his kingdom, Charles Albert complied on February 8, 1848.

Cavour then urged the king to declare war against Austria, which ruled much of Italy at the time. Word arrived that the people of Milan on March 18, 1848, had initiated a war against the Austrians. Bowing to

pressure from Cavour's party, Charles Albert declared war on Austria.

Piedmont was defeated, but liberalism and nationalism were still strong. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, VICTOR EMMANUEL II. Under the new monarch, Cavour's career flourished. He became minister of agriculture and commerce in 1850 and minister of finance in 1851, finally becoming prime minister at the end of 1852. Cavour capitalized on the antipapal sentiment in Italy following Pius IX's refusal to wage war upon Austria. The defeat of 1848 also convinced Cavour of the need for a powerful ally to separate Austria from Italy. Cavour worked hard to strengthen the state, reorganizing its army, financial system, and bureaucracy. He also encouraged the development of industry, railroads, and factories, making Piedmont one of the most modernized European states of the time.

In 1854 Piedmont entered the CRIMEAN WAR as an ally of Great Britain and France in exchange for promises that the future of Italy would be considered an urgent issue with international scope. In 1856 Cavour presented the Italian case before the peace Congress of Paris. He succeeded in isolating Austria, compromising France in the Italian question, and getting the condition of Italy discussed by the great powers, who agreed that some remedy was in order. Cavour now saw that war with Austria was merely a question of time, and he began to establish connections with revolutionists of all parts of Italy. He sought to ingratiate himself with NAPOLEON III, emperor of the French, whose support he considered crucial to avenge the defeat of 1848–49.

Napoleon sympathized with the plan for a northern Italian kingdom, and in July 1858, the two plotted against Austria. Piedmont would be united with Tuscany, a truncated Papal State, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Napoleon promised that if Austria were to attack Piedmont-Sardinia, France would come to its aid. Cavour immediately set to provoking Austria into war, and in April 1859 Austria attacked. However, after victories at Magenta and Solferino, Napoleon signed an armistice, without informing his allies. The treaty allowed Austria to keep Venetia, but Piedmont received only Lombardy. Cavour, unwilling to accept the terms, resigned. The situation soon reversed itself when the citizens of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Bologna, and Romagna voted in March 1860 to become part of Piedmont-Sardinia.

Cavour returned to power in January 1860. Soon afterward, the Italian patriot GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI led his famous army of 1,000 adventurers into the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Neapolitan government

fell, and Garibaldi entered Naples in triumph. Following the collapse of the Neapolitan kingdom, Cavour engineered its annexation. He also managed to occupy the greater part of the Papal States, avoiding the city of Rome because Napoleon was pledged to protect the pope. Cavour's dream, save for Rome and Venetia, was now realized, and Italy was nearly united. On March 17, 1861, Cavour had the Piedmontese parliament proclaim Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. The parliament also proclaimed Rome the future capital, hoping to resolve the question through an agreement with the church. Three months later, Cavour died.

Cavour's political ideas were greatly influenced by the Revolution of 1830 in France, which proved to him that a monarchy was not incompatible with liberal principles. A strong belief in liberalism, an extensive knowledge of technology, and the dream of a unified Italy allowed Cavour to unite Italy and to modernize his country both politically and technologically. When he died, his work had been carried far enough that others could complete it. Cavour is undoubtedly the greatest figure of the Risorgimento. It was Cavour who organized it and skillfully conducted the negotiations that overcame all obstacles.

See also FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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MARTIN MOLL

## Central America: National War

The term *National War* in Central America refers to the combined military efforts of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador to defeat the forces of Tennessee-born U.S. filibuster William Walker in 1856–57. The Walker episode represented the pinnacle of 19th-century U.S. filibustering, or private mercenary efforts to invade, dominate, and govern territories in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean Basin.

The war against Walker briefly united Central America's fractious nation-states, while its aftermath ushered

in a period of elite convergence and relative political stability in Nicaragua that endured into the early 20th century. Nicaraguans tend to remember the Walker episode as the first instance of U.S. imperialist meddling in their country's internal affairs, providing a touchstone for anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiments well into the 20th century. That popular memory also tends to suppress key features of a war that all observers agree left a deep imprint on isthmian history.

In early 1855 Nicaraguan Liberals, based in the city of León, contracted with the soldier of fortune Walker, the self-proclaimed "Grey-Eyed Man of Destiny," in their ongoing civil conflict against that country's Conservatives, based in the city of Granada. The roots of the conflict between León's Liberals and Granada's Conservatives were complex, based on regional, political, and ideological divisions, and the efforts of elites in both regions to dominate the country's post-independence state. The origins of Nicaraguan Liberals's invitation to Walker can also be traced to their experience with U.S. travelers and businessmen in the transisthmian route across Nicaragua that developed in the wake of the California gold rush after 1849, most notably U.S. magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit Company, which began operations in 1851.

The 31-year-old Walker had gained fame principally in his unsuccessful filibustering ventures in Baja California and Sonora, Mexico, in 1853–54. Offering Walker and his fellow mercenaries 250 acres of land each following the Conservatives's defeat, León's Liberals were shocked when, following his army's victory in October 1855 and his usurpation of the presidency in July 1856, Walker launched a concerted effort to remake Nicaragua according to his own designs. Reinstating African slavery (abolished in 1824), he also sought to seize all state power, disfranchise the elites, confiscate elite properties, and transform the country into a Protestant slaveholding patrician society modeled on the U.S. South. His brazen power grab unified elites across Central America, who feared the loss of their own privileges and power.

Costa Rican forces, entering the country from the south, fought Walker's forces in April 1856, followed in July by the invasion from the north of a combined army of over 1,000 Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and Hondurans. A series of hard-fought battles followed, as Walker's army, stung by the desertion of most native troops, retreated to its strongholds in Granada and Rivas. Hemmed in on all sides, Walker ordered the burning of Granada. For Nicaraguans, the com-

plete destruction of the old colonial city by Walker's drunken filibusters ranks among the most horrific and memorable episodes of the conflict. With the crucial intervention of Cornelius Vanderbilt, with whom Walker had made a powerful enemy, Walker's forces surrendered on May 1, 1857. He made three further attempts to reestablish his regime; during the last, in 1860, the British navy captured him and Honduran authorities executed him.

In Central America, the National War is chiefly remembered as the first instance of U.S. imperialist and military meddling on the isthmus—even though the U.S. government played only a marginal role in the conflict. The war discredited Nicaragua's Liberals, who joined Conservatives in a series of governments that led to the most peaceful and stable period in post-independence Nicaraguan history to that time. What Nicaraguans and Central Americans tend not to emphasize is the role of León's Liberals in inviting Walker in the first place and the warm embrace he received during his first year. The National War and its aftermath shaped isthmian politics in enduring ways, especially in fostering anti-United States nationalist sentiments and continue to occupy an important position in the collective memory of Central Americans, especially in Nicaragua.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; LATIN AMERICA, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Ceylon: Dutch to British colony

The Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka in 1505 and took over the kingdoms of Kotte and Jaffna, with the kingdom of Kandy, largely because of its geographical position in the center of the island, managing to remain free of their rule. Thus, when the Dutch admiral George Spilberg landed on the east coast in the early 17th century, he was welcomed by the king of Kandy, who invited the Dutch to settle on the east coast of the



island. He saw that this would provide an important counterbalance to the Portuguese.

The first Dutch settlement was established in 1640 with William Jacobszoon Coster as the governor. In June 1640 Coster was murdered and replaced by Jan Thysen Payart, who had started establishing farms to grow cinnamon for export to Europe. It was the fifth governor, Adriaan van der Meijden, who decided to move decisively against the Portuguese. In 1658 he managed to drive them off the island, and the Dutch then gradually took over the south of the island, then the southwest and western coast. When they took over the entire east coast of the island in 1665, even though Kandy remained independent, they controlled all the ports. By 1765 the Dutch were in control of the entire coastline, and Kandy only held the isolated highlands in the center of the island that were too difficult to attack.

Officially the island was a possession of the Dutch East India Company, and it appointed a governor based in Colombo who ruled Ceylon as a colony. Most governors were only in Ceylon for short periods, but some had a lasting effect on the place. Jan Maetsuyker, governor from 1646 until 1650—before the Dutch took control of the whole island—relaxed laws on mixed marriages to try to encourage Dutch merchants to marry, assimilate, and remain on the island. He felt that this might allow them to compete with local merchants on a much stronger basis.

In contrast, Jacob van Kittensteijn, his successor from 1650 until 1653, regarded the local wives of merchants as being “vicious and immoral.” The situation changed again after the capture of Colombo and Jaffna in 1656–58 with some 200 Dutch soldiers and merchants marrying into the Indo-Portuguese community—many of these being the wives of Portuguese who were unceremoniously deported. Rijklof van Goens, one of the longest serving governors (who had captured Jaffna), governed 1662–63 and again 1665–75. He encouraged mixed marriages—or indeed any marriages—to try to build up an indigenous Dutch settler population. However, he legislated that daughters of mixed marriages should marry Dutchmen. This had the result of ensuring that there were large numbers of people on the island with Dutch surnames.

Rijklof van Goens was succeeded as governor by his son and then by Laurens Pijl from 1679 until 1692. These three governors provided much stability for the colonial infrastructure of the island, which was divided into three parts: Colombo, Galle, and Jaffna. The latter two parts had commanders who reported to the governor, whereas the governor ruled the area around Colombo

himself, with the assistance of a small nominated council. Lower levels of the bureaucracy were staffed by Sinhalese or Tamils who originated from southern India. The Sinhalese nobility kept their privileges, and, with no worry of invasion or civil war, they actually considerably increased their wealth.

The Dutch recognized Portuguese land titles (in contrast to their actions in Malacca and elsewhere), and they widened the private ownership of land, which for the Portuguese had only operated in urban areas. This resulted in the massive settlement of fertile land, with Dutch and largely Sinhalese businessmen and farmers being able to establish considerable land holdings. There were attempts to codify the local laws, but this proved much more complicated than expected. The result was that Dutch laws gradually came to apply to the cities and much of the coastal regions, especially in areas dominated by the Sinhalese. Muslim laws applied to Muslims on the east coast, and the Thesawalamai laws used by the Tamils of Jaffna were codified in 1707 and used there, although Christians there were subject to Dutch laws.

## RELIGION

In the area of religion, when the Dutch took Ceylon there were, nominally, about 250,000 Sinhalese and Tamil Roman Catholics, a quarter of these from the region around Jaffna. The Dutch banned Roman Catholicism, ejected all Catholic priests, and made it illegal for any to operate on the island. They also set about converting many of the local people to Calvinism. Roman Catholic churches were changed into Reformed churches, and many Catholics converted to Calvinism in name only, while others reverted to Hinduism or Buddhism. However, a shortage of Dutch ministers held up these plans, and Roman Catholics operated underground, especially from the Portuguese-held port of Goa, in India.

Although the Portuguese had made much revenue from Ceylon, the Dutch set about methodically expanding the revenue base of the country. The Portuguese had relied heavily on tariffs and obligatory labor for a certain number of days each year by the poor (in lieu of taxes); the Dutch maintained these but started establishing large plantations for cinnamon, which rapidly became the mainstay of the Dutch colonial economic structure in Ceylon.

The Dutch East India Company maintained a monopoly not only over the export of cinnamon but also over areca nuts, pearls, and elephants. They were particularly anxious to control the Ceylon economy tightly, and imports from India were so heavily restricted that

occasionally there were shortages of rice and textiles in Colombo. Gradually, some private traders were allowed to bring in these and some other goods, but the Dutch East India Company jealously guarded its monopolies.

With the Napoleonic Wars and the French invasion of the Netherlands and the deposing of the Dutch king, the British set about occupying Dutch colonies around the world to prevent them falling into French hands. As a result, in 1796 the British—strictly speaking the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY—took control of Ceylon, defeating the small Dutch force, which made a symbolic but futile resistance. The British placed the island under military rule and governed it from their settlement at Madras, as they expected to return Ceylon to the Dutch at the end of the war. However, the British quickly discovered the importance of the island—strategically as well as financially. In 1802 Ceylon was declared to be a British Crown Colony, and the British hold over the island was confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens later the same year.

The initial problem facing the British was the kingdom of Kandy in central Ceylon. Although the Dutch had managed to seize the entire coastline, they had never been able to subdue the independent kingdom. The British had recognized the sovereignty of the king of Kandy, but Robert Brownrigg, governor from 1812 until 1820, had other ideas. He found that the frontier between British territory and Kandy was a little uncertain in places and to guard it was extremely expensive. Furthermore it would obviously be far easier if the British controlled the entire island, which would remove political insecurity and help with communications around the island.

#### SOME PRIVILEGES

An early British attempt to attack Kandy in 1803 failed. However, Brownrigg took advantage of a crisis in Kandy. Making an alliance with some Kandyan nobles, in 1815 he sent soldiers into the kingdom and captured it. Kandyans were guaranteed some privileges and were able to preserve customary laws and institutions, as well as having religious freedoms. However, many Sinhalese saw the erosion of the independence of Kandy as a part of a wider attack on Buddhism. This led to a large Sinhalese revolt that took place in 1818. It was suppressed, and Kandy was then integrated with the rest of Ceylon. The British also introduced a new flag for Ceylon. It had a blue field with the Union flag in the corner, as with other British colonies, and a design showing an elephant in front of a stupa to represent Ceylon.

British moves in Ceylon, as with the Dutch, were to increase revenue, and more land was taken as the number of plantations increased, many owned by British companies. As well as growing cinnamon, the British set about cultivating, on a large scale, pepper, sugarcane, and coffee. They even experimented with cotton. Coincident with this, the British also instituted many reforms. Slavery was abolished, and salaries were now paid in cash rather than in land and food. The British also relaxed the need for people to provide compulsory labor for the government each year. Many Sinhalese and Tamils, however, especially in rural areas, did resent the increase in missionary activity by British and South Indian church groups.

In 1833 Robert Wilmot-Horton, who had become governor two years earlier, enacted a widespread series of reforms that essentially adopted a unitary administrative and judicial framework for the whole island. Special rights afforded to particular groups were abrogated; this would massively affect all of Ceylon, whose people gradually came to see themselves as Ceylonese. English became the language of government and also the medium of instruction in schools, which had increased massively in number in the 1820s and early 1830s. As well as this, Wilmot-Horton reduced the powers of the governor, who could no longer rule by decree. He established executive and legislative councils that would govern. The latter were initially comprised of British officials, but gradually unofficial members were appointed representing business interests.

On an economic front, the British abolished state monopolies and also finally ended the right of the colonial government to demand labor services in lieu of taxes. Crown land was sold to cultivators, and this caused the establishment of many more small plantations and the growth of the coffee industry. From the 1830s until the 1870s there was a massive expansion in the areas where coffee was under cultivation. The planters survived the collapse in the coffee price in 1847 and gradually, as more coffee plantations were established, there was a need for a cheap labor force, and many Tamil laborers from South India started to migrate to Ceylon, leading to a substantial Tamil population by the end of the 19th century.

Unfortunately, in 1869 a rust disease started attacking coffee crops. By 1871 it had devastated the coffee industry, and there was much discussion about what could productively be done with the land to maintain employment for both plantation managers and their staff. There had been a small tea industry in Ceylon since the 1860s—largely for local consumption. This



Bringing tea to market in Ceylon. Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka, was an important possession for the British. The island had strategic significance in its location near India and produced tea, cinnamon, pepper, and other valuable cash crops.

was expanded from the late 1870s with tea bushes being grown on slopes of the hill country where the land was able to be drained easily. Rubber and coconut plantations were also developed but never rivaled the tea industry, with Ceylon tea becoming well-known throughout the British Empire. Later, the tea industry was so identified with the island that it was able to use the traditional lion, from the flag of Ceylon (Sri Lanka after independence), to symbolize Ceylon tea.

Most of the infrastructure of colonial Ceylon was built by the British in the latter half of the 19th century: ports, public buildings, hospitals, roads and railways, schools, and a reliable postal and telegraph system. However, many of the problems that were to overshadow Ceylon in the late 20th century were already apparent. The cities and towns were fairly modern, with a well-educated population, many of whom spoke English fluently and were politically aware. Employment was easy for the middle class and the well connected. However, on the plantations large numbers of Tamil laborers lived in very basic conditions, often in hostels for men—without their families—and with family ties back on the Indian mainland. Outside the urban areas

and the plantations, the villages remained isolated from much of the economic life of the island, and people still survived by subsistence agriculture. Gradually roads, and in some cases railways, reduced this isolation.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Chakri dynasty and King Rama I

The Chakri dynasty was established on April 6, 1782, when Chao Phaya Chakri was crowned the king of Thailand (formerly Siam) as Rama I. The rulers belonging to the house of Chakri have been kings of Thailand

ever since. The illustrious rulers of this dynasty took the country out of troubled times during the colonial period. Their vision and leadership also modernized Thailand.

Rama I was born on March 20, 1737, to a noble of the Ayudhya kingdom, Phra Aksorn Sundara Smiantra. After finishing his education in Buddhist temples, he served in the royal household of the Ayudhya kings before joining the army. Phya Thaksin, Rama I's predecessor, had liberated Thailand after the Burmese devastation of Ayudhya in 1767. Rama I was in his service, participating in almost every battle fought by the king and was made governor of Ratchaburi Province. He was awarded the title Somdetch Chao Phraya Maha Kashatriya Suk (roughly equivalent to a duke) by Thaksin.

The Burmese attack had been repelled, and Cambodia and Luang Prabang were under Thai authority. The task of subjugating Vientiane was entrusted to Rama I, then an army general. He successfully completed his mission in 1778. The famous Emerald Buddha, in Vientiane's possession since 1564, was brought to the capital, Thonburi. The hostility of Buddhist monks against Thaksin's demand of obeisance led to his downfall and imprisonment. Once again, it seemed that the newly established peace and order of the kingdom would collapse in a civil war. Rama I rose to the occasion. He returned from Cambodia, where he was stationed for a military campaign, and assumed the royal title after restoring order.

Rama I shifted the capital from Thonburi to a site opposite on the bank of the river Chao Phraya. He planned the layout for a new city of Bangkok. It has remained the capital of Thailand ever since. On the eastern side of the river, he implemented a strong defense with double-lined fortification. Thonburi had been on both banks of the river to protect against Burmese attack.

Rama I did not have any plan to make an escape and concentrated on checking any future attack on the capital. A large Chinese community lived on the eastern side, so they were transferred a short distance downstream to Sampheng. It is now a famous Chinese shopping area. Within three years, the Grand Palace was constructed, and it still stands today. In keeping with earlier Thai monarchs, Rama I retained connections with Indic-style Sanskritized epithets that resulted in descriptions of the new city such as Impregnable City of God Indra, Grand Capital of the World, and City given by Indra and Built by Vishnukarma. The Emerald Buddha was installed in Wat Phra Kaew.

The reign of Rama I witnessed consolidation and expansion of the kingdom by extensive warfare. The Burmese attacks of King Bodawpaya were successfully

defeated in 1785 and 1787. The kingdom of Vientiane of Laos acknowledged the vassalage of Thailand. Chieng Mai and Chieng Saen were once again under Thailand's authority. Chao In of Luang Prabang remained as a vassal of Rama I. Thus Thai control extended into Laos.

In 1795 Rama I installed Anh Eng as ruler of Cambodia after annexing the provinces of Battambang, Siemreap, and portions of Korat. When the powerful Gia Long unified Vietnam, Cambodia had to acknowledge suzerainty of both Thailand and Vietnam. The sultans of Kedah, Kelantan, and Trenggannu acknowledged the suzerainty of the Thai monarch until the British took over the sultanates in 1909.

Rama I revamped administration in the provinces as well as the capital, making his rule very centralized. The incessant Burmese invasions of the 18th century had made both the Thai bureaucracy and monkhood corrupt and lax. Between 1784 and 1801 Rama I restored the moral standard of the Buddhist monks by a series of royal decrees.

The Buddhist scripture, the Tripitaka (three baskets), and Thai civil law had been destroyed at the time of the Burmese sack of the earlier capital Ayudhya. Rama I called a Buddhist council in 1788, in which 250 monks and Buddhist scholars participated, to reconstruct the Tripitaka. The Thai king was the defender of Theravada Buddhism and the pillar of Thai governance and society, and Rama I performed his obligation to the fullest extent.

Rama I also appointed a supreme patriarch of Thai Buddhism. Further, he appointed a commission in 1795 consisting of 11 jurists and scholars to look into the laws promulgated by Rama Tibodi I (founder of Ayudhya dynasty), who reigned in the 14th century. The code of laws comprising indigenous practices and Indian legal concepts was somewhat altered. The new code of 1804, known as Laws of the Three Seals, categorized the 48 provinces of the kingdom, each with a governor, most of whom were members of the royalty and served three-year terms.

The code also enumerated provisions for civil and military administration. According to Thai sources, Rama I was a benevolent ruler who looked after the needs of his subjects, these codes being a primary example of his benevolence.

There was a flourishing of Thai literature and translations under Rama I. He had initiated the royal writings known as *Phra Rajanibondh*, and he wrote the Thai version of the Indian epic, the *Ramayana*, which depicted the feats of a hero named Rama.



A Currier & Ives print of the Great Chicago Fire on Sunday, October 8, 1871. The fire panicked citizens and caused widespread damage but produced a reinvented, modern city in its wake.

Rama I died on September 7, 1809, in Bangkok and was succeeded by his son, Prince Isarasundorn, as King Rama II. He left a legacy in Thai history as a patron of literature, a lawmaker, and a builder of empire.

See also BURMESE WARS, FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD; RAMA V.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Chicago Fire (1871)

The fast-moving blaze that consumed more than three square miles of Chicago, Illinois, causing the Chicago River to boil, killing at least 300, and leaving 90,000 homeless, would, within two decades, produce a reinvented city more prosperous and beautiful than had seemed possible when the fire burned itself out after 36 hours. In the process of renewal, the Great Fire tested the ability of politicians, magnates, and ordinary city dwellers to deal effectively with the human causes and outcomes of natural disaster.

Chicago, 37 years old in the tinder-dry summer of 1871, was a fast-growing, 35-square-mile city of 300,000. Located at the confluence of Lake Michigan, major canals, and a growing railroad network, the city was a place of fevered speculation and rapid growth that produced showy mansions abutting the

mostly wooden shacks of an expanding poor and immigrant population.

It was in one such southwest neighborhood that the fire of Sunday, October 8, was ignited, possibly, although not conclusively, by a lamp overturned in a De Koven Street barn by a cow owned by Mrs. O'Leary, an Irish immigrant. Just a day earlier, a fire in an industrial district had been contained, but only after \$1 million in damage. Already exhausted, fire fighters were unable to quell the new blaze, despite some success by men under the direction of CIVIL WAR veteran general Philip Sheridan who used gunpowder to curb the fire's southerly spread. Major enterprises, including a flour mill, the city's water supply system, rail yards, the McCormick Reaper Works, and even the "fire-proof" headquarters of the *Chicago Tribune*, were destroyed. Overall losses would be estimated at \$196 million.

Amid acres of twisted rubble, rebuilding began almost before the coals had cooled. Fire debris was used as landfill to expand the city along the lake and river. Shorn of buildings, some parts of Chicago, including its famous loop, became targets of investment and speculation. The importance of the city as an agricultural depot and manufacturing and transportation center assured that financiers from Wall Street and elsewhere would lend ample money for rebuilding.

The initial recovery proceeded with great speed, making Chicagoans feel better about their ruined city, but it produced mostly shoddy structures that ignored lessons about the need for planning and fire resistance administered by the Great Fire.

A nationwide financial panic of 1873 brought much of Chicago's building frenzy to a halt. In 1874 the so-called "Little Chicago Fire" inflicted millions in new damage to the city. By the time business conditions improved, a new generation of architects, including Daniel Burnham, John Wellborn Root, and Louis Sullivan, had emerged, along with such newly available technologies as structural steel and elevators. The result would be an innovative new architecture that made Chicago a national and international leader in the field.

By 1893 the Columbian Exposition, a hugely successful world's fair, would showcase a reborn Chicago and highlight the city's triumph over both natural and human disaster.

See also NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## China, spheres of influence in

China's military and economic weakness and heightened Western imperialism worldwide during the 1890s resulted in the division of China into Western spheres of influence that threatened its eventual partition. The downward spiral began with the SINO-JAPANESE WAR, caused by Japan's quest to control Korea, a Chinese vassal state. China's resounding defeat was reflected in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), whereby it gave up protectorship over Korea, ceded Taiwan and the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula to Japan, and paid a huge indemnity. Fearing that Japanese control of the Liaodong Peninsula would give it undue influence over the Chinese capital at nearby Beijing (Peking), Germany, France, and Russia sent identical notes to Japan in April 1898 that forced Japan to return Liaodong to China in exchange for a larger indemnity. This action was called the Far Eastern Triplice, and, for helping China, the three powers obtained several economic concessions.

Germany began the move to divide China into spheres of influence in 1898 with a number of demands: that the Chinese government lease Jiaozhou (Kiaochow) on the Shandong (Shantung) coast to Germany as a naval base for 99 years; grant Germany the right to build railways, including one to link Jiaozhou with Jinan (Chinan), capital of Shandong province; grant German banks and companies exclusive rights to loan money for development projects in Shandong; and other concessions. China bowed to Germany's demands and other imperialist nations followed Germany's lead. Russia added to its existing privileges in northeastern China. They included building the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian Railways, branch lines of the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria to Port Arthur and Dairen (which it leased from China for 25 years) on the Gulf of Peichili, and extensive economic rights in Manchuria.

Great Britain followed by leasing Weihaiwei (near Jiaochou) as a naval base for 25 years and the Kowloon New Territory for 99 years. It also secured China's promise to protect the Yangzi (Yangtze) River Valley, which became a British sphere of influence. France leased Guangzhouwan (Kwangchow-wan) for

99 years and acquired a sphere of influence in Guangdong (Kwangtung), Guangxi (Kwangsi), and Yunnan, three provinces that adjoined French Indochina. Japan exacted a promise that China would not adjoin Fujian (Fukien) province to any other power. Only Italy was rebuffed when it asked China for a sphere of influence in Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province.

In the phrase current in 1898, China was being cut up like a melon. It seemed on the verge of partition among the imperialist powers. Domestically, the perilous state precipitated a reform movement. Among the great powers, only the United States did not acquire a sphere of influence and attempted to reverse the course of events by the declaration of an Open Door policy.

See also HUNDRED DAYS OF REFORM.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Chinese Exclusion Act

In 1882, in response to the vociferous insistence of California's anti-"coolie" clubs and Irish immigrant Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party of California, Congress passed the first law in U.S. history to ban explicitly the further immigration of a particular racial or ethnic group. Known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, the law reflected the growing ethnic and racial diversity of the century-old republic; the importance of racial identities in shaping local, state, and national politics; and the enduring legacy of racism in the wake of nearly 250 years of African slavery.

Chinese immigration to California turned from a trickle to a flood following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848. The ensuing gold rush, which drew prospectors from across the country, caused California's population to skyrocket, from 14,000 in 1848 to more than 220,000 four years later. The vast majority of California's new immigrants were men and included not only a diversity of Euro-Americans, many recent U.S. arrivals, but also Mexicans, African Americans, and Chinese. At first California's Caucasian population tended to look favorably on Chinese immigrants



The cover of Harper's Weekly on February 3, 1877, depicts Chinese immigrants at the San Francisco Customs House.

as diligent, thrifty, and hardworking. Overwhelmingly male, most Chinese immigrants were brought by labor contractors to work in the burgeoning railroad, construction, prospecting, and related industries. By the 1870s, however, Euro-American anti-Chinese sentiment hardened, as Chinese women and children began arriving in large numbers and as competition for scarce resources combined with political opportunism and other factors to spark the formation of anti-coolie clubs in the state's largest cities and towns. Violence against Chinese immigrants intensified, including lynchings, burnings, and rapes, while boycotts of Chinese-made goods became widespread.

In 1875, at the prompting of California congressman Horace Page, Congress passed a law barring the further immigration of Chinese women, ostensibly to protect the health of white men threatened by Chinese prostitutes. The clamor among whites for the exclusion of all Chinese immigrants mounted, spearheaded by Kearney's Workingmen's Party. By the early 1880s some 100,000 persons of Chinese ancestry lived in the United States, the vast majority on the West Coast. Many prominent white citizens supported Kearney's call for Chinese exclusion, including leading labor rights activist Henry George, who deemed the Chinese to be "unassimilable."

Congress finally responded with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which banned all Chinese immigration for 10 years while prohibiting persons of Chinese origin already in the country from becoming naturalized citizens. Ten years later, in 1892, Congress renewed the ban, and in 1902 made the exclusion permanent. To America's Chinese-descended population, the Exclusion Acts encapsulated the bitter realities of racial discrimination in their adopted homeland. Officially stigmatized as second-class citizens, Chinese Americans would remain toward the bottom of the country's economic, social, and racial hierarchy well into the 20th century, especially in the Pacific Coast region where most resided. Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Acts in 1943 at the height of World War II, in part as a gesture of solidarity with Chinese Nationalist forces under assault by Japan. The 1943 law also permitted Chinese-descended permanent residents to apply for citizenship, though the civil rights of many Chinese Americans did not receive full federal affirmation until the civil rights laws of the mid-1960s.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; IMMIGRATION, NORTH AMERICA AND; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Civil War, American (1861–1865)

This most deadly and destructive of any U.S. war was the "irrepressible" outcome of sectional conflicts over

land, labor, and political power that emerged in the earliest days of colonial rule and festered for decades in the young republic. When it was over, some 620,000 Americans—Union and Confederate—were dead, as was President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, assassinated in a Washington theater five days after the war's end.

The Civil War began in April 1861 when agents of the newly formed Confederate States of America (CSA) fired on Fort Sumter, a federal facility in South Carolina. By its end at Appomattox Court House in Virginia, almost exactly four years later, this war tested the limits of state and federal power and had become primarily a war about slavery. When the Union prevailed, 4 million people of African descent were declared free.

From the early 17th century, the British were enthusiastic traders in and users of kidnapped West and Central African men, women, and children. Most Americans, including non-slave owners, saw this system as a highly desirable way to overcome chronic labor shortages in their colonies. Unlike indentured servants, Africans were easily identified and just as easily denied rights extended to white Englishmen. By the time of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, every British colony used slave workers; most were concentrated in the southern agricultural colonies.

Even slave owners like GEORGE WASHINGTON and THOMAS JEFFERSON perceived an obvious conflict between America's intensifying rhetoric of freedom and the new nation's heavy dependence on involuntary labor. During and after the war, many northern states acted to end or phase out slavery. But the 1789 U.S. CONSTITUTION, although it never used the word *slavery*, included major concessions to slave ownership. Most significant was language allowing each state to add to its census count a number representing three-fifths of all slaves held in that state. As slavery waned in the North, and waxed in the South, this had the effect of significantly increasing southern political power based on congressional representation.

As the new nation doubled in size with the 1803 addition of the LOUISIANA PURCHASE, cotton, a labor-intensive, hot-climate cash crop in high demand for clothing, was already transforming U.S. agriculture and reinvigorating the slave labor system. Cotton farmers pushed into Alabama and Mississippi, Louisiana, and the Mexican province of Texas, bringing with them thousands of slaves uprooted from eastern states, and buying additional Africans ahead of the Constitution's 1808 deadline.

More Americans began to question the utility and morality of slavery, and a few, like Boston abolitionist

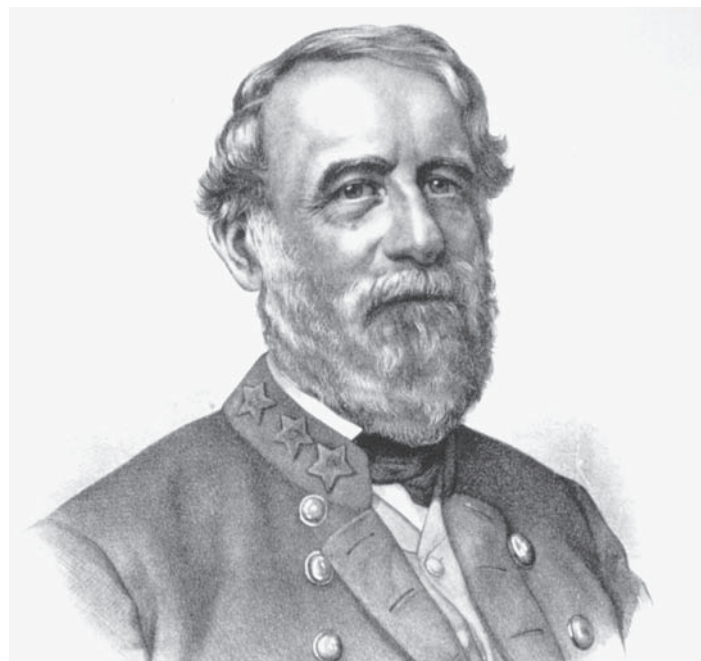


publisher William Lloyd Garrison, even demanded equal rights for African Americans. But the central issue eventually leading to war was how to deal politically with the expansion of slavery in an expanding nation. After two years of wrangling, Congress in 1820 crafted the Missouri Compromise. Meant to preserve the political balance between slave and free states, the compromise revealed a tense struggle. “Like a fire bell in the night,” wrote the elderly Jefferson, the compromise portended the death “knell of the union.”

For a time, the compromise seemed to work, but by the 1840s new land pressures sparked by a growing population and the MANIFEST DESTINY ideology renewed controversy over slavery’s expansion. President James K. Polk, a slave-owning Tennessee Democrat, recognized Texas statehood, negotiated with Britain for the Oregon Territory, and instigated a MEXICAN WAR, bringing into the nation vast new areas, many coveted by slave owners.

### CURBING SLAVERY’S SPREAD

In 1846 Pennsylvania congressman David Wilmot, a Democrat disturbed by Polk’s southern bias, proposed that none of America’s potential Mexican acquisitions could be opened to slavery. Passed by the House, Wilmot’s Proviso died in the Senate. Democrats and Whigs abandoned party positions in favor of regional loyalties,



A Currier & Ives lithograph of Confederate general Robert E. Lee, published between 1860 and 1870

portending the shredding of party politics in the decade to come. In 1848 a new Free-Soil Party ran a national campaign dedicated to curbing slavery’s spread while expanding land availability for white families.

The Compromise of 1850, hammered out by veteran congressional leaders, only set the stage for greater conflict. This complex measure repealed the Missouri Compromise and allowed gold-rich California to enter the United States as a free state. Slave trading (but not slavery) was outlawed in the District of Columbia. Federal marshals were empowered to seize fugitive slaves anywhere in the United States. In Boston and other abolitionist strongholds, armed conflicts erupted when marshals tried to arrest blacks accused of running away. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s best-selling *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* helped explain and dramatize these conflicts.

In 1854 the idea of popular sovereignty, supposedly a fairer way to decide between slave and free soil, exploded as settlers and thugs from both sides staked claims and grabbed political power in the Kansas-Nebraska territories. While Missouri “border ruffians” rampaged on behalf of slavery, abolitionist John Brown randomly massacred five pro-slavery settlers. The rising tide of sectional violence spilled onto the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1856 when a South Carolina House member caned Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner so severely that he was incapacitated for several years.

The Whig Party was an early casualty of sectional conflict, fielding its last national candidates in 1852. Although the Democratic Party maintained much of its traditional southern base, there was really no place for those trying to maintain national political cohesion. As nationalism failed, many disaffected northern and midwestern voters—“conscience” Whigs, free-soilers, temperance crusaders, anti-immigrant “Know-Nothings”—became constituents of a new sectional party: the Republicans.

Republicans did well in the 1856 election and gained traction in 1857 when a southern-dominated U.S. Supreme Court decided the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. The Court ruled that Scott, a slave until the last year of his life, was entitled neither to citizenship nor freedom. Additionally, chief justice Roger B. Taney cast doubt on Congress’s power to regulate slavery anywhere at all.

With reasoned political dialogue vanishing, John Brown’s 1859 effort to spark a slave uprising by seizing weapons from a federal armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, brought tension to an even higher pitch. Brown and his followers were swiftly executed but



*The bloodiest and deadliest war in U.S. history, the Civil War started for various reasons, many based around issues of states' rights. By the end of the war, the conflict centered around the debate of slavery. Above, officers of the third U.S. Infantry in Washington, D.C.*

some TRANSCENDENTALISTS, including Henry David Thoreau, hailed Brown as a martyred hero, prompting southern Fire Eaters to argue that further intersectional discussion was useless.

#### ELEVEN STATES

Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, a former Whig who had supported the Wilmot Proviso, gained national attention for a series of debates with his state's sitting senator, Stephen Douglas, in 1858. Two years later, he was the Republican Party's presidential choice. In a four-way race, Lincoln was elected with 40 percent of the popular vote. Anticipating this first Republican president, seven Southern states, led by South Carolina, voted to leave the United States and form an independent nation on the North American continent. They chose Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, former senator and U.S. war secretary, as president. After Fort Sumter, the CSA was joined by four more states, most significantly Virginia, the South's most industrialized state and home of esteemed general Robert E. Lee.

The Civil War has been called the first modern war due largely to its bloody ferocity that did not spare civilians. It was a war made possible by new technologies, including ironclad ships and more powerful and reliable guns and mortars. It was among the first wars extensively documented by photographers, most famously Mathew Brady.

Although neither side was really prepared for conflict, the Union held an enormous edge in manpower, rail trackage, and industrial capacity. Yet, in early battles, the Confederacy shocked Union troops in the East, thwarting attempts to take Richmond, the CSA's capital, in the battles of Bull Run/Manassas, the Seven Days' Campaign, and Second Battle of Bull Run.

Not until September 1862's Battle of Antietam in Maryland was Union general George B. McClellan, a brilliant but vain and indecisive leader, able to claim victory over troops led by General Lee. Antietam was the bloodiest battle in American history. In one day (September 17) 4,300 men died outright while 2,000 died later of their wounds. In the West, the Union also had successes

as ULYSSES S. GRANT, soon to become head of the Union armies, captured forts in Tennessee, while Admiral David G. Farragut seized the vital port of NEW ORLEANS.

Success at Antietam helped solve major issues facing President Lincoln. Confederate envoys in Europe had been working hard to gain diplomatic recognition. They emphasized to British and French leaders the importance of cotton to the European textile industry. A temporary textiles glut, European distaste for slavery, and the Union's own diplomacy and recent military success helped derail the possibility of CSA nationhood aided by foreign powers.

In Antietam's wake, Lincoln also finally felt empowered to add an end to slavery to his original war aim of preserving the Union. Since the war's outset, slaves had flocked to Union lines, while black leaders like FREDERICK DOUGLASS urged Lincoln to allow blacks to join in a battle for their freedom. Yet Lincoln still maintained that he would not interfere with slavery where it already existed, if only the Confederacy gave up its reckless secession. Strengthened by Antietam, Lincoln gave the CSA until January 1, 1863, to surrender or face slavery's abolition in rebellious states. The Emancipation Proclamation did little to free any slaves and provoked the political backlash Lincoln had feared. But it did signal the beginning of the end of slavery and inspired more than 200,000 black men to fight for the Union.

Still, the war raged. It began with great enthusiasm as young men on both sides flocked to state militias. As bloodshed escalated, both sides had trouble mustering fresh recruits. In April 1862 the CSA instituted the first military draft in U.S. history; a Union conscription law was implemented the following March. Both had loopholes mainly allowing wealthy men to avoid service; both were highly unpopular.

The most extreme example of draft resistance occurred in New York City in the summer of 1863. Led by Irish immigrants, hundreds of protesters expressed their fury by vandalizing the homes and businesses of rich Republicans and assaulting free black citizens of New York. More than 100 died. Troops from the just-concluded Battle of Gettysburg were called in to quell the violence. Gettysburg was one of several key battles in 1863 that favored the Union. The Confederacy suffered a grievous loss at Chancellorsville, Virginia, when General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson was killed by friendly fire. In July General Grant's troops seized Vicksburg, gaining control of the Mississippi Valley. Almost simultaneously, General George Meade's Union troops repelled Lee's deepest incursion into Union territory at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Despite these indications of eventual Union success, there was no quick end. In 1862 Clement L. Vallandigham, a former Ohio Congressman, spearheaded a "peace without victory" movement that called for a negotiated reconciliation with the Confederacy and denounced abolition. These Peace Democrats, called Copperheads by Republican opponents, posed serious political problems for Lincoln, as he faced a strong reelection challenge in 1864 from his fired general, George McClellan. Union victories in the battles of The Wilderness and Spotsylvania caused huge death tolls on both sides, but were crushing blows to the smaller, poorly equipped Confederate army. Meanwhile, General William T. Sherman in September captured Atlanta and commenced his March to the Sea that destroyed farms, homes, railroads, and lives across a 60-mile-wide swath of Georgia and South Carolina. These timely successes helped assure Lincoln's reelection.

On January 31, 1865, Congress approved the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, a first step in the permanent abolition of slavery. By April 3 Grant's soldiers occupied Richmond; the next day President Lincoln, accompanied only by a few Union sailors, visited the conquered Confederate capital.

In the wake of Lee's surrender and Lincoln's assassination at the hands of nationally famous actor John Wilkes Booth, a new United States emerged. The North had used the war years to consolidate its economy and create national programs, including western homesteads, agricultural colleges, and a transcontinental railroad. The decimated South began to rebuild, although it would lag socially and economically for decades. No serious secession movement ever again challenged federal authority. The end of slavery was a joyous event, but it would take generations for either the former Confederacy or former Union to seriously pursue justice for their African-American citizens.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; BEECHER FAMILY; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA; RECONSTRUCTION, UNITED STATES AND THE; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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## Cixi (Tz'u-hsi)

(1835–1908) *Chinese ruler*

Yehe Nara (or Yehenala) was the daughter of a minor Manchu official. She entered the harem of Emperor Xianfeng (Hsien-feng) in 1851 and became a high-ranking consort upon the birth of a son, his only male heir, in 1856.

An incompetent ruler, Xianfeng's disastrous foreign policy led to war against Great Britain and France that culminated in the Anglo-French occupation of China's capital, Beijing (Peking). Xianfeng, Yehe Nara, their son, and some followers fled to their summer palace in Rehe (Jehol), north of the Great Wall. Xianfeng died there in 1861 and was succeeded by his five-year old son who reigned as Emperor Tongzhi (T'ung-chih).

Xianfeng's will created a board of regents for his son. However, they were quickly overthrown by a coalition of his empress, Yehe Nara, and his brother PRINCE GONG (K'ung), who had been left in charge in Beijing and had negotiated treaties ending the war with Britain and France. Xianfeng's empress became the dowager empress Ci'an (Tz'u-an) and Yehe Nara became the dowager empress Cixi (also called the Eastern and Western Empresses, respectively, after the location of their residences in the Imperial City).

Contrary to dynastic law that forbade regencies under dowager empresses, they became coregents, assisted by Prince Gong, who was given the additional title of prince counselor. Although senior in status, Ci'an was retiring by nature and was dominated by Cixi, who was both ambitious and ruthless; she also exploited her position as the natural mother of the boy emperor. Initially, she cooperated with Prince Gong, using him to run China's foreign affairs and going along with his programs in cooperation with other modernizing officials. They introduced policies and programs that strengthened China and raised armies that defeated the major rebellions (TAIPING, NIAN, AND MUSLIM REBELLIONS) that had threatened the very survival of the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY. Thus the era of the boy emperor's reign was called the TONGZHI RESTORATION.

As Cixi gained experience she shed anyone who could threaten her power. From 1865 she repeatedly "chastised" Prince Gong, until he was completely sidelined, replacing him with incompetent and totally compliant Manchu princes. For example, she put a minion, Prince Yihuan (I-huan), in charge of building a modern navy, then diverted funds intended for the navy to build

a lavish new summer palace, with calamitous results for China when Japan attacked in 1894. She refused to give up actual power when her son reached majority in 1872 and encouraged him to indulge in excesses as distraction. She also disapproved of his choice of an empress and did her best to separate the two. He died in 1874 under mysterious circumstances, followed by the suicide of his pregnant empress so that her unborn child, if a male, would not succeed to the throne. In violation of dynastic law, Cixi then adopted a nephew (son of her husband's brother and her sister), three-year-old Zaitian (Tsai-t'ien), as the new emperor. His youth ensured another long regency for Cixi. When the Eastern Dowager died mysteriously in 1881 after only a day's illness, Cixi's power was supreme.

Cixi and her court were corrupt to the core. Officials were required to pay her for audiences, promotions, and her birthdays and were cashiered if they objected. She allowed her favorite eunuchs and maids to sell offices. One favorite eunuch, Li Lianying (Li Lienying), her hairdresser, died a multimillionaire. She tried to terrorize GUANGXU (Kuang-hsu) into becoming a cipher, but though terrified of her and forced to marry her niece to enmesh him further under her control, he grew up to be an intelligent and studious man, convinced that deep reforms were necessary to save China. The confrontation occurred in 1898 when Guangxu launched the HUNDRED DAYS OF REFORM. In a showdown, Cixi's reactionary supporters, who feared loss of power, and an opportunistic general, Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai), who betrayed the emperor, allowed Cixi to launch a successful coup that imprisoned Guangxu. Six leading reformers were executed, others fled abroad; all reforms were rescinded. She installed a reactionary prince as heir, preliminary to dethroning Guangxu, but was foiled by opposition from provincial governors and Western powers.

### CLIMAX OF REACTION

In 1899 a xenophobic secret society popularly called Boxers began a rampage in northern China, killing Westerners and Chinese Christians. Cixi and her ignorant supporters believed in Boxer claims of magic. She ordered all Westerners in China killed, Chinese diplomats to return home, declared war on the entire Western world, and cut telegraph lines so that her deeds would not be reported abroad. Fortunately for China, its diplomats abroad and governors in the central and southern provinces refused to obey her orders and declared the Boxers rebels. The Boxer reign of terror in Beijing ended when soldiers from

eight Western powers captured the city. Cixi fled the capital with Guangxu in tow, refusing to let him stay behind to negotiate with the Western powers due to fear that he might assume power. She returned to Beijing in 1902, blaming Guangxu for the Boxer fiasco. Cixi attempted to salvage her fortunes and those of the dynasty after 1902 by belatedly professing interest in change, sent a delegation to Western countries to study reform, and promised gradual political changes. She appointed a three-year-old grandnephew heir to the childless Guangxu before she died on November 15, 1908, after it was announced that he had suddenly died on the previous day. The Qing dynasty would last three more years.

See also AIGUN AND BEIJING, TREATIES OF.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## coffee revolution

In the second half of the 19th century, what is often referred to as a “coffee revolution” swept large parts of Latin America, especially southern Brazil, northern South America (Colombia and Venezuela), and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua). The consequences of this revolution were profound, transforming land-use patterns and relations of production and exchange within individual nation-states, especially through the privatization of collectively held lands (owned either by Indian communities, the church, or the state); providing a sound fiscal base for emergent states, and thus permitting the robust growth and modernization of state administrations and bureaucracies integral to Latin America’s liberal revolution during this same period; and integrating Latin American economies more tightly within the developing global capitalist system, particularly the nexuses connecting Latin America with Europe and North America.

Coffee is among what historian Sidney Mintz called the “drug foods” of the Americas and other tropical zones; these foods also include tea, chocolate, tobacco,

rum, and sugar. Three of these tropical export products—coffee, tea, and chocolate—are bitter and were generally consumed as drinks, facilitating their consumption along with sweetening substances like sugar and molasses. In a widely accepted argument, Mintz maintains that the consumption of these drug foods by urban wage earners was part and parcel of the growth of urban working classes in Europe and North America during the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION in the second half of the 19th century. In France, for instance, coffee consumption increased fivefold from 1850 to 1900 (from 50 to 250 million pounds annually); Germany saw a fourfold increase during this same period (from 100 to 400 million pounds annually); the figures for other European nations were comparable. This was also an era in which African slavery was on the decline, wage labor and European migration to Latin America on the rise, and liberal reformers in Latin America’s newly independent nation-states were actively seeking greater foreign investment, free trade, and secure sources of tax revenue. All of these factors and more came together to generate Latin America’s coffee revolution.

Of African origin, coffee was cultivated in the Americas from the early 1600s, usually on lands unsuitable for sugar and tobacco, the principal export crops. European consumption of coffee rose dramatically from the 1650s, especially in urban coffeehouses, which in turn prompted increased coffee production in the Americas, usually by slave labor. But it was not until the 1820s and 1830s, with the explosive growth of urban working classes in Europe and North America, and the ending of Latin America’s colonial status, that the industrializing world’s explosive demand for coffee prompted renewed Latin American attention to this traditionally secondary (or tertiary) export commodity.

Large-scale coffee production required not only fertile, well-watered, well-drained soils, but substantial long-term capital investment and an ample supply of labor. Land first needed to be cleared and coffee seedlings planted. Coffee trees generally take three to six years from planting to first years of fruit production, requiring during this period careful tending and weeding. Coffee trees also tend to deplete soils of nutrients; thus, without application of fertilizers, production declines and new lands are needed. Also, unlike sugar, which generally requires large plantations to exploit economies of scale, coffee carries no such requirements and can be grown and marketed profitably on large plantations as well as on small farms utilizing primarily family labor.

The history of coffee in Brazil, Latin America's largest coffee producer, illustrates these patterns. Before the 1830s, Brazil had undergone a series of export booms: brazilwood, sugar, tobacco, gold, and diamonds. In the 1830s coffee production surged, and by the 1840s coffee became the country's leading export product—a position it held for the next 130 years. In the 1840s coffee made up more than 40 percent of total exports; by the 1890s nearly 65 percent; and by the 1920s nearly 70 percent.

The region around Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the south became the center of the coffee revolution, with the city of Rio de Janeiro emerging as the country's leading financial and commercial center and principal port city. The city's financial and transport infrastructure of banks, brokerage houses, and port facilities modernized rapidly. The decline of sugar production in the northeast and growth of coffee production in the south combined with the decline of the transatlantic slave trade to generate a brisk internal trade in slaves and a shift in the country's demographic, economic, and political center of gravity southward to the coffee zones.

By the late 1840s competition for lands suitable for coffee production intensified, prompting the national government to issue a new land law in 1850 that in effect favored large producers and made land acquisition much more difficult for smallholders. During this same period, large coffee growers sought to promote European immigration, both to "whiten" the country's population and to provide an adequate labor supply for their expanding plantations. The scheme faltered, however, as European immigrants balked at the slavery-like labor conditions and the lack of economic opportunities—a failure that in turn buttressed large planters' commitment to slave labor.

The final abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 prompted not only the fall of the empire by military coup and the formation of a republican government in 1889, but a surge in European immigration, much of it related to coffee production. By 1900 more than two-thirds of the world's coffee was produced in Brazil. Coffee remained the mainstay of the export economy until after 1945, but even as late as 1970 coffee revenues made up more than one-third of Brazil's export sector.

The precise nature of Latin America's coffee revolution unfolded differently in different countries and regions, varying widely according to local traditions, preexisting landholding patterns, and power relations between large landholders and smallholders, and many other factors. Overall, coffee production and commerce

tended to favor large producers over small, but this gross generalization masks important national, regional, and local variations. Costa Rica, for instance, the first Central American nation to undergo a coffee revolution, is often cited as an example of a Latin American nation whose coffee revolution favored smallholders, which in turn fostered the development of democratic institutions. Scholars generally agree that this was indeed the case. Yet even in Costa Rica, different regions experienced the coffee revolution in distinctive ways. The province of Cartago, for instance, saw large coffee farms predominate (59 percent with more than 20,000 trees), while in the country as a whole, most farms were smaller scale (60 percent with fewer than 20,000 trees). Tremendous local and regional differentiation, in short, was the norm, and not just in Costa Rica but across Latin America.

The coffee revolution's timing also varied greatly. Venezuela, like Costa Rica and Brazil, saw surges in coffee production in the 1830s and 1840s; by 1900 Venezuela was Latin America's second-largest coffee producer after Brazil. The approximate sequence in Central America was Costa Rica (1830s–40s), Guatemala (1860s–70s), El Salvador (1870s–80s), and Nicaragua (1880s–90s). Honduran coffee production remained limited through the 19th and early 20th centuries, reaching Costa Rica's 1860s production levels only in 1949.

Colombia's coffee production boomed in the late 1870s and 1880s (reaching around 14.3 million pounds in 1880), and again in the 1910s and 1920s (approximately 309 million pounds in 1921). Colombia also developed a coffee economy more akin to Costa Rica's than Brazil's, in which small, family-owned and -operated farms tended to predominate—again, with significant regional variations, with smaller farms predominating on the coffee frontier region of the central cordillera and larger production units in zones with greater abundance of labor and capital, such as southwestern Cundinamarca Department.

Everywhere, the coffee revolution introduced a host of changes generally associated with Latin America's liberal revolution: the privatization of lands formerly unclaimed or owned collectively; the formation of more modern structures of state administration and bureaucracy; the increasing importance of wage labor; the modernization of transport and communications infrastructure to facilitate production for export; state and elite-led promotion of free trade, foreign investment, and European immigration; greater vulnerability to the boom-and-bust cycles of the world market; and

tighter integration into the structures of global capitalism. The specifics of these transformations in various national and subnational contexts comprise the subject of a voluminous literature.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; LATIN AMERICA, EXPORT ECONOMIES IN; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Colombia, War of the Thousand Days in (1899–1902)

The War of the Thousand Days in Colombia lasted from October 1899, when the Liberals staged a revolt to unseat the Conservative government, to November 1902. It is estimated that 100,000 people died during the war, which left Colombia and Panama (then a part of Colombia) devastated. It also led to the secession of Panama.

There had been much instability in 19th-century Colombia with the 1863 constitution suppressed in 1886 and a new constitution established. This failed to end the period of confrontation between the Liberals and the Conservatives, the latter managing to manipulate the electoral system to remain in power. With President Manuel Antonio Sanclemente being too ill to administer the country, there was a power vacuum which Liberal generals hoped to exploit.

The Liberal generals planned a coup d'état for October 20, 1899, but the date was brought forward to October 17 at the last moment. Instead of being a relatively straightforward conflict, many Liberals were hesitant about becoming involved in the war, some for fear of the consequences of failure, others because they were unsure whether they wanted a civil war. The outbreak of the rebellion was in Socorro, Santander, with rebels who had trained in Venezuela ready to come over the border.

The Conservative government immediately sent their loyal commanders to Bucaramanga, the capital of

Santander, but the soldiers were unhappy about being paid in what they felt was worthless paper money. This stopped the Conservatives from ending the war with a quick victory. However, they did manage to defeat some of the Liberals at the Battle of the Magdalena River on October 24. They were unable to follow up their victory. The Conservatives split into two factions, the “historical” and the “national.” Sanclemente was deposed and replaced with José Manuel Marroquín. At the same time, the Liberals, who also split into two factions, the “pacifists” and the “warmongers,” nominated one of their leaders, Gabriel Vargas Santos, as their president, and the scene was set for a civil war.

At the Battle of Peralonso, the Liberals led by Rafael Uribe defeated their opponents, but at the Battle of Palonegro, the Conservatives were able to crush the Liberals. The Venezuelans intervened to support the Liberals, but the Conservative Commander Marroquín managed to block them from coming to the aid of their allies. With neither side able to deliver a decisive blow, the first peace agreement was signed at the Neerlandira plantation on October 24, 1902. Fighting continued into the following month in Panama, and finally, on November 21, the final peace agreement was signed on the U.S. battleship *Wisconsin*. This ended the war that had wrecked the economy of the country but had also confirmed the split in Colombian society that was to lead to Panama being created as an independent republic on November 3, 1903.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

### *comuneros'* revolt

The *comuneros'* revolt was a rebellion against Spanish colonial authority that took place between March and October 1781 in what is now considered Colombia. This rebellion in the Viceroyalty of New Granada was a response by colonists to changing economic conditions. While some of the conditions were long-standing, many of those that sparked the revolt were a result of the so-called Bourbon reforms. The Spanish government had imposed a series of reforms in their New World colonies in order to more effectively control and profit from them.

Although the rebellion is sometimes portrayed as a precursor to the independence movement that took place several decades later, its aims were actually rather limited and reformist rather than revolutionary. The rebels called not for an end to Spanish colonial rule but simply a return to the pre-Bourbon reforms situation in which the Spanish government played a lesser role in colonial affairs. The aims of the rebels can be seen in their slogan—“Long live the King, down with the evil government.” The revolt was notable in that it organized a large number of common people.

The revolt began on March 16, 1781, in the town of Socorro, an important agricultural and manufacturing center in northern New Granada. A crowd led by Manuela Beltrán tore down the posted edict that announced a sales tax known as the *alcabala*. This tax was part of a package of fiscal measures imposed by the royal official Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres. The measures also included an extension of government monopolies, especially the tobacco monopoly, that restricted the colonists' production. These policies led to a rise in the cost of foodstuffs and consumer goods and increased the cost of industry for the colonists.

Similar incidents took place in other towns. In Socorro, colonists elected a *común*, or central committee, to lead the movement. Furthermore a *común* represented the idea of a common front of all colonial social groups that challenged the traditional hierarchical society. Members of the elite in Socorro endorsed the movement. Their leader was Juan Francisco Berbeo. The rebels had a number of demands, which included a reduction in tributes and sales taxes, a return of Native American lands, a recall of a new tobacco tax, and the appointment of more Creoles—Spaniards born in the colonies—to colonial government offices.

Berbeo organized a force of between 10,000 and 20,000 people to march on the capital city of Bogotá. The *comuneros* defeated a contingent of soldiers sent from the capital. In late May the rebels arrived in the town of Zipaquirá, just north of Bogotá. At the time, the viceroy was away in the coastal town of Cartagena. Gutiérrez fled. The capital was under the leadership of Archbishop Antonio Caballero y Góngora.

On June 5 the two sides agreed to the Capitulations of Zipaquirá, which contained 34 articles dealing with the colonists's complaints about the fiscal and administrative aspects of the Bourbon reforms. However, Spanish authorities secretly signed a document in which they declared the agreement void due to the fact that it had been obtained by force. Once the rebels retreated and dispersed, Spanish royal offi-

cial voided the Capitulations. While Spanish officials granted a general amnesty to the rebels, they enforced obedience to royal authority by sending troops to the rebellious region and reinstated many of the unpopular fiscal measures. Most of the rebels accepted these official actions and returned to their daily lives. However, a small core of the *comuneros* headed by the mestizo peasant leader José Antonio Galán continued the fight. In October 1781 Galán was captured. Spanish authorities executed Galán and three of his lieutenants in February 1782.

See also BOURBON RESTORATION; LATIN AMERICA, BOURBON REFORMS IN.

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RONALD YOUNG

## Congo Free State

In 1870 the Congo basin was unknown to Europeans. It contained 250 ethnic groups, 15 cultural regions mostly speaking Bantu languages, and a diverse climate and terrain, chiefly savanna and dense rain forest. States were highly organized, with some large kingdoms; agriculture was varied; technology was somewhat developed, particularly metalworking; cloth and artworks were elegant, especially wood carvings, later partly inspiring cubism. Economies flourished despite unhealthy lowlands and depredations of East African slaves.

In 1877 Henry Morton Stanley completed tracing the 3,000-mile Congo River, emerging at its Atlantic mouth. British disinterest led Stanley to approach LEOPOLD II of Belgium, whose machinations along with Stanley's creations of stations on the Congo resulted, after the 1884–85 Congress of Berlin, in the establishment of the Congo Free State with Leopold as the sole owner. It had 22 miles of coastline, about 900,000 square miles of vaguely defined interior, and a blue flag with a gold star. Initially it exported palm products and ivory, until most of the elephants were killed. It was governed from Brussels; administrators were European volunteers. Indigenes were used for portage, railroad and road building, harvesting wild



rubber, and lumbering. From 1891 on, coercion forced workers to turn all ivory and rubber over to the state. Forced labor requirements were high. They were stabilized at 40 hours per month in 1903, which in practice often meant more than 20 days. Much land was awarded to commercial concessions; the remainder mostly became the property of the Congo state and then to Leopold. As a result, indigenous economies were destroyed.

In the late 1890s the Congo became profitable, as world demand for rubber grew. Greed, both Leopold's (chiefly to embellish Belgium) and that of commercial concessions, along with demands for wild rubber, quota systems, and forced labor caused abuses and depopulation as well as dwindling amounts of rubber owing to lack of conservation and brutal slashing of vines. Pressure for profit led to serfdom, lashings, physical mutilations (cutting off of ears or hands), and murder, especially by commercial concessions. Resistance was widespread and often effective; villages fled at the sight of a white man.

By 1900 criticism of the Congo's maladministration mounted in both Britain and the United States. Leopold was indifferent to it. Many aspects of the situation in the Congo were not unique, but it and Leopold were easier targets than the Great Powers. The campaign of E. D. Morel in Britain, the investigation and the 1904 report of British consul Roger Casement (which chiefly condemned the system, not individuals), Morel's 1904 Congo Reform Association, missionaries, and Leopold's own 1905 investigative commission confirmed the atrocities, despite some dubious evidence. Though Leopold resisted, Belgium wrested the Congo Free State from him and reluctantly annexed it in 1908 to end the abuses, which it largely did.

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SALLY MARKS

## Constitution, U.S.

External challenges had motivated previous unsuccessful attempts at creating a union between the 13 English North American colonies. But neither these, nor the First Continental Congress that convened in

Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, aimed at founding an independent republic. Rather, they were concerned with restoring the rights of the colony in face of British pressure.

When the Second Continental Congress met in May 1775, matters had changed radically. A trade war had broken out with the mother country, and colonial militia had clashed with British regulars. The DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE followed on July 4, 1776. John Dickinson of Philadelphia submitted the first draft of a constitution. The Continental Congress felt it gave too much power to the central government.

Congress adopted the final document, known as the Articles of Confederation, on November 15, 1777. While each state held one vote, Congress was given the power to declare war, negotiate peace, make treaties with foreign nations, decide over interstate disputes, print and borrow money. Further it regulated relations with Native Americans and postal services. For all practical reasons, sovereignty still rested with the states, so did power in all matters not explicitly delegated to the central government. Revision of the Articles required a unanimous vote in Congress; important laws needed approval from at least nine of the 13 states to become effective.

In 1780, the confederacy faced bankruptcy, and GEORGE WASHINGTON's troops were on the verge of disintegration. The BANK OF THE UNITED STATES was chartered in 1781, but the plans of Congress to raise revenue through taxes and tariffs were thwarted by the states. Land sales west of the Appalachians and public loans provided temporary solutions, but the crisis exposed the major intertwined weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation: lack of power to impose taxation and the extensive sovereignty of the states at the expense of Congress.

The national debt and war created a nationalist faction in American politics, with Washington, JOHN ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, and John Jay demanding a stronger central government. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts added to the emergency. Merchants in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania resisted to protect their own state tariffs and protective subsidies. While the planters of Virginia were eager to keep import taxes low, their concern over the war chest added to the ideological inclination toward a strengthening of the federal authority. On the initiative of the Virginia legislature, the Annapolis Convention in 1786 was summoned to discuss federal finances, but the issues discussed soon widened in scope. The basic

problem was in the provisions of the Articles, and the Congress approved the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, convened on May 15, 1787.

Part of the impetus for reform came from Shays's Rebellion. As the war debt from the Revolution trickled down to individuals, small farmers were often forced to sell their land to pay taxes and were thus unable to continue making a living. The rebellion was put down by a militia raised and organized as a private army. The lack of federal response to the situation created more aggressive calls for reform to the federal government to prevent such situations in the future.

The basis for the revision of the Constitution was to be JAMES MADISON's Virginia Plan; Madison, together with ALEXANDER HAMILTON, had led the Annapolis Convention, recommending a wider revision of the Constitution. Madison's political thinking had a big influence on the convention.

### CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Fifty-five delegates from 12 states attended the Constitutional Convention; Rhode Island opposed any revision and provided no delegates. Among those present, apart from Madison and Hamilton, were Washington (who served as the president of the convention) and numerous other central figures of the Revolution: Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, James Wilson, and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut; and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina.

It fell to the aging Franklin, Madison, John Dickinson, and Roger Sherman to keep the convention together during heated debates. The delegates were mostly merchants and planters, a feature that many historians have seen as favoring a federal government that secured property rights and debtors' interests.

In addition to the provisions given in the Articles of Confederation, the constitutional draft ensured sovereignty of the federal over the state levels, the former were empowered to raise revenue and provided direct citizenship to the United States. The proposals for a central government provided a system of checks and balances between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, inspired by French philosopher Charles de Montesquieu. An electorate picked the executive by popular vote, but there were significant disputes over the nature of the legislative branch. Madison's Virginia plan offered a bicameral solution, where the House of Representatives was elected by popular vote, in which each state had a proportional number of seats. The House would then elect a Senate. Madison's plan

would safeguard the more populous states against irresponsible spending of the smaller ones. The smaller states rallied around the New Jersey Plan providing for a unicameral legislative with equal representation among the states, fearing abuse of power from the larger states.

The Great Compromise, proposed by a subcommittee, offered the final solution, in which the House of Representatives was to be elected by popular vote where each state has a representation in proportion to its population, while there would be equal representation in the Senate. To ease the concern of larger states, revenue bills could only be passed in the House. The judiciary was to ensure that neither federal nor state legislation nor the executive were in conflict with the Constitution.

### SUFFRAGE

Contrary to the wishes of many delegates and the provisions of many early constitutions of other nations, suffrage was not contingent on income or property, neither was eligibility to run for public office. The issue of slavery was largely avoided. A 20-year clause was added concerning the question of fugitive slaves. However, in the question of population in relation to representation, slaves and indentured servants were to count as three-fifths of a full citizen. The Constitution further prescribed that two-thirds majority was required in Congress for the repeal of a presidential veto, an amendment to the Constitution, and consent of the Senate to treaties was needed.

Federal law would overrule state legislation. A system of courts would safeguard against breaches of the Constitution, and the states were obliged to enforce federal proscriptions. Pierce Butler, delegate of South Carolina, summed up the feelings of his colleagues at the end of the convention when he cited the ancient founder of Solon, who claimed not to have given the Athenians the best government he could devise but the best they would receive. In this lay the idea that the new Constitution was the best the convention could agree upon and the best the states would accept.

On September 17, 1787, the Convention adjourned, and the struggle for ratification commenced, which needed consent by nine of the 13 states. First, James Madison promised amendments—later known as the Bill of Rights—to the draft that would safeguard the rights of citizens and states against the abuse of federal power. It ensured freedom of speech and religion, the right to bear arms, safety of life and property, legal

protection, and that powers not explicitly delegated to the federal government rested with the states.

In order to convince the reluctant citizens of New York, Jay, Madison, and Hamilton wrote a series of essays called *The Federalist Papers* in 1787 and 1788. Not only did they produce an influential vehicle of opinion, they also provided subsequent generations with valuable insights into the political thought of the founding fathers of the United States. The ratifying conventions in the states met between December 1787 and June 1788 and were much more broadly composed than the convention itself, including farmers and artisans.

The struggle proved particularly hard in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Virginia and New York also were slow to ratify the Constitution. The last states, North Carolina and Rhode Island, finally and most reluctantly ratified in 1789 and 1790, respectively. Besides differences in opinion over what would provide the most efficient and just type of government, economic self-interest and reluctance to give up control marked the debate.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; PAINE, THOMAS.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

## Cook, James

(1728–1799) *English explorer and cartographer*

James Cook was born in Marton-in-Cleveland, England, on October 27, 1728. His family was Scottish in origin, having left Scotland for England after the upheaval of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion. Cook's father was a farmworker. When James was seven, his father's employer arranged for him to attend school, and at the age of 12, he became an apprentice to a shopkeeper in a nearby coastal town. This first exposure to the sea took hold of the boy, and he left his apprenticeship in 1746 for a new position with shipowners. In his new surroundings, he learned about math, navigation, compasses, and maps. In 1755 Cook became a mate on one of his employer's ships. Later that year, Cook



A noted cartographer and explorer, Captain James Cook was killed due to a misunderstanding with Hawaiian natives.

left to join the Royal Navy. Because war with France was impending, Cook expected that his experience and skills would be put to good use and result in rapid promotions.

Cook's first assignment was aboard the *Eagle*, where he met Hugh Palliser. Palliser would figure largely in Cook's life as a mentor and advocate. Within a month, Cook had proven his seafaring skills and was put in charge of the ship's navigation. In 1757 Cook was again promoted and assigned to the *Pembroke* on Palliser's recommendation. Now that Britain was at war with France, Cook's assignments were related to wartime service. He spent almost a decade in North America, charting rivers and creating maps of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. During these years, he returned to England once and married Elizabeth Batts in 1762. It was not long before he was back at sea, working on charts and maps of North America.

In 1767 Cook resigned command of his ship and returned to England, but his reputation soon earned him an opportunity to travel to the Pacific Ocean to observe the transit of Venus. The Royal Society commissioned his service, and upon acceptance Cook was given command of the *Endeavour*. In addition

to the scientific objectives of the mission, Cook was asked to verify or disprove the existence of a large continent in the Pacific Ocean. Cook and his crew sailed to the Madeira Islands, Canary Islands, Cape Verde Islands, Rio de Janeiro, and then went around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean. They reached Tahiti in April 1769, observed and documented the transit of Venus on June 3, and continued their voyage in July.

The *Endeavour* sailed on to New Zealand, where Cook spent six months working on maps and charts of the islands and the waters. Cook and his crew had their first encounters with the Maori. Although the Maori culture (particularly their ritual cannibalism) was frightening to the English sailors, Cook managed to make cultural and linguistic observations about the Maori people.

In 1770 he took his ship around Australia, which he named New South Wales when he claimed it as the king's. From there, he went to New Guinea, Java, the Cape of Good Hope, and home to England on June 12, 1771. As was common, he had lost many of his crewmen—about one-third—to scurvy during the voyage. He had circumnavigated the globe, discovering new geography along the way, and was promoted to the rank of commander.

Cook again set sail on July 13, 1772, aboard the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Adventure*. After going to Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Antarctic Circle, the ships headed for the South Pacific. They returned home in July 1775, having charted new and existing lands. As before, Cook brought back valuable new charts and maps of the globe. He had made another discovery during this voyage; good nutrition enabled his crew to stay healthy despite the long days at sea and difficult conditions living on a ship. Unlike on his voyage on the *Endeavour*, Cook lost only one man on the entire trip. For this medical advance, Cook received the Copley Gold Medal from the Royal Society.

Cook's final voyage came after his promotion to captain, and he and the crew of the *Resolution* headed for the northern Pacific to seek a passage across North America and to the Atlantic Ocean. Accompanying him was the *Discovery*, and together the ships set sail on July 12, 1776. After covering familiar ground (Africa, Cape of Good Hope, New Zealand, Tahiti, and elsewhere), Cook and his crew discovered HAWAII and arrived on the North American coast (where Oregon is today) in February 1778. His expedition explored the coast all the way up through the Bering Strait without finding

the northern passage they hoped to discover. Although the expedition was to continue back into the Pacific after a return to Hawaii, Cook was killed in a conflict with natives in Karakakoa Bay on February 14, 1779. When he and his men had arrived in Hawaii in January, relations with natives were friendly and safe, but cultural misunderstandings brought changes in the way the crew treated the natives. Eventually things escalated to the point of a violent skirmish, and Cook was stabbed. The man who stepped up to replace Cook as commander of the voyage negotiated for the return of Cook's body; the crew gave him a burial at sea on February 21, 1779.

See also AUSTRALIA: EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT; MAORI WARS.

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JENNIFER BUSSEY

## Crimean War

The Crimean War was a struggle between Russia and Britain, along with its allies, over Russian expansion into the Ottoman-controlled territories of the Black Sea. The war was part of the so-called EASTERN QUESTION, or what should be done about the weakened Ottoman Empire. Eager for territorial gains in the Balkans and control of warm water ports in the Black Sea, Russia wanted the Ottoman Empire to die as quickly as possible. Britain, wishing to thwart Russian ambitions, often stepped in to bolster the Ottomans in their conflict with Russia.

France and Austria-Hungary wavered on these diplomatic issues, but generally supported the British. Although they supported the Ottoman sultan against Russia during the 19th century, Britain and France both took territories away from the Ottomans in North Africa, Egypt, and along the Arabian Peninsula. They also demanded that the Ottomans institute political and economic reforms regarding Christian minorities within the empire and permit increased European involvement in Ottoman territories.

The TANZIMAT, a series of Ottoman reforms, was in many ways an attempt to address these demands. Along with the so-called Great Game over Russian and British expansion into Afghanistan, the Eastern



*The fifth Dragoon Guards of the British army make camp during the Crimean War. Britain and its allies landed forces in the Crimea and laid siege to Sevastopol, the headquarters of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea.*

Question was one of the major diplomatic issues of the mid- to late 19th century.

The events that led to the Crimean War started in Palestine, where the Russians had placed themselves as the protectors of Eastern Orthodox Christians and the French served as the protectors of the Catholic Christians. In 1847 the golden star that rested in the church in Bethlehem built over the spot where Jesus had allegedly been born disappeared. The Orthodox and Catholics both blamed one another for the theft; seeking to bolster French prestige, NAPOLEON III had another star made that was transported amid great pomp and ceremony to the church.

When the Eastern Orthodox refused entry to the church, the dispute was referred all the way to Sultan Abdul Majid I. Both the French and Russians professed to be insulted by the rather tepid responses of the Ottoman government, and the Russians demanded

that the Ottomans formally accept their protection over all Orthodox subjects in the empire. During negotiations, the Russian czar, Nicholas I, remarked that the Ottoman Empire was a “sick man” and the empire subsequently became known as “The Sick Man of Europe.”

When no resolution was forthcoming, the Russians declared war against the Ottoman Empire and destroyed the Ottoman fleet at the Bay of Sinope in 1853. In defense of the Ottomans, Britain declared war against Russia in 1854 and was joined by France and Piedmont-Sardinia. Britain and its allies landed forces in the Crimea and lay siege to Sevastopol, the headquarters of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. Russia lost the city in 1855.

In a secondary front, the British and French also established a blockade of the Baltic Sea to prevent goods entering or leaving Russia.

In 1854 the British suffered a major defeat at the Battle of Balaclava made famous by the disastrous charge of the Light Brigade. Casualties in the war were high, and many died from poor health care in the field. The nursing practices and improvements in sanitary conditions made by FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE during the war laid the foundation for improved medical care in field hospitals.

After extensive negotiations, the war ended with the Peace of Paris in 1856. Under the treaty, the sultan and the Great Powers guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire; the sultan was to protect the minorities within the empire; the Black Sea was to be neutralized; and the waters of the Danube River were to be open to all. In addition, Russia got the Crimean Peninsula and parts of Bessarabia. Under a separate treaty, Britain, Austria, and France agreed to guarantee the Ottoman Empire, thereby prolonging its life.

See also ALGERIA UNDER FRENCH RULE; ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY; BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Cuba, Ten Years' War in

Fearing a slave insurrection like the one from the 1790s that wracked Haiti, the Cuban landowning and merchant elite opted to remain part of the Spanish Empire while the rest of Spanish America gained formal independence in the 1820s. Yet by the 1860s that same elite chafed under protectionist Spanish trade policies, high taxes, and political repression. Especially hard-hit and disgruntled were the cattle ranchers and sugar planters on the eastern part of the island.

On October 10, 1868, with the Grito de Yara (Cry of Yara), a coalition of elite landowners and small farmers, traders, and free persons of color launched a rebellion and proclaimed Cuban independence. The rebellion quickly spread westward, as far as eastern Las Villas Province. By the early 1870s, the rebels were supported by upward of 40,000 Cubans, from cattle barons and merchants to peons and slaves. The goals of the rebels varied widely. Most elites advocated political and economic reforms, defended slavery, and sought

to maintain the island's rigid social structure—though many also freed their slaves as a wartime necessity and in response to the incessant clamor of the slaves for their freedom. Workers and freed slaves tended to advocate radical social and political change, including the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, the redistribution of land, and universal suffrage.

Despite the efforts of these more radical rebels, the rebellion remained confined mainly to the eastern part of the island. The rebel elite generally opposed taking the war to western Cuba, fearing a slave insurrection or widespread popular unrest, while western elites, with their larger landholdings and slave populations, tended to oppose the rebellion, fearing that its success would threaten their properties and undermine their privileged social position.

As the war dragged on, differences between rebel factions grew, especially along lines of race and class. The rebel armies, their ranks swelled with workers, peasants, freed slaves, and poor whites, became increasingly difficult for the landholding elite to control. The rebel elite leadership also waged war with one eye on the United States, which many hoped would seize the opportunity to annex the island.

These internal divisions combined with Spanish intransigence to stall the rebellion and keep it limited to eastern Cuba. The war lasted nearly 10 years, until a peace treaty, the Pact of Zanjón, was signed in early 1878. The rebels agreed to lay down their arms, while Spain promised political and economic reforms, general amnesty for all rebels, and freedom for all slaves and indentured servants registered in the rebel armies at the time of the peace pact.

The rebellion's failure has been attributed to numerous causes, particularly the conflicting goals of rebel leaders, their goal of annexation to the United States, which kept the war limited to eastern Cuba and dramatically circumscribed its social radicalism, and the opposition of much of Cuba's planter class. At the same time, memories of the Ten Years' War would endure throughout Cuba, especially in the east. Many of the most important rebel leaders of the later CUBAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE gained valuable experience in the Ten Years' War, most notably Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo. Overall, the war created a legacy of struggle that Cuban patriots would seize on again in their final push to independence.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Cuban War of Independence

In one of the Western Hemisphere's most broad-based and violent struggles for independence, from 1895 to 1898, Cuba was embroiled in a massive, islandwide insurrection against Spanish colonial rule that ended with U.S. intervention and quasi-colonial status under U.S. domination. In the words of one of Cuba's preeminent historians, the Caribbean island's War of Independence resulted in "self-government without self-determination and independence without sovereignty." The war's outcome represented not only a thwarting of the desire of Cuban patriots for national sovereignty but also ushered in a period of U.S. suzerainty that lasted, some scholars argue, until the Cuban revolution of 1959.

The origins of the War of Independence can be traced as far back as the early 1800s, when Cuba's Creole elites balked at the prospect of risking their lives and properties in the face of a potential slave insurrection, as had embroiled neighboring Saint-Domingue (Haiti) after 1791—a reluctance reinforced by the arrival of upwards of 30,000 French exiles from Saint-Domingue who made Cuba their new home. Through the 19th century, Cuban elites were divided into moderate reformists who advocated greater autonomy under Spanish dominion and annexationists who envisioned U.S. annexation. Few were autonomists promoting outright independence. This changed from the 1860s, particularly in consequence of the TEN YEARS' WAR in eastern Cuba, a struggle that inspired a new generation of leaders whose vision of *Cuba Libre* (Free Cuba) was at the heart of the insurrection launched in 1895. The Ten Years' War and its aftermath had also created a large exile community of Cubans in the United States, centered in Tampa, Florida, and New York City. From abroad, groups of Cuban patriots plotted and planned the final insurrection, at their helm the poet, scholar, and activist JOSÉ MARTÍ.

In April 1892, after more than two decades of organizing, Martí and his compatriots in exile formed the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC), dedicated to the creation of a free and independent Cuba. By this time, the Cuban economy was dominated by the United States. In 1894, for instance, the United States received 84 percent of Cuba's total exports and provided 40 percent of its total imports. In that same year, the U.S.

Congress imposed stiff new tariffs on Cuban sugar imports, and Spain retaliated by imposing high tariffs on U.S. imports to Cuba. Meanwhile, the price of sugar dropped to less than two cents a pound, a historic low, while prices of imported foodstuffs rose dramatically. The combined effect sent the Cuban economy into a tailspin, negatively affecting all social sectors, including wealthy merchants and planters.

Emboldened by the turn of events, on February 24, 1895, the PRC issued the Grito de Baire (Cry of Baire) calling for independence. During the same month, autonomists launched several uprisings in different parts of the island. Most were crushed, though the uprising in Oriente Province in eastern Cuba took root and spread. In April the PRC's main leadership landed secretly in the island's far southeast: José Martí, Máximo Gómez, and the brothers Antonio and José Maceo. On May 19, 1895, Martí was killed in a skirmish 10 miles east of Bayamo in Oriente Province. Thus martyred, memories of Martí became a rallying cry for the rebel forces. By early 1896 the insurgency had spread to every part of the island, including the western provinces of Matanzas, Havana, and Pinar del Río, which had remained mostly quiescent in previous uprisings.

Scholars consider that the principal difference between the 1895 war and earlier rebellions consisted primarily in the coherence and inclusiveness of the nationalist ideology of Cuba Libre crafted by Martí and his compatriots in the years of organizing preceding the outbreak of hostilities and which came to be embraced by most Cubans during the war itself. Propelled by a vision of racial equality, social justice, and equal rights for all Cubans, the 1895 War of Independence differed in fundamental ways from previous independence struggles. In the words of rebel army chieftain Máximo Gómez, the Ten Years' War originated "from the top down, that is why it failed; this one surges from the bottom up, that is why it will triumph."

### GUERRILLA WAR

In common with almost all guerrilla wars in the modern era, by 1896 the rebel columns came to be supported by a vast network of noncombatant supporters and sympathizers who provided vital resources, especially food, shelter, and information on the strength and location of Spanish military units. The war soon combined an anticolonial insurgency with a civil war pitting pro-Spanish elite landowners and sugar growers against landless and land-poor peasants and workers. Insurgents systematically torched cane fields while prohibiting production and export of sugar, tobacco, and

other commodities in a strategy designed to strangle the economy and thereby defeat the Spanish and their elite Cuban allies.

As the line between soldiers and civilians blurred, the Spanish responded by waging war against the civil populace as a whole. The acme of this approach came under General Valeriano Weyler, who from early 1896 launched his infamous reconcentration campaign. As many as 300,000 rural dwellers from all walks of life were rounded up and compelled to move into specially fortified reconcentration centers. Emptying the countryside into these squalid resettlement camps, the Spanish destroyed crops, killed livestock, and destroyed thousands of homes and villages. From 1896 to 1898 tens of thousands of *reconcentrados* died of disease, malnutrition, and abuse. In urban areas, Weyler and the Spanish jailed, deported, and otherwise terrorized thousands of Cubans of all social classes, from street peddlers and domestic servants to lawyers, businessmen, and other professionals. From an estimated prewar population of 1.8 million, by war's end the island's population had dropped to around 1.5 million, a demographic decline of more than 17 percent in only three years.

Weyler's ruthless counterinsurgency approach failed to stem the insurgent tide. In fact, it had the opposite effect, driving thousands of Cubans into the insurgent ranks. By 1897 it was clear that the Spanish were losing the military battle. Many conservative Cubans, afraid of losing their privileged social position if the insurgents triumphed and increasingly dubious about Spain's chances for victory, clamored for annexation to the United States. In early 1898 as Spanish troops grew increasingly demoralized, the insurgent leadership planned their final assault on Spanish strongholds in the major cities. Rebel victory seemed only a matter of time.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the chain of newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst spearheaded what came to be known as yellow journalism, demonizing the Spanish as inhuman monsters slaughtering the childlike Cuban populace and clamoring for U.S. intervention. The U.S. foreign policy establishment, which had long coveted Cuba, saw the rising tide of insurgent power as a direct threat to U.S.

strategic and economic interests in Cuba and the wider Caribbean.

### U.S. INTERVENTION

An ideal pretext for U.S. military intervention came on February 15, 1898, when the battleship the USS *Maine* blew up in Havana Harbor, killing over 200 U.S. sailors. Events moved swiftly thereafter. In April 1898 newly inaugurated President William McKinley asked Congress for authorization to send U.S. troops to Cuba, and on April 25, Congress declared war on Spain. McKinley's war message neither mentioned Cuban independence nor recognized the Cuban insurgents as a legitimate belligerent force. In this way, the Cuban War of Independence became the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, with the United States elbowing out of the way the insurgent forces that had all but defeated the Spanish in more than three years of bloody conflict.

The United States quickly defeated the beleaguered Spanish forces in Cuba, as well as in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. The formal cessation of hostilities came on December 10, 1898, with the Treaty of Paris.

The negotiations leading to the treaty wholly excluded the Cuban insurgent forces, who were given no role in the U.S. military occupation that followed. Instead, the United States imposed the infamous Platt Amendment to the new Cuban constitution in 1901, which by a series of provisions effectively surrendered Cuban sovereignty to the United States, which dominated much of the island's economy and politics until the triumph of the Cuban Revolution on January 1, 1959, under Fidel Castro and the 26 of July Movement.

See also NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER





# D



## Darwin, Charles

(1809–1882) *British naturalist*

The famous British naturalist Charles Darwin traveled around the world, wrote several books, and developed the theory of natural selection and evolution.

Charles Robert Darwin was born on February 12, 1809, in Shrewsbury, Shropshire, in the west of England. His father, Robert Darwin, was a wealthy doctor and financier, and his mother Susannah (née Wedgwood) died when he was eight years old. He was a grandson of Erasmus Darwin, a prominent physician, on his father's side and Josiah Wedgwood, from the pottery family, on his mother's side. Charles Darwin went to Shrewsbury School and then to the University of Edinburgh to study medicine; he also learned how to stuff birds by a freed South American slave who worked at the Edinburgh Museum.

His father was disappointed at his son's lack of progress at Edinburgh and decided to move him to Cambridge. Darwin proceeded to Christ's College, where he had the idea of becoming a clergyman and studied theology. It was during this time that he started collecting beetles and developing a keen interest in entomology.

With the H.M.S. *Beagle* sailing to South America to chart the coastline, Darwin decided that he might join the crew as an unpaid assistant to the ship's captain, Robert FitzRoy. Darwin realized that it would give him an unparalleled opportunity to study the geological features of many islands around the world,

as well as to study wildlife. He had been inspired by accounts of the German explorer ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. His father was unhappy about the idea of a two-year voyage (it later turned out to last for five years), but Josiah Wedgwood, his grandfather, supported the trip. Darwin set off on December 27, 1831, collecting and sending back large numbers of natural history specimens.

The ship stopped at the Cape Verde Islands, and Darwin proceeded to study oyster shells and note the changes in the land. On arriving in South America, at Bahia (modern-day Salvador), Darwin went to study the rain forest. He was angered by the treatment of the slaves in Brazil. He spent some months in the rain forest and then in July 1832 went to Montevideo, Uruguay, which was going through one of its many conflicts after becoming independent. Darwin met the Argentine dictator General JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS and found the way the Argentine government treated the people of Tierra del Fuego bordering on systematic extermination.

The *Beagle* sailed to the Falkland Islands and then back to Argentina. In October 1833 Darwin caught a fever in Argentina and in July 1834 fell ill in Valparaíso. He spent a long time in Chile, climbing the Andes and studying the fossils in the Andean foothills. Darwin went to Peru and to the Galápagos Islands.

Darwin proceeded on to Tahiti, New Zealand, and Australia, although he never went to the settlement in the north of the country that now bears his name. In

New Zealand, he was saddened at the treatment of the Maoris and even more disappointed in the way he saw the aboriginal people of Australia being treated. The *Beagle* then headed off to the Indian Ocean, where the ship called in at the Cocos (Keeling) Islands. Already formulating his idea of animal species developing over very long periods of time, Darwin started to try to draw some conclusions on the final leg of his journey back to England, where he landed in October 1836, returning to Shrewsbury to rejoin his family.

### FIRST BOOK

He received a £400 annual allowance from his father, and Darwin started a series of correspondences with other naturalists and geologists. On his return, Darwin wrote up his diary of the voyage as *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the Various Countries Visited by H.M.S. Beagle*, which was published by Henry Colburn in 1839.

Darwin began cataloging all the different species, and in a talk at the Zoological Society, the famous ornithologist John Gould told the audience that the birds on the Galápagos Islands were not a mixture of species but all ground finches that had adapted differently. This helped fuel Darwin's ideas of evolution and natural selection. He became influenced by the ideas of Thomas Malthus and also by Harriet Martineau, a Whig political activist. Darwin developed the Malthusian ideas to form "natural selection," by which, when an area was overpopulated, the strongest would survive; he never used the term "survival of the fittest," although many later writers attributed it to him.

During the 1840s Darwin was refining his concept of evolution but initially had no intention of immediately publishing his treatise on natural selection. By 1854 Darwin had finished working out the order in which many species had evolved and had written about 250,000 words when, on June 18, 1858, he received a letter from Alfred Russel Wallace, an English socialist and natural history enthusiast who was in the Malay Archipelago. Wallace raised a similar idea of evolution to that of Darwin, with extracts of both scholars' work read at the Linnean Society on July 1, 1858. This encouraged Darwin to finish his book, which he called *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. Darwin retreated to the North York moors when the book was released on November 22, 1859. There were 1,250 copies printed, and the entire stock had been oversubscribed by orders received by booksellers.

As Darwin had suspected, the book caused a storm of protest, and he kept a book of press cuttings, review articles, satires, parodies, and caricature cartoons. Dissenters saw merit in his book, but the members of the Anglican community at Cambridge were upset at Darwin's ideas, which they saw as directly challenging those in the Bible. Darwin, had deliberately not stated that he believed that humans had evolved from apes, but this was what many of his readers interpreted, with many reviewers talking about "men from monkeys." This denied the special status of humans, but Darwin found support from Thomas Huxley, writing his own book *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, which was published in 1863.

### CONDEMNATION

However, Richard Owen, the head of the British scientific establishment, condemned the book, as did Sedgwick and Henslow, who had been tutors to Darwin at Cambridge. Darwin's work was acknowledged in Prussia, where the zoologist Ernst Haeckel alerted the king of Prussia, who awarded Darwin a medal. Some German theorists were soon to go further, using the concept of evolution to develop ideas of SOCIAL DARWINISM by which one type of man was more advanced than another.

Darwin became increasingly unwell and took to his bed for many months during the 1860s. However, he continued to write more books, with six new editions of *On the Origin of Species*, and also some new works such as *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, published in 1868. He wrote *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, which was published in 1871, and his *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* was published in the following year.

His next books were titled *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom* and *The Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species*.

From 1876 until 1881 Darwin wrote his autobiography for his grandchildren. He had married his cousin Emma Wedgwood, the marriage service being an Anglican ceremony that was arranged in order to suit the Unitarians. He and his wife had 10 children, three of whom died young. In 1881 Darwin finished his book *The Formation of Vegetable Mould, Through the Action of Worms*, which was to be his last published volume. He had an angina seizure in March 1882 and died on April 19. A funeral was held at Downe, where he had lived, and on April 26 he was

interred at Westminster Abbey, close to the last resting places of John Herschel and Isaac Newton.

Darwin has been remembered in many ways. An expanse of water near the Beagle Channel is named the Darwin Sound. In addition, there are many species named after him, including the finches he collected from the Galápagos Islands. In 1964 Darwin College, Cambridge, was named after the Darwin family, and in 2000 the Bank of England replaced Charles Dickens on the £10 note with Charles Darwin.

Although some historians still debate whether it was Darwin or Wallace who first came up with the concept of evolution, Darwin is the person credited with the idea and the person who did the most to advance it to a stage where it is widely accepted around the world.

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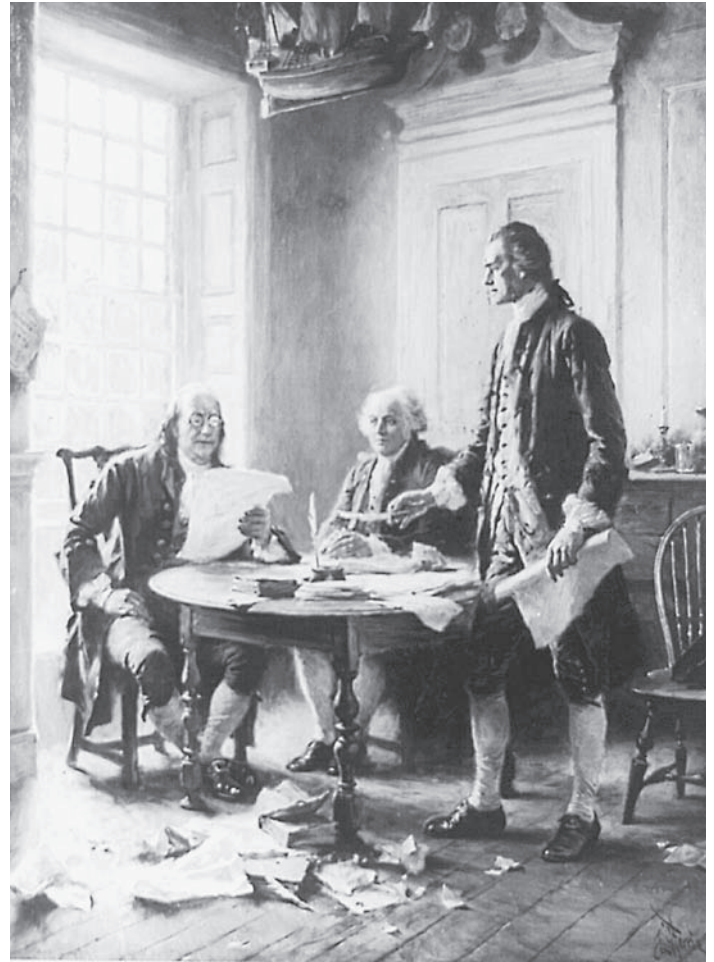
JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Declaration of Independence, U.S.

The foundational document of the Western Hemisphere's first republic, the first genuinely republican government of the modern era, the U.S. Declaration of Independence emerged amid an escalating war as one culmination of a long process of struggle between the American colonists and Great Britain and from a protracted process of compromise and negotiation between factions of the propertied white males who drafted and ratified it.

The document itself contained little that was original. Most of the sentiments it expressed and theories of republican government it propounded had deep roots in the French and English ENLIGHTENMENT, British-American history, and English common law.

It nonetheless captured the spirit of an era, articulating in a single statement of uncommon eloquence the reasons behind the American colonists' political break from Great Britain and the promise of political



From left, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams review Thomas Jefferson's draft of the declaration.

equality that, following the promulgation of the U.S. CONSTITUTION in 1787, formed a cornerstone of the new American republic.

Most delegates to the Second Continental Congress, which began its deliberations in Philadelphia in May 1775 in the wake of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, were hesitant to declare outright independence, despite the rapidly intensifying military conflict. A broad consensus about the necessity of proclaiming political independence emerged only after King George III's rejection of the Olive Branch Petition in late 1775 and the publication of THOMAS PAINE's hard-hitting pamphlet *Common Sense* the following January. Three well-heeled Bostonians were among the most fervent advocates of independence: the merchant John Hancock, the lawyer JOHN ADAMS, and his cousin, political agitator and onetime beer brewer, Samuel Adams.

The first formal call for a resolution of independence came on June 7 from Richard Henry Lee of Virginia. In response, the congress appointed a committee to draft the resolution, composed of John Adams, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THOMAS JEFFERSON, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman. This committee, in turn, designated Jefferson to draft the actual document, which was subsequently revised by Franklin, John Adams, and others. On July 2 Congress approved a resolution of independence, and two days later adopted a revised draft of the declaration originally penned by Jefferson. Henceforth, July 4 would be known in the United States as Independence Day.

Rooted in theories of natural rights articulated in previous decades by Enlightenment thinkers as diverse as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the document itself is divided into four parts: an introduction providing the moral and intellectual rationales for independence; a long list of complaints and grievances against King George III; its final assertion of political independence from Great Britain; and 56 signatures, most affixed on August 2 (mainly for logistical reasons, not all delegates who helped draft or voted for the declaration signed it). Many consider its second sentence to be its most socially radical, encapsulating the essential promise of political equality later codified for adult white males in the Constitution and, in the 19th and 20th centuries, extended to ex-slaves and women: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

The Declaration of Independence was not a law. Nor did it form the basis for the Constitution, adopted 11 years later. Mainly, it was a statement of principle that provided the essential rationale for the political break from Great Britain; an assertion of political unity among 13 distinct political entities in the context of a rapidly escalating military conflict; and a moral touchstone for the radical experiment in political republicanism to follow.

See also AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775–1783); FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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## Díaz, Porfirio

(1830–1915) *Mexican dictator*

Remembered mainly as an iron-fisted dictator whose political cronyism and suppression of the rights of Mexico’s poor and Indian peoples led to the Mexican Revolution, Porfirio Díaz was a shrewd and canny ruler who used persuasion and cooperation as much as brute force to retain power. His regime made major strides in modernizing the Mexican economy and integrating it into the rapidly expanding structures of global capitalism. The period of his rule, known as the Porfiriato, was an era of major social and economic transformations. Under the banner of positivism, the Díaz regime systematically promoted capitalist development via free trade, foreign investment, the expansion of transport and communications infrastructure, and an expanding export economy (especially mining), while at the same time suppressing the rights of citizenship among the poor and disfranchised and the rapidly growing middle and professional classes.

It was the mounting frustration of the latter classes at being shut out of the nation’s political life, combined with growing landlessness, poverty, unemployment, and desperation among the majority, that ultimately led to the collapse of his regime. Master of the strategy of *pan o palo* (“bread or stick,” with “bread” signifying cooptation and “stick” signifying violent suppression of dissent), Díaz dominated Mexico’s political life for more than a third of a century, while the social dynamics set in motion by his rule laid the groundwork for the decade-long civil war and social revolution that followed his overthrow in 1911.

Born in Oaxaca in 1830, the son of a mestizo blacksmith father and half-Mixtec mother, José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz received a rudimentary education, dabbling in studies for the priesthood and law before finding his calling in the military. Allied with BENITO JUÁREZ and the Liberals, Díaz distinguished himself as a military commander in the War of the Reform and the resistance against French intervention, in which conflicts he gained wide fame and a large personal following. Defeated in the presidential elections of 1871, Díaz charged fraud and launched an abortive rebellion against the Liberal Juárez government. In March 1876, five years after his first uprising, Díaz issued his Plan de Tuxtepec, once again calling for “no reelection.” In November 1876, in the so-called Revolution of Tuxtepec, his forces occupied Mexico City and overthrew the elected government of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada.

Under the positivist credo of order and progress and following the counsel of his coterie of advisers dubbed *los científicos* (loosely, “the scientific ones”), the Díaz regime endeavored to modernize every aspect of government and the economy while retaining a tight grip on the reins of political power. Foreign investment and economic growth surged, while a host of new inventions became integrated into Mexican life, including steam-powered electric generating plants, the telephone and telegraph, railroads, electric trams, manufacturing plants, and related modern technologies. The machinery of state was overhauled and streamlined, while the country’s public finances were put on a firm footing under Secretary of the Treasury José Limantour.

To suppress rural banditry and organized dissent, Díaz expanded the Rurales, or rural police force, created by Juárez in 1872 and under Díaz comprised, in the main, of criminals and bandits put on the government payroll. The regime waged a series of wars against recalcitrant Indians, especially the Apache and Yaquí in the north. Díaz’s political cronies dominated the nation’s political life at all levels, while organized dissent of any kind was either gingerly coopted or ruthlessly crushed.

By the early 1900s disenchantment with the regime mounted among both the rapidly expanding middle class and the masses of increasingly impoverished and desperate rural and urban dwellers. The regime’s demise came in 1911, following an uprising by wealthy Liberal landowner Francisco Madero, which in turn sparked the decade-long Mexican Revolution. Overthrown, the ailing 81-year-old Díaz was forced into exile. He died in Paris a few years later.

See also MEXICO, FROM LA REFORMA TO THE PORFIRIATO (1855–1876).

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## diplomatic revolution, European

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648, ending the Thirty Years’ War, is considered the beginning of modern

diplomacy in Europe. The treaty established the idea of nation-states by acknowledging the sovereign rights of individual countries. As such, conflicts came to revolve around issues related to “the state.” In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht, ending the War of the Spanish Succession, formalized the fundamental principle of the new diplomacy—balance of power. The idea behind the doctrine dictated the preservation of the status quo, so that no one nation-state held authority over any other. If the balance of power shifted in favor of any member state, all other states had a vested interest to intervene, even if by force, in correcting the shift.

In 1789 the FRENCH REVOLUTION unleashed myriad ideas that threatened the balance of power in Europe. Fears spread among Europe’s elite that the lower classes would overthrow the old order, or *ancien régime*, through violence. Accordingly, European leaders aimed their diplomatic efforts at minimizing the Revolution’s influence. However, NAPOLEON I’s conquest of continental Europe in the wake of the Revolution shifted the balance in France’s favor nonetheless. Accordingly, a British-led coalition formed to counter the shift in power on the continent.

In the aftermath of Napoleon’s defeat in 1815, the idea of equilibrium among the nation-states reemerged to preserve peace. As a result, Europe entered a period that would characterize the 19th century—the congress system, popularly known as the Concert of Europe, due to the spirit of cooperation it ushered in among the major European nations. The system’s intention was to enforce the peace settlement established by the Congress of Vienna following the defeat of Napoleon. Led by Austria’s PRINCE CLEMENS VON METTERNICH, participants of the Congress—Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia—set the course of European affairs, agreeing to prevent future conflicts that would endanger each nation. Although differing ideologically, it was a formal pledge to keep events like the French Revolution and the AMERICAN REVOLUTION from unbalancing the status quo.

Unfortunately, the revolutionary turmoil of 1848 signaled the end of the Concert of Europe. Triggered by events in Sicily and France, a wave of revolutions swept across the continent that marked the downfall of the *ancien régime*. Influenced by liberal reformers and dismal economic conditions, the poor working class and starving peasants reacted violently to the changes that had oppressed them. Doomed by broad reform goals and mediocre leadership, the uprisings were quickly suppressed with negligible affects on the European way of life. Despite a few exceptions—the

end of feudalism in the Habsburg Empire, the freeing of serfs in Russia—little changed other than the deepening of the socioeconomic conditions that had started the revolutions. In light of the chaos, the European nation-states isolated themselves from one another, concentrating efforts on their own national interests.

By 1875 upheavals and nationalist sentiment undermined the congress system. Amid conflicts like the CRIMEAN WAR and the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, the Concert of Europe came to an end. At midcentury, diplomacy had become synonymous with the display of military force and the demonstration of military might. Ushering in an era of new imperialism based on creating empire for empire's sake, it became the means for establishing trade partnerships, colonial outposts, and expanding and securing national interests, with considerable effect. The outbreak of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR in 1898 epitomized the nature of the new diplomacy: establish dominance or be dominated. With the Spanish defeat, the balance shifted from the European continent toward the United States at the close of the 19th century. However, it would take World War I to establish fully the new diplomatic paradigm.

See also NAPOLEON III; REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

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STEVE SAGARRA

## Disraeli, Benjamin

(1804–1881) *British prime minister*

Benjamin Disraeli, whose name would be inextricably linked with the growth of the British Empire, was born in London on December 21, 1804, to Isaac and Maria D'Israeli. Although England did not have the ugly record of anti-Semitism of other European countries, Isaac decided that assimilation into English society was the best path for his son. Although Isaac had his children, Benjamin, Sarah, Raphael, and Jacobus

baptized into Christianity, he himself remained committed to Judaism.

Isaac was a distinguished writer and passed the love of writing on to his son. After several failed attempts in politics, Benjamin was elected as the Tory (Conservative) Party representative in 1837 from Maidstone, in Kent, England. Coincidentally, this was also the year in which VICTORIA became queen, a woman whose life would be so closely connected to his. Although the Tory Party historically represented the nobility and the landowners, Disraeli was of the progressive wing of the party. Philosophically, he leaned more toward the Whigs, later known as the Liberal Party, and espoused the cause of the rising working class. The working class was increasingly exploited in the factories, mills, and mines of a rapidly industrializing Britain. Two years later, Disraeli married a wealthy widow, Mrs. Wyndham Lewis.

In 1841 the general elections brought the Conservatives to power in Britain, and Sir Robert Peel became the prime minister. When Peel turned Disraeli down for a seat in his cabinet, Disraeli helped form the Young England group. This group attempted to redirect politics in the aftermath of the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, the first of several reform bills that would open the voting franchise to larger numbers of Britain's working classes.

The Young Englanders sought an alliance between the aristocracy of Britain, the backbone of the Tory Party since its formation in the reign of King Charles II, and the rising working-class poor. Although nothing came directly from these ideas, it characterized British political life in the 1840s. The group disbanded after the Maynooth Grant in 1845, the same event that led to WILLIAM GLADSTONE's resignation from the cabinet.

## CORN LAWS

One of the cornerstones of Peel's policy was the repeal of the Corn Laws, which kept the price of corn artificially high. This benefited landowners, who formed part of Disraeli's constituency. Disraeli's opposition to Peel's program did not succeed, and the Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. But the divisiveness at least partly caused by Disraeli brought down Peel's administration, leading to a Whig government led by Lord John Russell.

When Russell resigned in 1852, Edward Stanley formed a Tory government in which Disraeli finally achieved his dream of a cabinet appointment, as chan-

cellor of the exchequer. Stanley became prime minister two more times in his career, summoning Disraeli back to his post each time. Concurrently, Disraeli was leader of the House of Commons, which brought him into contact with Gladstone, the leader of Whigs.

Pressure was building to extend the voting franchise. In a rare act of political unanimity, Gladstone and Disraeli joined forces to press for a second Reform Bill. While Gladstone did it out of his lifelong commitment for liberal causes, Disraeli functioned from a more complicated political calculus. If the Conservative Party did not embrace more progressive causes, it would become moribund. Due to their combined parliamentary weight, the second Reform Bill was almost assured to pass, and it did so in 1867.

In the general elections of 1868, Gladstone became prime minister, and Disraeli lost his cabinet position. The elections of 1874, however, brought Disraeli to power as prime minister, the first one totally dedicated to the expansion—and perpetuation—of the British Empire. Disraeli realized that support for the empire in a parliamentary democracy depended on the allegiance of the growing industrial classes. To support this segment of the population, Disraeli passed legislation that protected workers and trade unions.

In his quest to make England a great empire, Disraeli found an ardent ally in Queen Victoria. At this time, the SUEZ CANAL had made possible a rapid transit to the jewel of Britain's imperial crown: India. By the early 1870s the khedive ISMAIL of Egypt had virtually bankrupted Egypt through his ambitious program of modernization. When the chancellor of the exchequer requested Parliament to approve funds to buy the khedive's shares, Disraeli delivered an impassioned speech urging approval. Parliament was convinced that the purchase was a strong move. In August 1876 Victoria raised Disraeli to the peerage as Lord Beaconsfield; he was compelled to leave the House of Commons. Still, he continued to serve as prime minister.

In 1878 Disraeli faced the first major foreign crisis of his administration. In 1875 the Christian population of the Balkans rebelled against their overlords in the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Revulsion over the thousands killed again united Gladstone and Disraeli. In April 1877 Czar Alexander II declared war on the Turks. The Russians and their Romanian allies were delayed for months by the Turkish defense of Plevna (Pleven) in Bulgaria, from July to December of 1877. But after Plevna fell, the Russians and Romanians

seemed determined to press on to finish off the Turkish empire and take its capital of Constantinople. Such a grab for power was unthinkable to Disraeli, when Russia already was in a position, through its rapid conquest of the khanates of Central Asia, to threaten British India.

## WAR FOOTING

Consequently, Disraeli put Britain on a war footing such as had not been seen since the war scare with France years earlier. The British Mediterranean fleet cast anchor from its base at Malta, which Great Britain had gained during the Napoleonic Wars, and moved up to support the Turks by June 30, 1877. Any further Russian advance would meet the firepower of the Royal Navy. On March 3, 1878, the Russians forced the Turks to sign the Treaty of San Stefano, which created a Greater Bulgaria, covering much of the Balkans.

Disraeli and his administration considered a Greater Bulgaria, which would have a Russian force present, as merely another stop toward a future Russian move to take over what remained of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. With the CONGRESS OF BERLIN ending the Balkan crisis in 1878 and the invasion of Afghanistan in the same year to prevent it from becoming a Russian satellite, Disraeli showed not only his belief in the British Empire, but also his determination to use both the British navy and land forces to defend it.

Although Disraeli and the Conservatives were beaten in the general election of 1880, he had made his mark as perhaps the greatest of Victorian imperialists. As for Disraeli himself, he returned to writing at the end of his political career. But after the publication of *Endymion* in 1880, Disraeli fell ill and died on April 19, 1881. Queen Victoria personally attended his funeral and burial at Hugenden.

See also BISMARCK, OTTO VON; INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

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## Dost Mohammed

(1793–1863) *Afghani leader*

Dost Mohammed Khan is remembered as a powerful and charismatic ruler who reigned over Afghanistan from 1826 until his death in 1863 and made significant attempts to unite the troubled country. The times in which he ruled were turbulent in Afghanistan because rival clans struggled for power against one another, even as various members of those clans fought among themselves as they attempted to gain ascendancy by unseating those who were already in power. Dost Mohammed's reign also coincided with the period in which Great Britain and Russia were vying for control of Asian lands that they had identified as essential to their expansionist goals.

From the beginning, Dost, which means “friend,” was faced with repeated attempts to unseat him that arose from the jealousy of his numerous brothers and nephews. His most serious rival was Shah Shujah al-Moolk, the Afghan king and cousin whom he had deposed. Their rivalry was part of the continuing battle for power in Afghanistan that existed between two branches of the Durrani clan. Shah Shujah represented the Saddozai, while Dost was a member of the rival Barakzai clan. When Shujah left Afghanistan, he took his entire harem and royal jewels, including the famous Koh-i-noor diamond.

Once in power, Dost Mohammed declared himself the Amir-al-momineen of Afghanistan, the “Commander of the Faithful,” which allowed him to exercise almost totalitarian power. In order to protect himself from his numerous enemies, the Dost set up his power base in Kabul and surrounded himself with a limited bureaucracy composed of his sons and matrimonial allies. This move also eradicated a good deal of the crime and corruption that had flourished under previous monarchs. He also banned the sale of alcohol and intoxicating drugs and curtailed gambling and prostitution.

In 1834 his rival Shah Shujah began a revolt against Dost, who was victorious, but was unable to regain control of Peshawar, which had been taken by the Sikhs. To gain support, Dost Mohammed encouraged his subjects to view his campaign against the Sikhs as a jihad (holy war). On April 30, 1837, an Afghan force of some 30,000 men and 50 cannons faced the Sikhs in the Battle of Jamrud. When the battle was over, the Afghans had lost 1,000 men, but the cost to the Sikhs had been twice that. Despite the Afghan victory, Sikh leader RANJIT SINGH retained his hold on Peshawar. However, Dost Mohammed had succeeded in establishing a regular Afghan army for the first time. This army was made

more powerful by the use of the long-barreled muskets made by Kabul gunsmiths that were better than the guns used by the British army in India.

With Dost in firm control of Afghanistan, both the British and Russians began to court his favor. Generally, Dost favored British efforts to block Russian and Persian advances. However, he was also willing to turn to the Russians if the British failed to meet his demands. The British government then dispatched Sir Alexander Burnes to Afghanistan to meet with Dost and agreed to return Peshawar to Afghanistan to promote stability on the frontier.

In 1857 Dost concluded a comprehensive alliance with the British by which he received an annual subsidy from Britain, although he remained neutral when the INDIAN MUTINY occurred in 1857. Britain became convinced that he presented a threat to British control of India. Subsequently, Britain attacked Afghanistan and convinced various chiefs to support them against Dost Mohammed. With diminishing forces, Dost was soon reduced to fighting with only a couple of hundred men. Eventually, he tired of living the life of a fugitive and surrendered in 1840. The British treated him with full respect and installed him and his family in a mansion. However, his ambitious son Akbar refused to join them, attacked Kabul, and slaughtered 16,000 British soldiers and the English there. Finally, Britain decided to restore Dost to power, but to implement a hands-off policy in Afghan affairs.

In May 1863 Dost conquered the City of Herat, unifying the remaining areas of Afghanistan under one rule, but he never recovered Peshawar, which is now part of northwestern Pakistan. Dost was succeeded by his fifth son, Sher Ali Khan, but he was challenged by his brothers and Afghanistan continued to be wracked by civil wars.

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ELIZABETH PURDY

## Douglass, Frederick

(c. 1817–1895) *U.S. abolitionist and reformer*

Born into slavery in Maryland, Frederick Douglass became the most significant African-American leader of the 19th century. Son of field hand Harriet Bailey

and an unnamed white man (perhaps his first master, Aaron Anthony), Douglass became a powerful anti-slavery orator, newspaper publisher, backer of WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, adviser to ABRAHAM LINCOLN, banker, and diplomat.

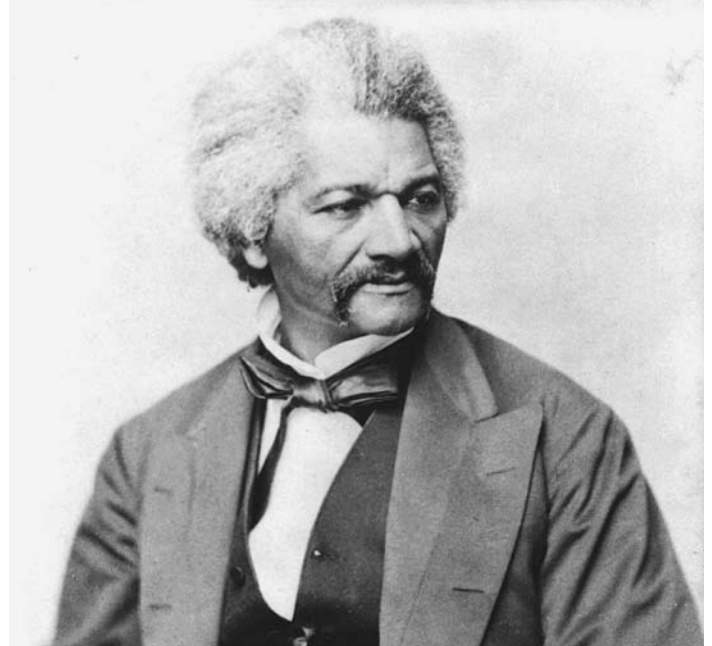
When he was about seven, Douglass's mother died, and her child, then called Frederick Bailey, was sent to Baltimore to serve Hugh and Sophia Auld, relatives of the family on whose plantation he was raised. Sophia, in violation of law and custom, began to teach the youngster to read; her husband instructed Frederick in shipyard skills that would eventually prove his passage to freedom. As Douglass wrote, "A city slave is almost a freeman compared with a slave on the plantation."

Family deaths, remarriages, and disputes over slave "property" threw Douglass's almost tolerable life into chaos. Underfed and cruelly treated, sent to a remote area near Chesapeake Bay, he was hired out to be "broken" into an obedient field hand. After several unsuccessful escape attempts, in September 1838 he made his way to New York City and thence, with help from abolitionists and his future wife, free-woman Anna Murray, to the port of New Bedford, Massachusetts.

Douglass would write three autobiographies that remain a key source of information about his life and thought. The first of these, his *Narrative*, published in 1845 when Douglass was still a fugitive, galvanized the American antislavery movement and forced Douglass into exile in Britain, where he lectured to huge crowds. He returned to the United States in 1847 after English supporters paid \$700 to secure his freedom. Douglass soon started a freedom newspaper, *North Star*, and resumed his work as an abolition orator. He delivered his most famous speech in Rochester, New York, on July 5, 1852. "What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July?" he asked. "I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham...."

In 1848 Douglass attended the meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, that launched the drive for equal rights for women. Douglass would later fall out with important members of the women's suffrage movement over the Fifteenth Amendment to the CONSTITUTION that, in 1870, would grant voting rights to male former slaves while still excluding women of all races.

During the CIVIL WAR, Douglass helped convince President Lincoln to allow blacks to fight for the Union and publicly urged free blacks and escaped slaves to



Born a slave, Frederick Douglass became the most prominent African-American voice for abolition in the 19th century.

enlist. More than 200,000 did so, paving the way for full citizenship at the war's end. Douglass's later years in Washington, D.C., mixed achievement and disappointment. He held a number of federal positions, including a posting to Haiti, but his participation in a Freedmen's Savings Bank ended badly. His remarriage to a white woman was condemned by both whites and blacks. He lived to see the emergence of new racial restrictions, suffering some of their indignities himself. Dying of a heart attack on February 20, 1895, after attending a women's rights meeting, Douglass lay in state in a Washington, D.C., church. He is buried in Rochester's Mount Hope Cemetery.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Dreyfus affair

In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army, was accused of giving military secrets to the

Germans. Although he steadfastly maintained his innocence, Dreyfus was tried and found guilty in a trial that was heavily influenced by widespread anti-Semitism within the upper echelons of French society and the military. The case became a cause célèbre that split French society between the pro-Dreyfusards (liberals) and the anti-Dreyfusards (conservatives).

Dreyfus was sentenced to Devil's Island prison off the South American coast, but his supporters continued to investigate the case and found that he had been used as a scapegoat to cover up for the real culprits, who were highly placed in French society. The French writer Emile Zola took up the case and published his famous article, "*J'Accuse*," detailing the abuses in the case. Dreyfus was bought back for another trial and, although new evidence was presented, he was again

found guilty. Dreyfus was finally freed on a pardon granted by the French president in 1899; however, his military rank was not restored until 1906. Theodor Herzl, the father of modern ZIONISM (Jewish nationalism), covered the Dreyfus case as a journalist. The prevalence of anti-Semitism in liberal France contributed to Herzl's conclusion that Jews needed to have a state of their own where they would control the political, economic, and military institutions.

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JANICE J. TERRY

# E



## Eastern Question

The Eastern Question, or what was to become of the declining Ottoman Empire, was one of the major diplomatic issues of the 19th century. The major European powers, Britain, France, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Russia, had differing and sometimes conflicting attitudes about what to do with the “Sick Man of Europe.” Each European power had territorial ambitions over parts of the Ottoman holdings and sought to further their ambitions through a variety of diplomatic and military means. The Eastern Question had similarities with the diplomatic maneuverings known as the Great Game by Britain to prevent Russian expansion into Afghanistan and other Asian territories and may be divided into several different phases.

In phase one, 1702–1820, Russia and the Ottomans engaged in a number of wars over control of territories around the Black Sea. The long-term Russian strategy was to gain warm-water ports and entry into the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles. Generally, the British, and to a lesser extent the French, sought to thwart Russia expansion into the Mediterranean and supported the Ottomans diplomatically. The Austro-Hungarians who wanted to expand into Ottoman territory in the Balkans and feared growing Russian strength also sought to halt growing Russian power. But in general, during the first phase of the Eastern Question, Russia won its wars against the Ottoman Empire and steadily extended its control around the Black Sea.

The NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT and the brief French occupation in 1798 highlighted the importance of the region and the growing weakness of the Ottomans. Phase two of the Eastern Question was a period when nationalist sentiments arose within the Ottoman Empire. This culminated in the GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1821–33, or phase three, when the Greeks, with the sympathy and support of France and Britain, rose up in armed rebellion against Ottoman domination. The Greek War culminated in the independence of Greece under the Treaty of Adrianople and the Protocols of London in 1830. The European powers guaranteed Greek independence in 1832.

Although the British and French supported the Ottomans in their struggles against Russian encroachment in the Black Sea and the Balkans during the 19th century, both powers took territories away from the Ottomans in North Africa and along the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf. Phase four of the Eastern Question culminated in the CRIMEAN WAR, when the British and French, with small support from Piedmont-Sardinia, joined forces with the Ottomans against Russia. Although Russia gained some territory, the support of the European powers gave the “Sick Man of Europe” a new lease on life and forced a series of domestic reforms within the empire.

During the CONGRESS OF BERLIN in phase five, the British agreed to defend the Ottoman Empire against Russian ambitions to partition it, but at the same time assented to the French takeover of Tunisia in North Africa. France had already taken the former Ottoman

territory of Algeria in 1830. Britain gained the important island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean, while Austria-Hungary expanded into the Balkans.

As Germany emerged as a major European power, it, too, entered into the diplomatic maneuverings involving the Ottoman Empire. Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Istanbul in 1889 and again in 1898 and announced his support for the aging empire. As a result, ties between the German and Ottoman military increased, and Germany began to invest in the Ottoman Empire. The Berlin to Baghdad railway was the cornerstone of German financial interests. The growing German influence within Ottoman territories raised British opposition. The British were particularly opposed to the possibility that the Berlin to Baghdad Railway might extend the German presence into the Persian Gulf and eastern Asia where it would compete with the British. The Germans managed to gain a concession for the railway in 1903 and hoped that it would link up with rail lines in the eastern Mediterranean. Parts of the railway were constructed through Anatolia, but the railway was never completed to Baghdad.

The Ottoman government was not a passive participant in the Eastern Question but took an active role in playing off the conflicting diplomatic policies of the European powers to prevent the dissolution of its empire. The territorial and economic rivalries of the European nations enabled the Ottoman Empire to prolong its existence while at the same time it continued to lose territories in the Balkans, North Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, and the Arabian Peninsula to the imperial European powers.

See also ALGERIA UNDER FRENCH RULE; ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY; TANZIMAT, OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Eddy, Mary Baker (1821–1910), and the Christian Science Church

The Church of Christ, Scientist (official name) was established in 1879. However, the notion of Christian Science was cultivated by Mary Baker Eddy after her

instantaneous recovery in 1866 from severe injuries sustained in an accident, in her words, “which neither medicine nor surgery could reach.” What did reach her serious condition were the healing words of Jesus, which became the foundation of her method for achieving authentic health. Born in a small New Hampshire village in 1821 to Congregational parents who were devoted to her education and her study of the Bible, Mary Baker had always been an unhealthy child and adolescent. Over the course of her life, she married three times: first to George Washington Glover in 1843, who died suddenly six months later; then to Daniel Patterson in 1853, whom she divorced 20 years later after tolerating his numerous infidelities; and, finally, in 1877, to Asa Gilbert Eddy, who died in 1882. Mary, having survived ill health, marital tragedy, and injuries, lived into her 90th year, dying in 1910.

Mary Baker Eddy's discovery of Christian Science is documented in her book *Science and Health*, a title that she later extended to include *With Keys to the Scriptures*. This book, first published in 1875, was quickly adopted as the textbook of a new religious movement. Besides a short autobiographical sketch of her recovery, it offers practical advice on family relationships and engages in analyzing literary issues such as the Genesis creation stories and scientific discussions on subjects such as Darwinism. But what sets her book apart as a new religious text is its exploration of a philosophy of radical idealism, in which only the divine mind exists, while matter is mere illusion. This illusion is what leads to intellectual error and ill health, and ultimately evil and death. Awareness of this illusion and the salvific need for a sense of “at-one-ment” with the divine mind of the biblical God is what leads to both spiritual and physical health.

Eddy sustained considerable critique of her philosophy from both Joseph Pulitzer, who accused her of senility, and Mark Twain, who made her the target of his stinging wit, as well as numerous Christian theologians, who believed she had abandoned essential orthodoxy. Deeply influenced by her encounter in 1862 with Phineas P. Quimby, the famous mentalist and ridiculed progenitor of the mind-over-matter philosophy, Eddy's resolve was more than enough to withstand a lifetime of criticism, which allowed her to publish several books and to found the Boston Mother Church, the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, the *Christian Science Journal*, and a world-class newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*. Each local branch church, without the benefit of ordained clergy and guided by Eddy's *Church Manual*, conducts simple Sunday services that



Thanks to her spontaneous recovery from illness, Mary Baker Eddy helped create the Church of Christ, Scientist.

consist of hymn singing and the reading of biblical texts and complementary passages from *Science and Health*. While the membership of the church is difficult to assess, given its prohibition on publishing statistics (though it claims 2,000 worldwide Branch Churches and Societies), and while the movement has faced legal challenges, given its practice of a strict form of faith healing that encourages the avoidance of hospitals, it is generally believed to have well over 300,000 American adherents and a growing European and Asian mission.

See also MORMONISM; TRANSCENDENTALISM.

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RICK M. ROGERS

## enlightened despotism in Europe

Enlightened despotism represented one of the most enduring experiments before the old order was forever turned upside down by the forces unleashed by the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1789. Ironically, enlightened despotism was fostered by the thoughts of French philosophers like VOLTAIRE; Charles-Louis de Secondant, baron de Montesquieu; and Denis Diderot who would provide the ideological gunpowder that exploded with the revolution in 1789. Embraced by rulers in 18th-century Europe like CATHERINE THE GREAT of Russia, MARIA THERESA of the Austrian Empire, and FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA, enlightened despotism provided a philosophy of government that motivated rulers to pursue political changes, forever breaking any ties with the monarchies of the past.

At its basis, enlightened despotism attempted to apply the rational spirit of the Enlightenment to guide governance, pushing them forward from the superstitions and sometimes barbarous practices of past centuries. It embraced not only what we would call now a progressive view of government but also the sciences and the arts.

### GENERAL WELFARE

Above all, enlightened despots began to see themselves as the first servants of the state, whose duty was to provide for the general welfare of their subjects. When Frederick II became king of Prussia after his father's death on May 31, 1740, he wrote "Our grand care will be to further the country's well-being and to make every one of our subjects contented and happy."

A more mature Frederick later wrote in *Essay on the Forms of Government*, "The sovereign is the representative of his State. He and his people form a single body. Ruler and ruled can be happy only if they are firmly united. The sovereign stands to his people in the same relation in which the head stands to the body. He must use his eyes and his brain for the whole community, and act on its behalf to the common advantage. If we wish to elevate monarchical above republican government, the duty of sovereigns is clear. They must be active, hard-working, upright and honest, and concentrate all their strength upon filling their office worthily. That is my idea of the duties of sovereigns."

Above all, it was Montesquieu in his *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) who had the most practical influence on the enlightened despots and the AMERICAN REVOLUTION of 1775. Montesquieu wrote, "In every

government there are three sorts of power; the legislative; the executive, in respect to things dependent on the law of nations; and the executive, in regard to things that depend on the civil law. By virtue of the first, the prince or magistrate enacts temporary or perpetual laws, and amends or abrogates those that have been already enacted. By the second, he makes peace or war, sends or receives embassies; establishes the public security, and provides against invasions. By the third, he punishes criminals, or determines the disputes that arise between individuals. The latter we shall call the judiciary power, and the other simply the executive power of the state.”

### A SAY IN DESTINY

While none of the enlightened despots like Frederick, Maria Theresa, or Catherine would willingly accept limitations on their sovereignty, they all accepted at least in principle the idea that those they governed should have some say in their own destiny. All used consultative assemblies, drawn from all the classes in society, at least several times during their reigns. In 1785, for example, Catherine issued two charters, one for the nobles, and one for the towns. The Charter for the Nobility inaugurated councils of nobles who could offer their opinions on laws that she proposed. The Charter for the Towns created municipal councils whose membership included all those who owned property or a business within the towns. At the same time, the legal status of Russia’s peasantry continued to slip under the control of the landowning nobility until they were hardly considered as human beings.

The rationalization of government saw considerable progress in the Austrian Empire, where the Empress Maria Theresa reigned jointly with her son, as JOSEPH II, after 1765. Reforms during their reign centralized government, making political and monetary bureaucracy answerable to the Crown.

Reform of the legal codes provided a keystone for enlightened rule. In June 1767 Catherine gathered a Legislative Commission to hear her proposals for a new legal code for Russia. Although the code was never adopted, the document shows the direction of the political thought that guided her long reign (1762–96). She wrote, “What is the true End of Monarchy? Not to deprive People of their natural Liberty; but to correct their Actions, in order to attain the supreme Good.”

For the sake of the subjects, perhaps the most important part of enlightened despotism was the gen-

eral belief that the use of torture to extract information was a savage relic of the Middle Ages and had no place in the judicial system of any enlightened monarch. In Russia, Catherine’s refusal to use torture was put to the test in the 1773–74 rebellion of the Cossack Emilian Pugachev. Although Pugachev’s revolt proved a distinct threat to her reign, after he was captured, Catherine refused to let his interrogators resort to the use of torture to find out if he acted alone or was the representative of some conspiracy hatched to overthrow and kill her. All the enlightened monarchs were influenced by the thought of the Italian Cesare Beccaria, the author of the historic *Of Crimes and Punishments* in 1764.

Enlightened despots attempted to improve their countries through advances in the sciences, industry, and agriculture as well. After Catherine II’s annexation of the khanate of the Crimea in 1783, she opened it to cultivation by German immigrants to improve agricultural production. When the Treaty of Jassy ended a war with the Turks in 1792, large new areas were opened in what is now southern Russia for improved agricultural production. Significantly, one of the countries most resistant to the ideas of enlightened despotism was France, where the revolution that overturned the old order began.

Religious tolerance also saw great advances in this age. Most of the prohibitions against Jews, existing from the Middle Ages, were lifted throughout much of Europe. In France, however, such a change would have to wait to take maximum effect in the reign of NAPOLEON I, after he crowned himself emperor in 1804, 11 years after LOUIS XVI of France had been sent to the guillotine in January 1793. Muslims also benefited from the general enlightenment. After the conquest of the Crimea in 1783 and the Treaty of Jassy with the Ottoman Turks in 1792, large numbers of Muslims became Catherine the Great’s subjects.

It was perhaps the greatest irony of this age of enlightened despotism that it was brought to an end by the French king Louis XVI summoning to Paris in 1789 the Estates General, the representative body of French aristocracy, clergy, and the emerging middle class. The Estates General, having not been convened for over 150 years, had much to discuss with the king. When Louis XVI refused to do so and threatened to dissolve it, the Third Estate refused to leave Paris. Instead, the Third Estate met in an old tennis court and swore to remain in session until its grievances were heard by the king and redressed by him. The French Revolution had begun.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Enlightenment, the

The Enlightenment in Europe came on the heels of the age of science. It dates from the end of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century. Beginning with John Locke, thinkers applied scientific reasoning to society, politics, and religion. The Enlightenment was especially strong in France, Scotland, and America. The Enlightenment may be said to culminate in the revolutions that occurred in America, France, and Latin America between 1775 and 1815. In attempting to justify England's Glorious Revolution of 1688, Locke argued that man had inherent rights. Man, he posited, was a blank page who could be filled up with good progressive ideas. He laid the basis for people's sovereignty. People voluntarily came together to form a government that would protect individual rights. Government, therefore, had a contract with the people. When the government violated people's natural rights, it violated the social contract. Therefore, people had the right to withdraw their allegiance. Ironically, the rationale used to justify the triumph of Parliament over the Crown in England was used against Parliament and Britain nearly a century later in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Influenced by Newtonian science that posited universal laws that governed the natural world, the Enlightenment emphasis was on human reason. According to major Enlightenment thinkers, both faith in nature and belief in progress were important to the human condition. The individual was subject to universal laws that governed the universe and formed nature. Using the gift of reason, people would seek to find happiness. Human virtue and happiness were best achieved by freedom from unnecessary restraints imposed by church and state. Not surprisingly, Enlightenment thinkers believed in education as an essential component in human improvement. They also tended to support freedom of conscience and checks in absolute government.

## EARLY ENLIGHTENMENT

The early Enlightenment was centered in England and Holland. It was interpreted by conservative English figures to justify the limits on the Crown imposed by Parliament. The limited government supported by the Whigs who took over was spread abroad by the newly created Masonic movement. In Holland, which was the home of refugees from absolutist leaders such as refugees from England of the later Stuart monarchy and from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and was nominally a republic, the earliest writings appeared. Its most famous philosopher, Spinoza, argued that God existed everywhere in nature, even society, meaning that it could rule itself. This philosophy applied to arguments against state churches and absolute monarchs.

## BASIC ENLIGHTENMENT IDEAS

The most famous figures of the 18th-century Enlightenment were Frenchmen, including Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu, VOLTAIRE, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Montesquieu in his greatest work, *The Spirit of Laws*, argued that checks and balances among executive, legislative, and judicial branches were the guarantors of liberty. Voltaire, the leading literary figure of the age, wrote histories, plays, pamphlets, essays, and novels, as well as correspondence with monarchs such as CATHERINE THE GREAT of Russia and FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA. In all of these works, he supported rationalism and advocated reform. Diderot edited an encyclopedia that included over 70,000 articles covering the superiority of science, the evils of superstition, the virtues of human freedom, the evils of the SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA, and unfair taxes. Rousseau, however, was not a fan of science and reason. Rather, in the *Social Contract*, he spoke of the general will of the people as the basis of government. His ideas were to be cited by future revolutions from the French to the Russian.

Enlightenment thought spread throughout the globe and was especially forceful in Europe and the Americas. In Scotland, some ideas of the Enlightenment influenced the writings of David Hume, who became the best known of skeptics of religion, and ADAM SMITH, who argued that the invisible hand of the market should govern supply and demand and government economic controls should not exist. In America, deism (the belief that God is an impersonal force in the universe) and the moral embodiment of the Newtonian laws of the universe attracted THOMAS



JEFFERSON and THOMAS PAINE. On the political side, thinkers such as Thomas Hooker and John Mayhew spoke of government as a trustee that must earn the trust of its constituency and as a financial institution with a fiduciary duty to its depositors.

It was in the realms of politics, religion, philosophy, and humanitarian affairs that the Enlightenment had its greatest effect. The figures of the French Enlightenment opposed undue power as exemplified by absolute monarchy, aristocracy based on birth, state churches, and economic control by the state as exemplified by mercantilism. Enlightened thinkers saw the arbitrary policies of absolute monarchies as contradictory to the natural rights of man, according to the leaders of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The most fundamental part of their nature was human reason, the instrument by which people realized their potentials. The individual was a thinking and judging being who must have the highest of freedom in order to operate. The best government, like the best economy, was the government that governed least.

### THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN POLITICS

The Enlightenment extended to the political realm and was especially critical of monarchs who were more interested in their divine right than in the good of their people. Man was innately good; however, society could corrupt him. Anything that corrupted people, be it an absolutist government or brutal prison conditions, should be combated. Absolutist policies violated innate rights that were a necessary part of human nature. Ultimately, political freedom depended on the right social environment, which could be encouraged or hindered by government. Absolutism, for this reason, was the primary opponent of political freedom.

The progenitors of the political Enlightenment, John Locke and his successors, maintained that government should exist to protect property of subjects and citizens, defend against foreign enemies, secure order, and protect the natural rights of its people. These ideas found their way into the U.S. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE and CONSTITUTION. These documents asserted that every individual had “unalienable rights,” including rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Similarly, the preamble to the Constitution claimed that government existed to “promote the general welfare and provide of the common defense” in direct descent from Enlightenment thinkers.

The ideas of social contract and social compact did not originate with either Locke or Rousseau,

but with Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes viewed the social contract as a way for government to restrain base human nature. Ultimately, Locke maintained that people came together in a voluntary manner to form a government for protection of their basic rights. Therefore, government was based on their voluntary consent. If their basic natural rights were violated, they could withdraw their consent. This theory had echoes in the arguments of leaders of the American Revolution who argued that their revolt against various tariffs and taxes such as the tea tax was taxation without representation. Social contract theory argued that individuals voluntarily cede their rights to government, including the responsibility to protect their own natural rights. Consequently, government’s authority derived from the governed.

To keep the potential for governmental abuse of power in check, Enlightenment figures argued for a separation of powers. Before Montesquieu made his specific suggestion in *The Spirit of Laws*, Locke had proposed that kings, judges, and magistrates should share power and thereby check one another. Spinoza also proposed the need for local autonomy, including a local militia to guard against power concentrated in the center including a standing army. These ideas found their way first into the Articles of Confederation, which gave almost excessive power to the various states. The U.S. Constitution specifically stated all powers not expressly given to the national government are reserved to the states and the people.

The emphasis of the political writers of the Enlightenment was on limited government rather than on direct democracy. Although their great enemy was arbitrary absolute central government, they were not enamored of the influence of the mob. Even though they saw the voting franchise as a check on overpowerful government, they limited the franchise to property owners. Male suffrage in America did not come into existence until the age of Jackson. The founders of the Constitution were anxious to include the electoral college as the final selector of presidents. Direct election of senators did not occur until 1912–13, and it was not until, 1962, with *Baker v. Carr* and the principle of “one man, one vote,” that there were direct elections to all legislative bodies in the United States. Technically, the United States remains a representative, not a direct, democracy.

Even Rousseau, considered the advocate of direct democracy, felt that direct democracy was most suited to small states like his home city of Geneva rather than a large state like France. Along with Diderot, he advocated rule based on “general will.” However,

both Rousseau and Diderot defined general will as representing the nature of the nation or community as opposed to the selfish needs of the individual. The law should secure each person's freedom but only up to the point that it does not threaten others. In this way, they prefigured the utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham, which stressed the goal of human happiness as long as it did no harm to others.

### REACTIONS AGAINST ENLIGHTENMENT

In the latter 18th century, there was a reaction against the overuse of reason and science in securing human potential. Religious, philosophical, and humanitarian movements put new emphasis on idealism and emotionalism when it came to religious, philosophical, and social reforms. Philosophically, the Newtonian vision of God as the great scientist in the sky and Locke's equation of knowledge to the mind's organization of sensory experiences along with the rise of atheism provoked a reaction.

### IMMANUEL KANT

The foremost philosopher of the later Enlightenment was Immanuel Kant, whose *Critique of Pure Reason* argued that innate ideas exist before sensory experiences. Taking a page from Plato, Kant argued that certain inner concepts such as depth, beauty, cause, and especially God existed independently of the senses. Some ideas were derived from reason, not the senses. Kant went beyond pure reason.

Reason was based on intuition as well as interpretation of sensory experiences. The conscious mind was integral to a person's thinking nature. Therefore, abstract reason could have moral and religious overtones. This came to be called new idealism, as opposed to classical idealism.

Another reaction to this scientific perspective on religion was a movement in favor of a feeling, emotional deity everpresent in daily life. Known as Pietism in Europe and in America variously as evangelism and charismatic Christianity, the movement known as the GREAT AWAKENING swept the Americas and Europe in the 1740s and 1780s. Preachers such as George Whitefield and the WESLEY BROTHERS gave stirring sermons with overtones of fire and brimstone in response to excessive rationality in church doctrine. Their style of preaching appealed to the masses, whereas the intellectualized religion of the Enlightenment too often seemed like a creation for the educated upper classes. By the end of the century, the movement coalesced into the Methodist movement.

A new movement from Germany that stressed Bible study and hymn singing as well as preaching—the Moravians—earned a following in both Europe and America. Similar movements occurred among Lutherans and Catholics. The Great Awakening in the United States led to the formation of new individual-centered denominations such as the Unitarians and Universalists.

Both aspects of the religious side of the Enlightenment—rationalist and Pietist—were concerned with human worth. This desire for the improvement of human conditions led to humanitarian impulses. The antislavery movement gained momentum in the later 18th century. Other movements, such as the push for prison reform, universal elementary education, Sunday school, and church schools, were all evident by 1800. Whether rationalist or Christian evangelical, reformers supported these movements. Even absolute sovereigns such as Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great promoted reforms. Frederick abolished torture and established national compulsory education, while Catherine established orphanages for foundlings and founded hospitals. For reforms such as these, certainly not for their beliefs in human rights, they and other monarchs were termed *enlightened despots*.

Enlightenment thinkers sought human betterment and the movement took many forms. Political figures sought to deliver people from arbitrary use of power. Deists questioned the use of power by established churches. Economic thinkers argued for liberation from state control of the economy. All believed in an implicit social contract and national human rights whether political, economic, religious, or moral. Separate currents of rationalism, idealism, and Pietism all contributed to the humanitarian and revolutionary movements that emerged at the end of the period.

See also ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM IN EUROPE; FREEMASONRY IN NORTH AND SPANISH AMERICA; FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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## Ethiopia/Abyssinia

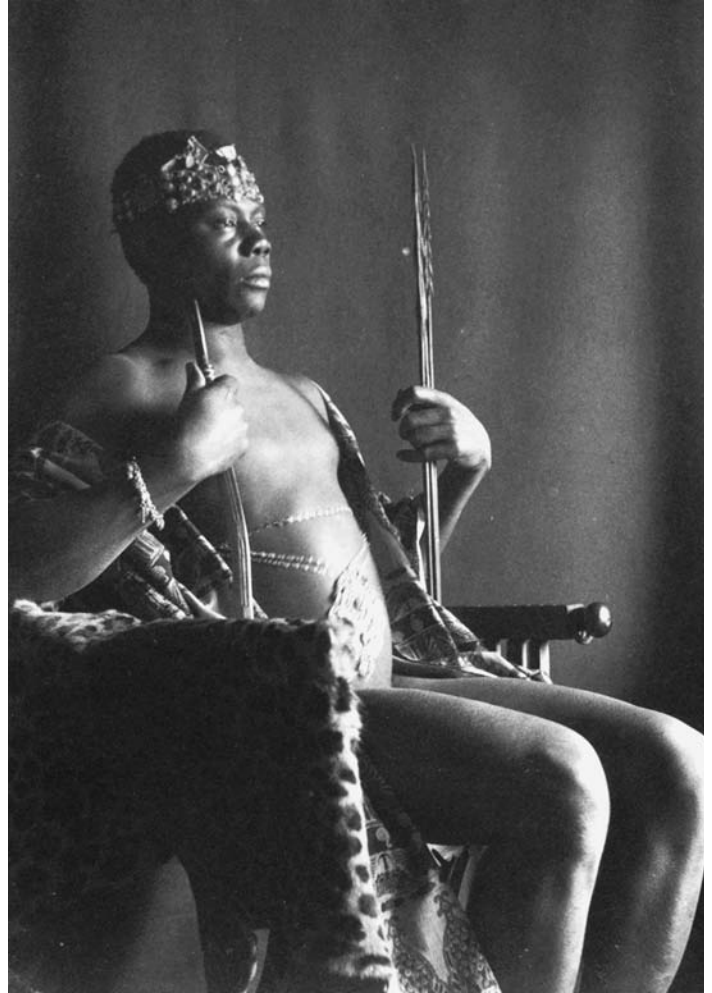
Ethiopia, formerly also known as Abyssinia, has a population of about 70 million in an area of approximately 435,000 square miles. It has a history going back more than two millennia. Topographically, it is a high plateau with a central mountain range dividing the northern part of the country into eastern and western highlands. The central mountain range is in turn divided by the Great Rift Valley, which actually runs from the Dead Sea to South Africa. The country, formerly thought to be predominantly Christian, is, in fact, multiethnic and multireligious. The largest group, the Oromo, predominantly Muslim and formerly called the Galla, make up 40 percent of the population. Other non-Christian groups are the Sidamo and the Somali, Afars, and Gurages. The Christian element is mostly made up by Amharic and Tigrean, speakers, who comprise about 32 percent of the population. Reasonably accurate and fair census reports estimate that 50 percent of the population is Muslim while 40 percent of the population is Christian, with the remainder being animist. The Christians have tended to live in the highlands in the north and central parts of the country, while, historically, non-Christians live in the lowlands.

The country's history extends as far back as the 10th century B.C.E., and tradition has it that the kings of Ethiopia were descended from the union of King Solomon with the queen of Sheba (which is identified with the northern part of the country) in the 10th century B.C.E. and claim to be the Solomonic dynasty.

Historically, the first Ethiopians appear to have been at least in part descended from immigrants from across the Red Sea in the southwestern part of Arabia known as Sabea (present-day Yemen) who arrived before the first century C.E. However, the preexisting population had been engaged in agriculture in the highlands before 2000 B.C.E., so the population was most likely sedentary.

The end result was that by the first century, a kingdom called Axum had been established, which had a great port at Adulis on the Red Sea. Trading with Greeks and Romans as well as Arabs and Egyptians, and as far east as India and Ceylon, and having agriculture based on then-fertile volcanic highlands, the trade empire became a great power between 100 and 600 C.E. It was so powerful that in the fourth century, it was able to destroy its great rival Kush/Merowe in what is now the Sudan and conquer Yemen in the sixth century.

An important element in the emerging Ethiopian identity was the conversion of Axum to Christianity in the fourth century by the missionary Frumentius to



*An Ethiopian chief, possibly Menelik, who stunned the world by defeating the Italians in 1896.*

the Monophysite nontrinitarian version of Orthodox Christianity also called Coptic Christianity.

The ancient Geez language remains the language of the church and is still used in services, and the modern languages spoken in Ethiopia (Amharic and Tigrean) derive from it. The common language, religion, dynasty, and system of fortified monasteries were to be key elements in the formation and survival of Ethiopian culture.

These features were critical after the seventh century, when the expansion of Islam cut off Ethiopia from the coast, as Muslim invaders occupied the lowlands. From this time forward, Ethiopia, as the country had become known by the ninth century, endured long struggles between the Christian highlands and mostly Muslim lowlands. When the "king of kings," or Negus, was in power, he united the Christian highlands and expand-

ed into the lowlands. At other times, the mountains/highlands were divided among rival chieftains, leaving Ethiopia vulnerable to attack from Muslim and non-Muslim lowlanders. However, the legend of a remote Christian kingdom (the kingdom of Prester John) fascinated Europeans. The arrival of European visitors, especially the Portuguese, who had established trade routes to India and identified Ethiopia with the legendary kingdom, proved most timely.

At this time, 1540–45, the Christian highlands faced their greatest challenge—a Muslim chieftain, Mohammed al-Gran, threatened to overrun the highlands. The intervention of the Portuguese military might at this critical juncture led to the defeat and the death of Mohammed al-Gran. Thereafter, the Portuguese were prominent in Ethiopia, but their zeal in promoting Roman Catholic Christianity led to their expulsion in 1633.

The country lapsed once more into feudalism until various chieftains fought for the throne, claiming Solomonic ancestry for two centuries, until Theodore reunited the kingdom in 1855. He was succeeded by John in 1868 and Menelik II in 1889. Under the latter, who was from the central Amharic province of Shoa, with its capital city Addis Adaba, the Ethiopian state as it exists today was formed. With Western military weapons, Menelik expanded into the lowlands and stunned the world by defeating the Italians in 1896 when they tried to make Ethiopia into a protectorate.

After the death of Menelik in 1908, the chieftain Ras Tafari gradually gained power, especially after 1916, and was crowned emperor in 1930. As the most powerful black leader of his time, he inspired the Rastafarian cult in Jamaica (from his name Ras, or Chief, Tafari). On his assumption of the title of emperor, he took the name Haile Selassie.

Acclaimed for his resistance against Fascist Italy in 1935, Haile Selassie enjoyed great prestige after Ethiopia was liberated in 1941. He was given the Italian possession of Eritrea in 1952 (much against its will), and Addis Ababa was made the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union), formed in the early 1960s.


See also AFRICA, EXPLORATION OF.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN



# F



## Fashoda crisis

The Fashoda crisis of 1898 was a confrontation between the British and French over control of the Sudan. The British wanted control of the water sources of the vital Nile River upon which Egypt (which they already controlled) depended. Some British imperialists such as CECIL RHODES also had ambitions to build a north-south railway to traverse the African continent from the Mediterranean to South Africa. The French also dreamed of building an east-west railway from their huge empire in West Africa to East Africa. They also wanted to thwart British imperial expansion.

In the 1890s a French major, Jean-Baptiste Marchand, embarked on an ambitious expedition to walk from West Africa across to the Sudan to claim the territory for the French Empire. After two years and the loss of hundreds of men, Marchand arrived at the small settlement of Fashoda on the Upper Nile and hoisted the French flag. At the same time, the British, led by Horatio Herbert Kitchener, had completed their conquest of northern Sudan, culminating at the BATTLE OF OMDURMAN. When Kitchener heard that a European was at Fashoda, he immediately knew that Marchand had succeeded in his expedition; however, he was not about to let the French seize part of the Sudan. Kitchener took five gunboats loaded with soldiers to confront Marchand, who was vastly outmanned and outgunned. Recognizing his inferior position, Marchand reluctantly agreed to defer the question of territorial rights over the Sudan to the diplomats back in London and Paris.

Although there were popular demonstrations in both capitals in favor of war, diplomacy prevailed. In an 1899 negotiated settlement it was agreed that the Sudan, the largest country in Africa, would become part of the British Empire and, in return, France would receive a small compensatory territory in West Africa.

See also BRITISH EMPIRE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Fenian raids

Between 1866 and the 1870s a small number of Irish nationalist exiles invaded British Canada several times from the United States in hopes of forcing Britain to grant Ireland its independence. The Fenians failed; their attacks created new tensions between Canada and the United States but also sparked Canadian nationalism, helping secure support for the 1867 British North America Act that created modern Canada.

In 1857 refugees from the recent IRISH FAMINE and supporters of the Young Ireland movement met in New York City to enlist Irish immigrants to help throw off centuries of British rule. Named for an ancient Irish



*Fenian Brotherhood troops charge the retreating Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, during the Fenian invasion of Canada.*

hero, the Fenian Brotherhood would, by 1864, boast 10,000 members, including a women's auxiliary.

From the beginning, the Fenians were plagued with internal leadership squabbles and were denounced by most of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood. The AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, however, presented an opportunity. For years, Americans had greedily eyed British Canada. As Britain outraged the Union by deviously assisting the Confederacy, influential Americans called for troops to "destroy the last vestiges of British rule on the American continent, and annex Canada..." The United States also punished Canada by canceling a 12-year-old free-trade agreement.

Canada, the Fenians decided, was the hated British Empire's most vulnerable point. As the Civil War neared its end, Fenians recruited Irish-American Union soldiers into their own ranks. After weeks of rumors, armed Fenians in May 1866 invaded the tiny village of Fort Erie, Ontario, from a bivouac north of Buffalo and soon raised their flags on Canadian soil. On June 2 a hastily assembled Canadian volunteer force clashed with the Fenians at Ridgeway, losing the battle and seven of their men. Almost simultaneously, Fenians invaded eastern Canada from northern New York and Vermont, briefly occupying several villages south of Montreal.

In these and later instances, U.S. officials acted ambivalently to Fenian attacks staged from American soil. After Ridgeway, a U.S. warship was waiting to arrest hundreds of Fenian fighters as they reentered the U.S. side of Lake

Erie. A week later President Andrew Johnson warned the Fenians against breaking U.S. neutrality laws. But to the extent that Irishmen had become a crucial voting bloc in the northeastern United States, politicians of both parties jostled for Fenian favor. Democrat Johnson, in a losing effort to prevent the Republican congressional sweep of 1866, canceled Fenian prosecutions and asked the Canadians to go easy on their Fenian captives, promising to return seized Fenian arms.

Meanwhile, Canadian leaders, already negotiating the creation of the Dominion of Canada, made official in March 1867, were looking into military inadequacies revealed at Ridgeway. Renewed Fenian attacks, near Montreal in 1870 and in Manitoba in 1871, were fairly easily put down by the reorganized and energized Canadian armed forces. These were the Fenian Brotherhood's last serious threats to Canadian sovereignty.

The cause of Irish freedom continued despite the Fenian collapse, finding more successful venues and leaders. As the Fenian era ended, so, too, did efforts to claim Canadian territory for the United States. The 49th parallel between the two North American nations became a peaceful border.

See also CANADIAN CONFEDERATION.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Ferdinand VII

(1784–1833) *king of Spain*

Ferdinand VII was one of the monarchs of Europe about whom these words by THOMAS JEFFERSON were particularly fitting: "I was much an enemy of monarchies before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil known in these countries which may not be traced to their king as its source, nor a good which is not derived from the small fibres of republicanism existing among them." The future Ferdinand VII was excluded from any real role in the government of Spain by his father, King Charles (Carlos) IV; his mother, Queen Maria Luisa; and her lover, Manuel Godoy, who in many ways was the most powerful figure in the kingdom.

Ferdinand's animosity toward Godoy and his mother and father was serious. In 1807 Charles IV actually

had Ferdinand arrested for a plot to overthrow him and to assassinate his mother and Godoy. In 1808 a palace revolt broke out against Godoy and his friendly policy toward NAPOLEON I. Godoy was neutralized and Charles IV abdicated in favor of his son. Ferdinand VII at last became king and then proceeded to throw away (at least for a time) his throne. In 1807 Napoleon sent troops through Spain to Portugal. Persuaded to meet Napoleon across the frontier in Bayonne, France, Ferdinand was immediately imprisoned. Napoleon gave Ferdinand's crown to his brother Joseph Bonaparte, and for the next six years Ferdinand lived as a prisoner of Napoleon safely guarded in France.

Napoleon apparently believed that the Spanish people would accept his brother as king with the rightful heir sitting in a French prison. When a French army invaded Spain and occupied Madrid in May 1808, a revolt broke out against the French troops, who most likely felt they were actually bringing modern liberty to a people still governed by the Inquisition. The revolt gave the British the excuse to exploit their naval supremacy. While England's first attempt ended in defeat, General Arthur Wellesley, the future duke of Wellington, landed on Spanish shores in August 1808.

Wellington managed to win impressive victories against the French marshals sent to fight him. After Napoleon's initial invasion of Spain from 1807 to 1808, he never returned. Yet while the Spanish people had fought the French mightily and sought the restoration of their king, they had also drunk deeply of the French ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity. When Ferdinand returned to Spain victorious, his people expected a liberal monarchy under him, not a return to the authoritarian rule of his father. However, when he returned to Spain, he abrogated the constitution of 1812 empowered by the Spanish parliament and attempted to rule as a despot.

Under his rule, secret societies like the FREEMASONS and the Carbonari began to unify public opinion against him. In January 1820 the Spanish army officer Rafael del Riego y Núñez led a successful uprising against the king. The rebellion became widespread, and the Spanish troops could not—or would not—suppress it. Thus Ferdinand VII, in order to hold onto his throne, had to accept the constitution. However, Ferdinand's conversion to a liberal government was only a tactical move—he had no intention of governing with any limitations on his powers. Ferdinand appealed to the monarchical Holy Alliance, which had been formed to stamp out the egalitarian thought that had spread to wherever in Europe a French soldier had carried

his knapsack. The Holy Alliance was the mystical creation of Czar ALEXANDER I of Russia, who was determined after Napoleon's ultimate defeat at Waterloo in June 1815 that no Napoleon should ever again disrupt the peace of the crowned heads of Europe.

Finally, after the Congress of Verona in 1822, the restored French king Louis XVIII was given the job of crushing the forces of liberalism in Spain. This time, the French troops, royalist now, found a welcome in the reactionary sector of Spanish society. Although Ferdinand VII had promised liberal terms to his opponents, many of these foes were executed. For the rest of his reign until his death in 1833, Ferdinand governed by force of arms.

See also AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775–1783); FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## financial panics in North America

Several financial panics took place during the 19th century in America. The first major financial crisis happened in 1819, when widespread foreclosures, bank failures, unemployment, and a slump in agriculture and manufacturing marked the end of the economic expansion that followed the WAR OF 1812. The nationwide depression triggered by the panic of 1819 was the first widespread failure of the market economy, although the market had fluctuated locally since the 1790s. Businesses went bankrupt when they could not pay their debts and thousands of workers lost their jobs. In Philadelphia, unemployment reached 75 percent, and 1,800 workers were imprisoned for debt. Unemployed people set up a tent city on the outskirts of Baltimore.

Different schools of economic thought gave different explanations for the panic of 1819. The Austrian school theorized that the U.S. government borrowed too heavily to finance the War of 1812 and it caused great pressure on specie—gold and silver coin—reserves and this led to a suspension of specie payments in 1814.



This suspension stimulated the founding of new banks and expanded the issue of new bank notes, giving the impression that the total supply of investment capital had increased. After the War of 1812, a boom, fueled by land speculation gripped the country and stimulated projects like turnpikes and farm-improvement vehicles. Most people recognized the precarious monetary situation, but the banks could not return to a nationwide specie system. There was a wave of bankruptcies, bank failures, and bank runs. Prices dropped and urban unemployment rose to lofty heights.

In part, international events caused the panic of 1819. The Napoleonic Wars decimated agriculture and reduced the demand for American crops while war and revolution in the New World destroyed the precious metal supply line from Mexico and Peru to Europe. Without the international money supply base, European governments hoarded all the available specie and this in turn caused American bankers and businessmen to start issuing false banknotes and expanding credit. American bankers, inexperienced with corporate charters, promissory notes, bills of exchange, or stocks and bonds, encouraged the speculation boom during the first years of the market revolution.

By 1824 most of the panic had passed and the U.S. economy gradually recovered during the rest of the decade. The United States survived the panic of 1819, its first experience with the ups and downs of the business cycle.

#### PANIC OF 1837

The next significant business crisis in the United States, the panic of 1837, was one of the most severe financial downturns in U.S. history. Speculative fever had infected all corners of the United States, and the bubble burst on May 10, 1837, in New York City when every bank stopped payment in specie. A five-year depression followed as banks failed and unemployment reached record levels. This depression, interrupted by a brief recovery from 1838 to 1839, compared in severity and scope to the Great Depression of the 1930s and its monetary configurations also parallel the 1930s. In both depressions many banks closed or merged, over one-quarter of them in 1837 and over one-third the number in the 1930s depression. Erratic and unwise government monetary policies played an important part in both depressions.

#### PANIC OF 1857

The United States gradually recovered from the panic of 1837 and entered a period of prosperity and specula-

tion, following the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR and the discovery of gold in California in the late 1840s. Gold pouring into the American economy helped inflate the currency and produce a sudden downturn in 1857. The August 24, 1857, collapse of the New York City branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company following a massive embezzlement set off the panic. After this, a series of other setbacks shook American confidence, including the fall of grain prices, the decision of British investors to remove funds from U.S. banks, widespread railroad failures, and the collapse of land speculation programs that depended on new rail routes. Over 5,000 businesses failed within a year and unemployment became widespread. The South was less hard hit than other regions because of the stability of the cotton market. The Tariff Act of 1857 reduced the average rate to about 20 percent and became another of the major issues that increased tensions between the North and the South. The United States did not recover from the panic of 1857 for a full year and a half and its full impact did not fade until the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

#### PANIC OF 1873

The end of the Civil War produced a boom in railroad construction, with 35,000 miles of new tracks laid across the country between 1866 and 1873. The railroad industry, the nation's largest employer at the time outside of agriculture, involved much money, risk, and speculation. Jay Cooke and Company, a Philadelphia banking firm, was just one of many that had invested and speculated in railroads. When it closed its doors and declared bankruptcy on September 18, 1873, it helped trigger the panic of 1873. Eighty-nine of America's 364 railroads went bankrupt and a total of 18,000 businesses failed between 1873 and 1875. The New York Stock Exchange closed for 10 days. By 1876 unemployment had reached 14 percent and workers suffered until the depression lifted in the spring of 1879. The end of the panic coincided with the beginning of the waves of immigration that lasted until the early 1920s.

#### PANIC OF 1884

Speculation caused a stock market crash in 1884 that in turn caused an acute financial crisis called the panic of 1884. New York national banks, with the silent backing of the U.S. Treasury Department, halted investments in the remainder of the United States and called in outstanding loans. The New York Clearing House Association bailed out banks at risk of failure, averting a larger crisis, but the investment firm Grant & Ward,

Marine Bank of New York, Penn Banks of Pittsburgh, and over 10,000 other businesses failed.

### PANIC OF 1893

Precipitated in part by a run on the gold supply, the panic of 1893 marked a serious decline in the U.S. economy. Economic historians believe that the panic of 1893 was the worst economic crisis in American history to that point and they draw attention to several possible causes for it. Too many people tried to redeem silver notes for gold, eventually exceeding the limit for the minimum amount of gold in federal reserves and making U.S. notes for gold unredeemable. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad went bankrupt, and the Northern Pacific Railway, the Union Pacific Railroad, and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad failed. The National Cordage Company, the most actively traded stock of the time, went into receivership, a series of bank failures followed, and the price of silver fell, as well as agriculture prices. A total of over 15,000 companies and 500 banks failed.

At the panic's peak, about 18 percent of the workforce was unemployed, with the largest number of jobless people concentrated in the industrial cities and mill towns. Coxey's Army, a group of unemployed men from Ohio and Pennsylvania, marched to Washington to demand relief. In 1894 a series of strikes swept over the country, including the Pullman Strike that shut down most of the transportation system.

The panic of 1893 merged into the panic of 1896, but this proved to be less serious than other panics of the era. It was caused by a drop in silver reserves and market anxiety about the effects that it would have on the gold standard. Commodities deflation drove the stock market to new lows, a trend that did not reverse until after William McKinley became president. Stephen Williamson, associate professor of economics at Ottawa University, compared financial panics in Canada with those in the United States. He concluded in part that the Canadian banking system experienced fewer panics because it was better regulated and well diversified.

See also BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES, FIRST AND SECOND; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Finney, Charles Grandison

(1792–1875) *American theologian*

Charles Grandison Finney was one of the most prominent evangelists of the Second GREAT AWAKENING in 19th-century America. He was born on August 29, 1792, in Warren, Connecticut. When he was two years old his family moved to Hanover, New York. After graduating from Oneida Academy, Finney taught from 1808 to 1812 in the school district of Henderson, New York. In 1816 he became a clerk in the law office of Judge Benjamin Wright in Adams, New York. In 1818 Finney opened his own law firm.

In October 1821 Finney experienced religious conversion. He left his law practice and began an informal study of the Bible. In July 1824 he was ordained a Presbyterian minister. He identified himself as a Congregationalist for most of his life. From 1824 to 1833 Finney led religious revivals and preached throughout the northeastern United States. He was most active in northern New York, where he was a very popular evangelist, and in particular Rochester, where he was invited to live by that city's religious and business leaders.

In 1832 Finney became the minister of the Second Free Presbyterian Church of New York City. He also helped to establish seven other Presbyterian churches in New York City. In 1835 the wealthy merchants Arthur and Lewis Tappan, who were the financial sponsors of Oberlin Theological Seminary, invited him to come to the seminary and establish its theology department. Finney accepted their offer but continued to preach at his church. At Oberlin Seminary he held a number of teaching positions, including professor of systematic theology and professor of pastoral theology, as well as teaching courses in moral philosophy.

Finney served as the pastor of the First Congregational Church of Oberlin and as a member of the seminary's board of trustees from 1846 to 1851. He was elected president of Oberlin Theological Seminary in 1851, a position he held until 1865. While at the seminary, Finney founded what became known as "Oberlin Theology," which embodied his belief that an individual

could only attain perfection by leading a strict Christian life. His religious ideas made Oberlin Theological Seminary one of the leading religious colleges in America for almost a century.

He wrote a number of important and influential theological works. In 1836 Finney's first book, titled *Sermons on Important Subjects*, was published. He followed it with *Lectures to Professing Christians*, which was published in 1837. In 1840 a collection of his lectures was published as *Skeletons of a Course of Theological Lectures*. Finney's *Lectures on Systematic Theology* was published in 1846. Although he began work on his autobiography, *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney*, in 1867, it was not published until a year after his death.

Although he resigned as president of the seminary in 1865, he continued to teach there until he was 83 years old. Finney died in August 1875 in Oberlin, Ohio.

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GENE C. GERARD

## Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez

(1766–1840) *Paraguayan leader*

José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia is considered the founding father of Paraguay. During his childhood in the late colonial period, Paraguay was a backwater nation dependent upon Buenos Aires for its outlet to the sea. Because higher education did not exist, Francia attended the College of Córdoba in what is now Argentina.

In 1790 Francia became a professor of theology in Asunción (the largest city in what became Paraguay). However, his increasingly radical views caused tension, so he left his position to study law. As a supporter of the ENLIGHTENMENT, the FRENCH REVOLUTION, VOLTAIRE, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and others, he soon had the largest library in Asunción. Having acquired knowledge of subjects such as astronomy, philosophy, and French, Paraguayans looked at him as a wizard. By 1800, as a lawyer, he had become known as a defender of the poor.

In 1809 Francia became the mayor of Asunción and supported the coup d'état in 1810 that brought independence to Paraguay. In the new political climate, he used his diplomatic skills to secure Argentina's recognition of Paraguay; this was an important achievement, given that many people in Buenos Aires wanted to annex Paraguay.

In 1812, after resigning from the junta composed of military officers which ruled in Asunción, Francia was soon back as a chief of foreign policy. In this position, he once again thwarted Argentine designs on Paraguay. In return, he was placed in charge of half of the army and munitions available and became the single most important figure in the nascent country. To solidify his position, he called a congress of over 1,100 delegates—the first representative assembly chosen by universal male suffrage—which resulted in the formal declaration of a republic in October 1814.

From this time onward, Francia held supreme power until his death in 1840. He was influenced by French utopian philosophers who opposed private property and idealized communes. As a result, Francia ruled a self-designated community of people. The state seized private property to assist the peasants. Fully 877 families received homesteads from the land of their masters. Other measures taken to benefit the poor included very low taxes as a result of fines and confiscations levied on the Spanish elite. The confiscation of foreign properties was used to establish animal breeding farms that were so successful that livestock was given to peasants. Other innovations followed, such as importing machines used in shipbuilding and textiles. Agriculture was centrally planned so that it became more productive and diversified. Personally frugal and honest, Francia left the country richer than he inherited it, including leaving behind seven years of unspent public money.

Other policies were more controversial. Although Francia advocated power in the hands of the people, he suppressed free speech. People who dissented from Francia within the country were often tortured and disappeared without trial. Anyone suspected of anti-Francian sentiments would be sent to a detention camp where he or she would be shackled in dungeons and denied health care. Europeans were forbidden to marry other Europeans so that they would marry local people of mixed or Indian ancestry. Francia harbored resentment against Europeans, many of whom had snubbed him due to his "impure blood." Anyone who attempted to leave Paraguay could be executed. People who entered Paraguay had to remain there for the rest of their lives. In his vendetta against the elite, Paraguay's borders were sealed,

and tobacco production was largely removed from elite control.

In his hostility against the elite, Francia often took draconian measures. In 1824 all people born in Spain were arrested and placed in jail for 18 months. They were released only after they paid a large indemnity that eliminated their dominant role in Paraguay's economy. Francia banned religious orders, closed his old seminary, forced monks and priests to swear fealty to the state, confiscated church property, subjected clerics to state courts, and placed church finances under civil control.

Francia was a bit more relaxed with the underprivileged. Criminals whose crimes he blamed on the unjust behavior of the elite and the church were treated quite leniently, with murderers put to work on public projects. Asylum was given to political refugees from other countries. His foreign policy was wise and prudent. He managed to remain on good terms with both Argentina and Brazil and was not above pitting them against each other. He conducted a private trade so that Paraguay received just enough foreign goods, including armaments, to remain free from pressure. When he died in 1840 Francia left a mixed legacy. Significant economic development had taken place, Paraguay's independence had been secured, and the power of the elite had been broken. On the other hand, political expression had been stifled, and Paraguay's populace was made extremely passive and thus vulnerable to rule by dictatorship.

See also PARAGUAYAN WAR (WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE); SOCIALISM.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Franco-Prussian War and the Treaty of Frankfurt

The Franco-Prussian War lasted from 1870 until 1871 and started after the German chancellor OTTO VON

BISMARCK created the North German Federation and its became increasingly anti-French. When the Prussians tried to put a HOHENZOLLERN on the throne of Spain, NAPOLEON III, worried about having to fight Germany on two fronts, decided to declare war on the Germans on July 15, 1870.

Although the French started the war, they quickly lost the initiative, with the Germans rapidly mobilizing and gaining diplomatic support from the states of south Germany: Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg. On July 31 three massive and well-equipped German armies totaling 380,000 troops massed on the French border. The First Army, led by General Karl F. von Steinmetz, had 60,000 men located between Saarbrücken and Trier. The Second Army was under the command of Prince Friedrich Karl with 175,000 men between Bingen and Mannheim, and the Third Army (145,000 men), under Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, was located between Landau and Germersheim. All these were officially under the command of King Wilhelm I; the field commander was General Moltke. Most units were under Prussian command, although troops from allied parts of Germany fought alongside Prussians in most engagements. In addition, the Prussians also held back 95,000 soldiers in case the Austrians decided to intervene in the war. Facing them, the French had eight separate army corps, with a total troop strength of 224,000, but with many units below strength and some lacking adequate provisions. They were, however, inspired by the French people who cheered them with the cry "On to Berlin."

The French, trying to force the pace of the war at the behest of Emperor Napoleon III, invaded Germany, with the first battle being fought at Saarbrücken on August 2. Battles quickly followed at Weissenburg (August 4), Fröschwiller (August 6), and Spichern (August 6), leaving the French forces in disarray and the Prussians able to advance toward Paris. On August 12 Napoleon relinquished command of the French army, and the Prussians pushed back the French forces.

The major battle was fought at Sedan on September 1, 1870. General Auguste Ducrot had taken command of the French forces from Patrice MacMahon but had been forced back to the Belgian border with 200,000 German soldiers facing him. The French had only 120,000 men. At the start of the battle, the French cavalry was destroyed by the German infantry, and 426 German guns bombarded the French forces throughout the day. However, French machine guns were able to hold off the German infantry attack. General Emmanuel

de Wimpffen, the new French commander, urged Napoleon III to lead his forces, most of whom had retreated into the fort at Sedan. The French emperor declined the offer of a final charge and surrendered to the Prussian king. Wimpffen then surrendered the rest of the French forces. This left the Germans able to march on Paris.

With the news of the defeat at Sedan, the people in Paris overthrew the Second Empire of Napoleon III and proclaimed the establishment of the Third Republic. The authorities in Paris mobilized militia and hastily gathered together an army and threw up fortifications around the French capital. The German commander Moltke decided not to attack the heavily fortified city and involve his soldiers in street fighting. Instead, on September 19, the siege of Paris began. The Prussian king, William, established headquarters at Versailles.

The French tried to disrupt the German lines of communication and at the same time raise another army in the Loire Valley and start a new war from the base of the provisional French government at Tours. On October 27, the Germans captured the city of Metz, with the surrender of the French commander Marshal Bazaine and his army of 173,000. This did not stop the French army from the Loire launching several attacks to relieve Paris. The French managed a few victories, such as at the Battle of Coulmiers on November 9, when they defeated a Bavarian Army Corps, forcing them to withdraw from the city of Orléans. On December 2–4 after a bitter battle around the city, the Germans retook Orléans.

On January 5, 1871, the Germans started bombarding Paris, and on January 10–12 managed to repulse the French at Le Mans. At the Battle of Belfort on January 15–17, the only major French frontier force that had not been captured fell. One of the volunteers fighting for France at that battle was the Italian patriotic leader GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.

The French sued for a cease-fire on January 26, surrendering two days later. The terms of the Convention of Versailles on January 28 did not include the disarmament of the Paris National Guard and, as a result, some Parisians tried to resist in the PARIS COMMUNE. The Germans eventually marched into Paris on March 1, and on May 10, the Treaty of Frankfurt was signed between the French and the Germans. The French were forced to cede Alsace and northwestern Lorraine to Germany and pay an indemnity of 5 billion francs, a German army of occupation remaining until the indemnity was paid. The defeat was a humiliating one for the French, causing the collapse of the Second Empire, the creation of a French republic, and also the

emergence of the modern German state, with King Wilhelm I of Prussia having been proclaimed the emperor of Germany on January 18, 1871. This quick victory would also encourage German actions at the outbreak of World War I when they believed their greater efficiency, mobility, and generalship would deliver them a relatively easy victory.

See also ALGERIA UNDER FRENCH RULE; GERMAN UNIFICATION, WARS OF.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Franklin, Benjamin

(1706–1790) *American printer, scientist, statesman*

Benjamin Franklin was the ultimate American figure of the ENLIGHTENMENT. Renowned on both sides of the Atlantic, he used his enormous energy and talents for philosophy, politics, and diplomacy in service to the new United States and was involved in every aspect of its successful separation from the British Empire.

Born in colonial Boston, youngest son of English immigrant candlemaker Josiah Franklin, Benjamin began a lifelong career as printer and publisher as an apprentice to James, his older brother. Benjamin decamped to Philadelphia at age 17 in search of greater intellectual and religious independence. Despite later long absences in Europe, Philadelphia became Franklin's lifelong home. There he and Deborah Read raised their family, and there he returned to live his final years among old friends and young admirers.

In 1732, the year of GEORGE WASHINGTON's birth, Franklin launched the first number of his immensely successful *Poor Richard's Almanack*, which would appear annually through 1759. A compendium of weather lore, scientific observations, and advice for right living, the almanack helped Franklin achieve financial success, allowing him to "retire" to science and public service in 1748. As "Poor Richard," Franklin also spread enlightenment ideas about politics and virtue in an easily understandable form.

By age 30, Franklin was embarked on a political career, serving as Pennsylvania's postmaster, assembly

member, and agent in London. Franklin used his contacts and the persuasive powers of his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, to enrich Philadelphia's civic life, spearheading the creation of a lending library, volunteer fire company, and hospital for the city's poor.

Beyond Philadelphia, Franklin soon became internationally known as the experimenter and explainer of electricity and inventor of the protective lightning rod. His discoveries won him membership in Britain's Royal Society. In an age before scientific specialization, his curiosity was not limited to electricity. He made important findings in astronomy, meteorology, and zoology; encouraged others, including inventors of the steam engine and steamship; documented the dangers of lead poisoning; and, in his 80s, collaborated on Noah Webster's project of spelling reform.

Franklin's enduring importance, however, stems from his crucial role in the process by which 13 of Britain's North American colonies gained independence. As early as 1747 when Philadelphia faced possible attack from French freebooters and their Indian allies, Franklin challenged Quaker Pennsylvania's official pacifism to muster an armed militia to protect his colony. As the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR loomed in 1754, Franklin's "Albany Plan of Union" proposed a colonywide Grand Council to improve relations with Indian tribes and foster better coordination among the colonies themselves. The plan failed, but it presaged initiatives leading to the Revolution.

Historians have shown that Franklin loved England and was deeply committed to the British Empire, of which he saw the colonies as an integral and, eventually, an economically dominant part. But as Britain's government, in the years following its 1763 war victory, made clear that Americans would never win political or social equality with the mother country, Franklin became a committed separationist. In 1762 Franklin had pulled strings to effect the appointment of his eldest child, William, as royal governor of New Jersey. In 1775 the elder Franklin broke off relations with his son (who remained loyal to the Crown) and did not communicate with him for a decade.

Franklin spent most of the politically agitated period between 1764 and the 1775 outbreak of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION in London, fruitlessly trying to persuade Parliament that its taxes and other colonial policies would lead to a rupture. Even the death of his wife, Deborah, in December 1774 did not bring him home, but Franklin arrived on American shores in time to help THOMAS PAINE publish and distribute his fiery pro-independence pamphlet, *Common Sense*, and to



*Benjamin Franklin was renowned on both sides of the Atlantic for his talents in philosophy, politics, diplomacy, and scientific invention.*

be Pennsylvania's delegate to the Second Continental Congress, where he sat on a committee working with THOMAS JEFFERSON on the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. At the same time, Franklin helped shape a democratic constitution for the State of Pennsylvania.

As the war intensified, Franklin sailed for France on a mission that would make possible the United States's ultimate victory. Although his French was not fluent, Franklin was already hugely admired there, and his patient and subtle diplomacy eventually gained major military and monetary aid for the emerging United States.

When, with France's assistance, the war's end came into view in 1781, Franklin became the central member of a treaty-negotiating team that included JOHN ADAMS and John Jay. The resulting Treaty of Paris was signed in September 1783. Gladly relieved of his official duties abroad, Franklin returned to Philadelphia in time to participate in the Constitutional Convention in summer 1787. Although the now elderly statesman did not play a central role in the major debates of that contentious proceeding, Franklin's eminence and daily participation helped to keep the delegates on track. Benjamin Franklin is the only founding father whose signature appears on the Declaration of Independence, Treaty of Paris, and U.S. CONSTITUTION.

In 1790, as he lay dying at his Philadelphia home, Franklin took up a final cause. Joining with others, he petitioned the U.S. government to bring an end to slavery. Franklin had once himself owned at least two slaves; having helped make a revolution, this man who

never stopped questioning, investigating, or evolving had, in his final chapter, cast a final vote for freedom.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Franz Josef (Francis Joseph)

(1830–1916) *Austro-Hungarian ruler*

The emperor of Austria, the apostolic king of Hungary, and the king of Bohemia from 1848 until 1916, Franz Josef I presided over the long decline of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, leading his nation into World War I. His reign of 68 years was only surpassed in Europe by those of Louis XIV of France and John II, prince of Liechtenstein.

Franz Josef was born on August 18, 1830, at the Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna, the capital of the empire. His grandfather was the late emperor Franz; his father was Archduke Franz; and his uncle was the ruling emperor Ferdinand. His mother, Princess Sophie of Bavaria, oversaw his education. The young Franz Josef started his training in the Austrian army at the age of 13 with his appointment as colonel. For much of the rest of his life, he was to wear the uniform of a junior officer.

In 1848, following the resignation of Chancellor Prince METTERNICH, Franz Josef was appointed governor of Bohemia but never took up the position, being sent to Italy, where he fought alongside Field Marshal Radetzky. In July 1848 the Austrians defeated the Italians at the Battle of Custoza, and the Habsburg court returned to Vienna but were forced to evacuate it again in September, this time moving to Olmütz in Moravia. By this time, Prince Windischgrätz who controlled the army in Bohemia, favored replacing Emperor Ferdinand I with his nephew Prince Franz Josef. Ferdinand I abdicated on December 2, and when his brother Franz Karl renounced the throne the crown passed to Franz Karl's eldest son, Franz Josef, who used both names in his title to try to hark back to Emperor Josef (Joseph) II. It was during these relocations that Prince Franz Josef met Elisabeth, his cousin, who would later become his wife.

At 18, Franz Josef was guided by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, the new prime minister, and a constitu-

tion was granted in 1849. It was a troubled time for the Austrian royal house, with the Hungarians rebelling against the Habsburg central authority, trying to get their “ancient liberties” restored. King Charles Albert of Sardinia/Savoy used the Austrian preoccupation with Hungary as a good time to attack Austria, starting in March 1849. Radetzky defeated the Savoyards at the Battle of Novara and with Russian aid was able to crush the Hungarian revolt. With the end of that crisis, Franz Josef suspended the 1849 constitution and appointed Alexander Bach, the former minister of the interior, to preside over a restoration of absolutist centralism.

Prince Schwarzenberg's main aim was to try to stop the German Federation being controlled by Prussia. He wanted Austria to remain as the major power in central Europe, and Franz Josef certainly went along with this. However, Schwarzenberg died in 1852, and unable to find anybody of his caliber, the emperor took over the day-to-day running of the country, with Karl Ferdinand and Count von Buol-Schauenstein as prime minister, a position he held until 1859. Alexander Bach worked on domestic affairs, and Count Grünne on military affairs. Initially, the main problem that Franz Josef faced was how to deal with Russia, which had supported the Austrians over the Hungarian rebellion in 1848. The Russians expected that this was the start of a new alliance. When the CRIMEAN WAR broke out, the Austrians had to decide whether they would support their new ally, Russia, or their old one, France. Franz Josef finally decided that neutrality was the best course, but the Russians, not trusting him, left an army on the Galician front. This meant that at the Peace of Paris at the end of the Crimean War, the Russians felt the Austrians had been ungrateful, yet the British and the French also felt that they could not trust them.

Three years after the Crimean War ended, the Austro-Sardinian War of 1859 broke out, with Count CAVOUR of Sardinia/Savoy managing to get support from NAPOLEON III of France. Franz Josef personally led the Austrian soldiers at the Battle of Solferino and saw his army break and flee. This resulted in the Austrians losing control of Lombardy. The reunification of Italy presented Franz Josef with a strong neighbor to the south. The next war was with Prussia in 1866. At the Battle of Königgrätz (Sadowa), the large Prussian army defeated an equally large Austrian and Saxon army; there were heavy casualties on both sides, but superior Prussian weaponry carried the day. With Italy supporting the Prussians at the peace agreement at the end of the war, the Austrians lost control of Venice.

### LESS POWERFUL AUSTRIA

At the end of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Franz Josef found himself ruling a far less powerful Austria, without its Italian possessions and with Prussia dominating Germany. Franz Josef had wanted to modernize and centralize his possessions but was forced to agree to the exact opposite. The restructuring of the Habsburg possessions led to the establishment of the Austrian-Hungarian dualism in 1867. The Hungarian Compromise of 1867 saw Franz Josef as emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, although Hungary would retain its own parliament and prime minister. Thus the Habsburg Empire would become the dual monarchy of Austro-Hungary, which would share the person of the emperor, the army, a joint minister for foreign affairs, and some financial offices.

For most of the rest of Franz Josef's reign, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was in decline. Franz Josef's mother had wanted him to marry Helene, the eldest daughter of her sister Ludovika. However, he fell in love with Helene's younger sister Elisabeth, who was only 16, and they were married in 1854. Their first child, Sophie, died as an infant, and their only son, Crown Prince Rudolf, died in 1889, allegedly by suicide, in the Mayerling incident. Both of these were viewed at the time as divine retribution, although Franz Josef's other daughters did outlive him. Franz Josef's younger brother, Maximilian, became emperor of Mexico and was deposed and executed by firing squad there in 1867. Franz Josef, although he had separated from her, was attached to his wife, and when she was stabbed to death in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1898 by an Italian anarchist, he never recovered.

The defeat of France in the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR of 1870 ensured that Austria could never manage to gain control of the German states that merged with Prussia to form the German Empire. Trying to reposition Austria, from the late 1880s, Franz Josef slowly moved Austro-Hungary into an alliance with Germany and oversaw the occupation of Bosnia Herzegovina from 1878 and its annexation in 1908. This was to involve the Austro-Hungarian Empire heavily in the Balkans, bringing about the enmity of Russia, which had strong cultural ties with the Serbs.

During the latter part of his reign, Franz Josef did manage to modernize much of the empire. The opera house was built in Vienna starting in 1861, and the new Burgtheater, university, parliament building, town hall, and museums of art and natural history were all built. In 1873 an economic crisis hit most of Europe, but Austria survived relatively well, being able to show

the splendor of the Habsburg lands in the World Exhibition at the Prater in Vienna. The railway network was heavily expanded, the telegraph system built, and in 1879 the first telephone system was installed. Franz Josef was persuaded to install a telephone on his desk at the Hofburg in Vienna, but it remained a fashion accessory, and there is little evidence of him actually using it until 1914.

### ROAD TO WAR

Franz Josef never liked his nephew and heir, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and was particularly angered by the younger man's marriage to Countess Sophie Chotek, who was not from a royal house. Franz Ferdinand had insisted on the marriage, which had to be a morganatic one, with Sophie to become a consort rather than queen, when Franz Ferdinand succeeded his uncle. Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, and Franz Josef was persuaded to declare war on Serbia on July 28, leading Austria into war.

The Austrian army was a multinational and multilingual one, reflecting the diversity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Led by Austrians, it included Hungarians, Bosnians, Croatians, Czechs, Poles, and Slovaks. Although Franz Josef knew that it would not be an easy victory, his generals felt that it would not take long to capture Serbia. They were able to defeat the Serbian armies and capture the country, but the soldiers quickly succumbed in guerrilla attacks and to disease. Franz Josef died on November 21, 1916, in the middle of World War I. He was succeeded by his nephew Karl I.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Frederick the Great of Prussia

(1712–1786) *king of Prussia*

Born on January 24, 1712, Frederick II the Great of Prussia became king in 1740 on the death of his father, Frederick William I. Frederick William I had firmly established Prussia as a garrison state, which led some



historians to say that Prussia was an army with a state, not a state with an army. Obsessed with forming an elite infantry for the heaviest fighting, he sent agents to kidnap the tallest men in Europe to be conscripted into his Potsdam Guards Regiment.

As a father, Frederick William I was a brute. Wishing him to be in the military, he despised the prince's love for music and culture and sometimes beat him with a cane. (In spite of his father's disapproval, Frederick became one of the most distinguished flute players of his generation.) When Frederick as a youth tried to escape from his father's tyranny with his young friend Lieutenant Hans von Katte in 1730, both were arrested. Frederick was imprisoned and forced to undergo the horror of seeing Katte executed, most likely beheaded, from his cell window.

When Frederick became king in 1740, one of his first acts was to disband the Potsdam Guards Regiment. Still, Frederick continued his father's transformation of Prussia into a garrison state and commented that "for the world rested not so firmly on the shoulders of Atlas as the Prussian State on the shoulders of the Army." Frederick was dissatisfied with the condition of the army left by his father and was determined to take it in a new direction. Frederick William I's predilection for height in his soldiers led to a heavy cavalry of extremely large men on large horses, hardly suited for the role of shock action in battle that Frederick the Great envisioned for them.

Although the Holy Roman Empire was considered powerful, Frederick sensed weakness and planned an attack. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI had only his daughter MARIA THERESA to succeed him. However, the ancient Salic law prevented a female from becoming ruler. Charles VI attempted to circumvent the law to enable his daughter to succeed him on the throne, but in October 1740 Charles VI died.

Although the Austrians and Hungarians, the empire's main troops and Frederick's opponents, were taken by surprise by the Prussian advance, they soon recovered and fought back. Finally, after five charges, the Austrian and Hungarian cavalry refused to continue advancing into the storm of Prussian musketry. Frederick's first battle had ended in victory.

Although he considered negotiating a settlement with Austria, Frederick decided he could gain more by war. On May 17, 1742, he defeated an Austrian army at Chotusitz. The loss at Chotusitz led to the Austrians signing the Treaty of Berlin in July 1742, effectively ceding mineral-rich Silesia to the Prussians. However, when the French were defeated at the Battle of Dettin-

gen by a coalition of British, Austrian, and Hanoverian troops, Frederick feared that if France were defeated, Austria would turn all its resources against Prussia.

Frederick launched another attack on the Austrians while they were occupied with the French and Bavarians. In August 1744 Frederick captured Prague and threatened Austria itself. Maria Theresa was forced to sign the Treaty of Dresden on Christmas Day, 1745. The conflict between the French and British would continue until the entire conflict of the War of the Austrian Succession would end in 1748 with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Maria Theresa was bitter over Austria's defeat and planned revenge against Frederick and Prussia. She implemented what was known as the DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION of the 18th century. She forged an alliance between the ancient enemies, Austria and the France of King Louis XV, and added Russia and Czarina Elizabeth. The express purpose of the diplomatic revolution was the destruction of Prussia. Upon learning of these negotiations, Frederick made an alliance with his former enemy, George II of Great Britain, thus completely changing the diplomatic landscape of Europe that had existed during the War of the Austrian Succession.

### FIRST DEADLY BLOW

Frederick was determined to deal the first deadly blow, creating a hallmark of German strategy that would be upheld throughout World War I and World War II. On October 1, 1756, Frederick won his first battle against the Austrians. The struggle with Austria was part of the much wider European conflict, which has become known as the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. The Seven Years' War, much more than the War of the Austrian Succession, became a war of survival for Frederick, beset as he was on all sides by the French, Austrians, and Russians. At the Battles of Prague and Köln, Frederick was bloodily defeated by the Austrians.

Soon after, the French army under Marshal Soubise invaded Prussia and met Frederick at Rossbach on November 5, 1757. Rossbach would become perhaps Frederick's classic victory when, after being hidden by a hill, Frederick's commander brought his cavalry smashing into the French army, thoroughly defeating Soubise in one of the most decisive battles of the 18th century.

With the French effectively out of the war at least for a time, Frederick then turned swiftly on the Austrians, savagely defeating them at Leuthen precisely a

month after Rossbach. The failure of his enemies to coordinate their offensives brought victory to Frederick, who by now was called by his troops *Alte Fritz*, or “Old Fritz.”

The Russians attacked again in the summer of 1758, and Frederick’s victory over them was a brutal battle of attrition. Frederick had no real chance to recover when the indefatigable Austrian marshal von Daun sought another battle. The two old enemies met at Hochkirk on October 14, 1758, and, once again, Daun defeated Frederick in a hard-fought battle.

The Seven Years’ War now entered its final and climactic phase. Frederick fought three of his most hotly contested battles in 1759, as the strain of war now began to affect him and his army. In spite of all his efforts, desertions climbed. On August 12 at Kunersdorf, Frederick barely escaped capture when he was defeated by the Austrians and Russians. But the Russians did not follow up on his defeat, and he struck again. He chose Leignitz on August 15, 1760, to decisively defeat the Austrian marshal Loudon during a rare night attack. By 1761 both sides were beginning to feel the strain of five years of war.

The year 1762 finally brought the war to a close. George II died, and his son George III decided officially to end the costly subsidies to Frederick. Czarina Elizabeth of Russia had died, and her son Czar Peter II was an ardent admirer of Frederick. Frederick seized the change in the political climate, and in July and October 1762, he won two more battles against the Austrians in spite of the war weariness affecting his troops. With Czar Peter wanting peace with Frederick, Maria Theresa reluctantly agreed to end the war. On February 15, 1763, Austria signed the Treaty of Hubertusberg with Frederick, bringing the war to an end. Silesia’s vast mineral wealth was permanently ceded to Prussia.

Frederick took part in the first partition of Poland with Austria and Russia in 1772 and became involved in the brief War of the Bavarian Succession in 1778, but otherwise lived in peace at his palace at Sans Souci. During the periods of peace, Frederick enjoyed participating in the culture of his time. Between 1750 and 1755 he hosted the French philosopher Francois-Marie Arouet, better known to the world as VOLTAIRE. Frederick the Great took seriously the ENLIGHTENMENT’s view of the philosopher-king who looked after the welfare of his subjects. A truly enlightened despot (see ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM), Frederick moved swiftly toward Prussia’s recovery from the years of war. In 1765 alone Frederick rebuilt almost 15,000 houses.

Frederick died on the morning of August 17, 1786. He left Prussia the strongest military state in Europe at the end of the Seven Years’ War. Yet his zealous efforts at rebuilding the state and its economy after the war, as much as his genius at warfare, earned for him the fitting title of Frederick the Great.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Freemasonry in North and Spanish America

The specific origins of Freemasonry cannot be determined with clarity. Freemasonry is a fraternal organization, and, because of the secrecy of its rituals and the influence of its members, is thought by some to be either subversive or bent on world domination. There do not appear to have been any permanent lodges or Masonic fraternities in America until the Grand Lodge of London was established in 1717. English Masons then turned their eyes to the colonies, establishing the first provincial Grand Master to govern and control the initiation and granting of degrees in American territories in 1730. The first American lodges were founded in Boston and Philadelphia and were of the York (American) rite.

The York rite consists of 13 degrees, 10 above the “blue,” or required three of Entered Apprentice, Fellowcraft, and Master Mason. The higher 10 are grouped into three divisions: Royal Arch Masons, Royal and Select Masters, and Knights Templar. The York rite would dominate Freemasonry in the Americas until the latter part of the 19th century.

Freemasons were important to the growth of the United States, as York rite lodges were easily formed, even in frontier areas, and provided important social and fraternal benefits to members. The United States was unique, however, in that it did not have one overarching Masonic governing body; there was no grand lodge for the United States. Instead, each state

had its own grand lodge, exercising complete control and authority over the territory within its jurisdiction. There was an attempt to establish a general (national) grand lodge after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, but it failed when GEORGE WASHINGTON turned down the job of general grand master. While there were some minorities to be found in individual lodges, African Americans founded their own Masonic organization, the Prince Hall lodges, named after their founder. Along with the Christian Church, the Prince Hall lodges would grow in importance during the 19th century and provide crucial avenues of mutual support and interstate connections.

Freemasons in the United States almost disappeared during the 1820s and 1830s in response to the disappearance, and probable murder, of Henry Morgan. Morgan had attempted in 1826 to publish an exposé of Masonic activities and rituals in New York but disappeared after being removed from prison by known Freemasons. The public outcry resulted in the formation of the Anti-Masonic political party and also forced the closure of numerous lodges throughout the states. Some states saw all of their lodges close within the next decade.

The furor would not last, however, and by the time of the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, the Freemasons had regained their influence. The American Civil War would provide new challenges, however, as most southern lodges withdrew from fellowship with northern lodges, declaring them un-Masonic. While there have been many stories told of kindnesses shown on the battlefield between Masonic enemies, there is little doubt that the Masons back home, in their meetings, felt little love for the Masons on the other side of the war.

This newfound tension helps to explain the rise of Scottish rite Freemasonry in the United States. This rite had 33 degrees (as opposed to the York rite's 13) and was more influenced by French Freemasonry of the Grand Orient lodge than by the English model. The Scottish Rite was filled with more pageantry than the York and because of the greater number of degrees required more members before higher degrees could be granted.

While it had been established in the United States in the early 1800s, it did not rise to prominence until after the Civil War, thanks to the work of Albert Pike. His books, particularly the *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*, provided a new way for Freemasons to join together, and many York rite lodges either converted to the Scottish rite or joined with them. In addition to the Scottish rite, the years after the American Civil War saw an explosion

of other fraternal organizations: the Elks, Grotto, Shriners, and the Order of the Eastern Star (for women), as well as groups for children.

The history of Freemasonry in Mexico and South America is more difficult to separate from the politics of the time. Spain showed a great deal of hostility to Freemasonry, as it was often connected with revolutionary movements in Europe and often expressed anticlerical positions. This ensured that Freemasonry in Spanish colonies would often be limited and oppressed, ironically making it a revolutionary force. Many revolutionary leaders were members of the Lautaro lodge—Spanish Freemasonry. However, there can be little doubt that some of the more famous revolutionaries—Carlos María de Alvear in Argentina, José de San Martín in Chile, and José Morelos in Mexico were masons. The pageantry of Scottish rite Freemasonry became prevalent during the 19th century and dominates the South American landscape of Freemasonry to the present day.

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JASON A. MEAD

## French and Indian wars

See SEVEN YEARS' FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (1754–1763).

## French Equatorial Africa

French Equatorial Africa was formed as an administrative unit of the French empire in Africa in 1910. Of its three regions, Chad was the most important. Currently, Chad is not only confronted by a civil war but also by the fighting in SUDAN to the east.

The French conquest of what would become Equatorial Africa began around 1897, when France was beginning to expand south of its North African colonies of Algeria and Tunisia. Although considered part of French North Africa, Morocco would not officially

become a French area of control until the Algeiras Conference in 1906 gave France virtually complete dominance of the country. At the same time, France attempted to claim territory as far as the Nile River, which precipitated the FASHODA CRISIS with Great Britain. On September 2, 1898, British General Sir Herbert Horatio Kitchener defeated the last major Mahdist forces in the Sudan in the BATTLE OF OMDURMAN, putting the Sudan under British control. Taking advantage of the long British preoccupation with the Sudan, beginning with the revolt of Muhammad Ahmad Abdullah, the self-styled Mahdi, or Rightly Guided One, in 1883, France had hoped to expand its equatorial holdings straight across from Chad to Darfur in the Sudan and on to the Nile. No sooner had Kitchener defeated the Mahdists at Omdurman than he traveled up the Nile to where Marchand had planted the French flag at Fashoda. Meeting on September 18, 1898, Marchand and Kitchener established a cordial relationship, deciding to let the home governments in Paris and London resolve the problem. In the end, Marchand retreated, to full military honors from the British.

In Chad, the French discovered a complex mix of tribes and religions, with Muslims predominating in the north, while in the south, native, or animist, religions predominated, as well as some Christianity. Tribes like the Fulani had their own imperial traditions, and the establishment of French control was difficult. The current Chadian capital of N'Djamena was founded in 1900 as Fort Lamy.

Much of the history of French imperialism in the Middle Congo and Ubangi-Shari began with the explorer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza. On September 10, 1880, Brazza signed a treaty with King Makoko of Teke, whose territory occupied a strategic position in the Congo River basin. France's claims to the Congo were hotly debated by King LEOPOLD II of Belgium. Finally, at the Congress of Berlin, which was held from November 1884 to February 1885, the fate of much of Africa was decided under the chairmanship of imperial Germany's chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK, who was also intent on carving out a German empire in Africa. Belgium and King Leopold II controlled the CONGO FREE STATE. In honor of his contributions, the capital of the French Congo was named after Brazza: Brazzaville.

De Brazza became the most important colonial administrator in French Equatorial Africa. In April 1886 he was named commissaire-general for both the French Congo and Gabon, whose territory had been

formally recognized as under French jurisdiction at the Berlin Congress. In 1839, while France was still conquering Algeria (it had moved into Algeria in 1830), the first treaty had been signed between Gabon and France.

The government in Paris was anxious to bring riches out of the French colony differently than Leopold, who acted barbarously to the native Africans. Brazza had a genuine feeling of responsibility for the people now under his administration and refused to submit them to the barbarities of Leopold's paramilitary administration, where hands and feet were cut off for the least infraction of laws.

Tens of thousands died to profit Leopold and his consortium of investors. When Brazza refused to employ the methods used by the Belgians, he was removed from his command.

In 1900 the French government took over the system of concession companies completely, by which time Leopold had wrung his wealth from the Belgian Congo. Soon the French were using the same brutal methods that the Belgians had used. In 1905, in the face of stories of atrocities coming from the French Congo, Brazza was asked to return. His investigation led to the convictions of two Frenchmen for the murder of two natives. They both received only five years in prison.

Nevertheless, Brazza had served France to the best of his ability. On his return to France, he died on September 14, 1905.

While the French government preferred to bury the results of his findings in its attempt to keep seeking riches in Equatorial Africa, the Africans did not forget his devotion to the French "civilizing mission," the rationale the French gave for the growth of their empire. Even now, after the end of the French empire in Africa, each October 3, a celebration is held in Brazzaville to mark his foundation of the city.

See also FASHODA CRISIS.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## French Indochina

The French had interests in what was to become Indochina as far back as 1787 when the Treaty of Versailles

was signed between Nguyen Anh, the pretender to the Vietnamese throne, and France. It allowed for Pigneau de Behaine, the French bishop of Adran, to support Nguyen Anh, who was trying to take over Vietnam, in return for Nguyen Anh's promising to give the French a privileged trading status should he come to power. He also granted commercial and missionary rights to the French, as well as control over the central Vietnamese city of Danang and the island of Poulo Condore off the southern coast of Vietnam. With the French Revolution taking place in 1789, the French were unable to fulfill their commitments. However, in 1802 the forces of Nguyen Anh won control of Vietnam and centralized power around the imperial city of Hue in central Vietnam.

Five years after Nguyen Anh's victory, the Vietnamese expanded their lands by establishing a protectorate over Cambodia. However, the king of Cambodia, Ang Duong, was keen on Cambodia becoming independent of its two more powerful neighbors, Thailand to the west and Vietnam to the east, and sought help from the British in Singapore. When that failed, he enlisted the help of the French. In 1863 the French established a protectorate over Cambodia. The French had also been active in southern Vietnam and, after the Battle of Ky Hoa near Saigon (modern-day Ho Chi Minh City), the Treaty of Saigon in 1862 resulted in the Vietnamese ceding three provinces in southern Vietnam to France. The remaining provinces of southern Vietnam were conquered by the French in 1867. By the end of the French Second Empire in 1870, the French were in control of southern Vietnam and all of Cambodia. The Philaster Treaty of 1874 confirmed French sovereignty over the whole of Cochin China.

The French then decided to expand their control over the rest of Vietnam. In 1882 a French army captain Henri Rivière decided to attack Hanoi. He managed to storm the citadel of Hanoi but was killed the following year. However, this did not stop French advances, and the Harmand Treaty of 1883 established a French protectorate over both northern Vietnam, known as Tonkin, and central Vietnam, known as Annam. This was confirmed in the Patenôtre Treaty of 1884. Three years later, in 1887, the Indochinese Union was established over Vietnam and Cambodia, with Laos joining in 1893. From November 16, 1887, when the Indochinese Union was established, the French ruled through a governor-general based in Saigon, capital of Cochin China. There were residents in Laos and Cambodia, a resident-superior in Annam, and a resident-superior in Tonkin, who ruled with the support of the regent,

and took instructions from the resident-superior in Annam.

The Vietnamese imperial family continued to live in the imperial palace at Hue, but they were quickly deprived of any power. In July 1885 the French demanded that Emperor Ton That Thuyet resign or be deposed and when the Emperor refused to countenance this, the French, in a show of force, surrounded the imperial palace with over 1,000 soldiers, and the French commander, General Roussel de Courcy, demanded an audience with the emperor. Ton That Thuyet overestimated his own strength and sent out soldiers to attack the French. These were easily repulsed, and the French invaded the imperial palace, which they sacked. As well as looting it, the French also destroyed the imperial library, where scrolls and documents dating back to medieval times were burned.

### SAVE THE EMPEROR

In July 1885 the new emperor, Ham Nghi, issued an appeal called Can Vuong ("Save the Emperor") urging the wealthy to give their money, the strong their might, and the poor their bodies to defend Vietnam from the French. Three days later the emperor fled from Hue with Ton That Thuyet and some close advisers. From their jungle stronghold in what is now Laos, Ham Nghi's supporters formed the Can Vuong movement. The French responded in September 1885 by deposing the emperor and replacing him with his brother Dong Khanh. Ham Nghi was eventually captured in November 1888 after being betrayed by Hmong mountaineers, and Ton That Thuyet escaped to China. The French executed all members of the Can Vuong movement whom they captured, except Ham Nghi, who was sent into exile in French Algeria, where he remained until his death in Algiers on January 4, 1943.

In Cambodia, King Norodom I, who had accepted the French but then became nervous about having given them too much power, died in 1904 and was replaced by his brother King Sisowath, who was more pro-French. In Laos, there was a token French presence, with the French residents-superior working alongside King Sakkarin and, after his death in 1904, King Sisavang Vong.

French rule barely affected many of the peasants in the countryside throughout Indochina, whose main interactions with the French were taxation. However, gradually, many peasants were encouraged to work in plantations, which the French established throughout Vietnam and in eastern Cambodia. These centered on the rubber industry and other cash crops. Plantation life

was hard but promised, initially at any rate, guaranteed supplies of food, particularly important as Vietnam did experience a number of famines. Gradually, these plantation companies and mining companies came to dominate the export economy of Indochina, with the emergence of business enterprises such as the *Compagnie du Cambodge*.

The major impact of the French was in the cities, especially Saigon. Prior to the establishment of French rule, Saigon had been a small port. Under the French it rose to be an important trading hub, joining up with the nearby Chinese area, Cholon, to form what was to become Saigon-Cholon. The French built sections of what is now central Ho Chi Minh City, with the center of French society being in rue Catinat, where French rubber planters and their families would meet with colonial officials, businessmen, and wealthy Chinese and Vietnamese entrepreneurs and middlemen. In Hue, the north bank of the city was dominated by the imperial palace, so the French established their city on the opposite side of the Pearl River. In Hanoi, the French enlarged the city, with their quarter to the south of the citadel and the old city. Similarly, in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and in Vientiane and Luang Prabang, in Laos, the French added their own quarters.

### COLONIAL EDUCATION

In terms of education, the French provision of education in Cochin China was adequate, at least when compared to other colonial powers, but apart from an institute for tropical medicine in Hanoi, its contribution to the education of the people of Indochina was woeful. By 1945, there were only two high schools in the whole of Cambodia; in Laos, European-style education was nonexistent. Many boys from the Cambodian and Laotian elites attended Lycée Chasseloup-Laubat in Saigon. Some wealthy Vietnamese and scholarship winners studied in France, along with a handful of Cambodians. Western-style medical care was only available in major cities and largely restricted to the small European populations and the local wealthy elite.

There were protests against French colonial rule. Initially these were largely revolts by people loyal to the rulers, such as that of Ham Nghi in 1885, or the Poukombo and Si Votha uprisings in Cambodia, the first led by a monk who claimed to be from the Cambodian royal family and the latter led by a brother of the king of Cambodia. Together with an earlier rebellion by another monk, Assoa, who also claimed royal heritage, they show a distinct theme of rebels having or claiming to be members of the royal family, with some peasants

keen to follow them as royal pretenders, viewing them as the only way they could envisage an end to French rule. None of these rebellions was successful. There had been limited political freedoms in Cochin China, and by the first part of the 20th century there were a range of legal political parties. Most of the modern nationalist ideas in Vietnam come from the intellectual Phan Boi Chau, who founded the Vietnamese Restoration Society in 1912.

As well as political turmoil, there were occasions of farce such as when French adventurer Marie Mayréna proclaimed himself King Marie I of Sedang, issuing medals and postage stamps to support his claim of a kingdom in the highlands of Vietnam. He eventually settled on the Malayan island of Tioman, where he died soon afterward. Certainly he also drew the focus of world attention on French Indochina during the 1880s and early 1890s.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## French Revolution

The AMERICAN REVOLUTION inspired many people around the world in the ideas of democracy and this was certainly true of France, which had sent over many soldiers to fight in the Americas and had helped subsidize the war. In fact, it was the crisis in the royal finances, partly because of the money paid in the American War of Independence, that resulted in the series of events that led to the French Revolution.

LOUIS XVI had become king in 1774, and until 1776, his comptroller-general of finances was Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot. In 1777 Jacques Necker was appointed as director-general of finances, and he tried to change the French taxation system to make it more uniform. This involved eroding the power of some of the law courts, which preserved aristocratic privileges. Necker was, however, undermined by the nobles, who were anxious to retain their status of not paying taxes,

and he was forced from office. Charles-Alexandre de Calonne became comptroller-general of finances in 1783, and his aim was not to have any austerity drives nor reign in expenditure but to spend more to encourage the economy and also increase the confidence of potential creditors in the stability of the French financial system. However, Calonne realized that this would not work in the long term and what was needed was a new taxation system.

### REFORMATION AND CONSTITUTION

The new taxation system would be a universal land tax that would replace all other taxes. To get this approved, it was necessary to have it supported by the Assembly of Notables. The assembly was convened in 1787 but refused to accept this, and Calonne was soon replaced by the leader of the assembly, Étienne-Charles Loménie de Brienne. Brienne, however, quickly came to see the merit in Calonne's proposals and put his ideas to the king. The Paris *Parlément* and the 14 provincial *parlements* liked many of the administrative reforms but balked at the idea of a universal land tax. This left the government with the only option open to itself, the calling of the Estates General, which had last met in 1614, and have that body approve the tax reforms.

The Paris *Parlément* called for the Estates General to have the same "forms of 1614" when it last met, which involved equal numbers of representatives of the three "estates." The first estate was the clergy, the second estate was the nobility, and the third estate was the middle class and peasants. With the three bodies voting "by order," it was possible for the first two to outvote the third. There were protests, and it was decided that there would be twice as many representatives of the third estate as each of the other two. This led to debate over whether the members should actually all vote "by head," whereby the decision would be carried when a majority of the elected representatives supported a decision. It was decided to leave that decision to the assembly, which convened at Versailles on May 5, 1789.

Many members of the third estate decided to change the whole system by turning themselves into a "National Assembly of the People." Louis XVI reacted by closing the Salles des États, where the assembly was meeting, and the members then convened at a nearby indoor tennis court, where they swore the Tennis Court Oath on June 20, 1789, whereby they undertook not to leave until France had a constitution. In this move they were joined by a majority of the clergy and also 47 nobles.

### THE BASTILLE

The military arrived to try to restore the king's authority, but, on July 9, the National Assembly changed itself into the National Constituent Assembly, intent on introducing a new written constitution. The king decided to dismiss Necker, who had tried to push through his administrative reforms, and many people in Paris thought that the king was about to take control. To forestall this, large crowds started arming themselves and decided to try to take charge of the supplies of gunpowder held at the Invalides, which they could then deny to the royal troops.

Some of the crowd wore a red, white, and blue cockade in their hats, and this quickly became popular with the revolutionaries and the demonstrators in coming years. When they got to the Invalides they found the gunpowder had been transferred to the Bastille and were convinced that the king was plotting a coup d'état. On the following day, July 14, the crowds started surging around the Bastille and three city deputies were admitted. One of them, Thuriot de la Rosière, requested that the governor, the marquis de Launay, draw back his cannons and not antagonize the crowd, and then let the crowds in. De Launay pulled back his cannon but would not allow the crowds in.

By noon the crowds had swelled, and the first drawbridge was let down, but the second remained up. As the crowd advanced into the courtyard, some soldiers fired to try to protect the second drawbridge. At 3 P.M., de Launay at last agreed to lower the drawbridge, and he and his 114 soldiers were then taken prisoner. De Launay was killed, along with seven soldiers, as the Bastille was sacked and the seven prisoners inside were released. The Bastille had represented royal power and despotism as many political prisoners had been held there in previous centuries. It was later demolished, and many people, including numbers of foreigners, collected bricks as souvenirs.

### DEMONSTRATIONS AND UNREST

By this time there was widespread unrest and civil commotion throughout Paris and, indeed, around the rest of the country. On August 4 the National Constituent Assembly passed what became known as the "August Decrees," which ended all the special privileges for nobles, clergy, cities, towns, provinces, and guilds. On August 26 the assembly published the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which, like the U.S. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, was a statement of intent rather than law.

The king had managed to get through most of this untouched, and many Parisians thought that the main problem was that the king was being badly advised in Versailles and ought to move to Paris. To achieve this, on October 5, a crowd of people from Paris, including large numbers of working women, formed what became the Women's March on Versailles. They gathered outside the Hôtel de Ville in Paris initially to demonstrate against the increasing price of bread. Gradually, they were persuaded to petition the king himself, and they set off for Versailles, accompanied by marquis de Lafayette, leading the National Guard. They were angered by stories of banquets held at Versailles, such as the one four days earlier for the royal guards, and on reaching the palace at Versailles, some of their number forced their way into the king's apartments, killing two of his guards. The king was finally persuaded to appear at the balcony and address the crowd to calm them down. This did reduce the tensions, but when Queen Marie Antoinette appeared there were hoots, and it seemed that some of the crowd might open fire at her. As the queen tried to withdraw, Lafayette, seizing the moment, then kissed her hand. The people cheered and the king agreed that he and his family would move to Paris.

On October 6, 1789, the king left Versailles for Paris, with the Constituent Assembly also moving to the French capital. By this time there were thousands of national guards to keep order. In Paris, reforms continued with the replacing of the provinces of France with the 83 *départements*, which were uniformly administered and all approximately of the same size and population. The Roman Catholic Church was also stripped of much of its power and wealth. On November 1789 the lands owned by the church in France were nationalized, and in February 1790 the religious orders had been suppressed. By July 1790 all that remained of the church was made, by the civil constitution, an extension of the French state. Pope Pius VI remained silent initially, but in March 1791 he condemned the civil constitution and the other changes; he was later also to condemn the execution of Louis XVI.

### THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM

On July 14, 1790, on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, the Festival of the Declaration was held at the Champ-de-Mars, with the people present swearing an oath of loyalty "to the nation, the law and the king." Led by Lafayette, the people swore the oath "we swear to be ever faithful to the nation, the law and the king." Even the king swore the oath, and Marie Antoi-

nette held her son out for all the crowd to see. There were then chants of "*Vive le roi, vive la reine, vive le dauphin*" ("Long live the king, long live the queen, long live the crown prince"). The French tricolor flag was unveiled, with 40,000 spectators cheering.

### FLIGHT OF THE KING

The increasing power of the National Constituent Assembly meant that factions started to form, and in France some areas introduced more radical reforms, while others sought to restrict them. The emerging powers were members of the Jacobin Club and the Girondins, the former being extremely radical in their ideas, the latter more moderate. Sensing what might happen, many nobles and other wealthy Frenchmen started to leave the country. The National Constituent Assembly decided to legislate against these émigrés by seizing their property. As tensions escalated, Louis XVI fled Paris. Together with his family, he took part in a plot organized by Count Axel Fersen, a Swedish diplomat and close personal friend of the queen, and early in the morning of June 20, 1791, the royal family fled their residence at the Tuileries dressed as servants with some of their servants dressed as nobles.

They managed to get as far as Varennes, close to where Austrian soldiers were based, the queen being Austrian. However, the escape attempt failed because the king, anxious to travel with his family, needed a large coach rather than the two smaller (and faster) ones that Fersen had wanted. Furthermore, some people started to stare at the coach as it went past, and the king, without thinking, started to wave at people who cheered him, and it soon became obvious to all who he was. The coach in which they were traveling was stopped, and, on June 22, the king and the royal family were brought back to Paris surrounded by 6,000 national guardsmen. The Constituent Assembly made out that the king had been kidnapped, but most realized what had happened. The king was suspended from his position, and he and his wife were held under guard.

The situation for the king became worse when Leopold II, the Holy Roman Emperor (and brother of Marie Antoinette), King FREDERICK WILLIAM II of Prussia, and Charles-Phillipe, comte d'Artois, the younger brother of Louis XVI, issued the Declaration of Pilnitz in which they demanded the liberty of Louis XVI and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly or they would invade France to achieve their will. This changed the situation dramatically, and when Leopold II died on March 1, 1792, the French decided to





*A reproduction of a painting shows Maximilien Robespierre being interrogated before being executed on July 27, 1794.*

declare war on Austria, which took place on April 20. The Prussians then siding with the Austrians sent their soldiers into France but were stopped by the French at the Battle of Valmy.

### THE REPUBLIC

The king was in an increasingly difficult position because to say anything other than urging people to fight the Austrians and the Prussians was tantamount to treason. On August 10, 1792, large numbers of people charged into the Tuileries, where Louis XVI and his family were held. They overwhelmed the Swiss guards who were there, killing many of them, and the newly established PARIS COMMUNE took over control of much of the city. They sent men into the prisons, where some 1,400 people were summarily tried and executed; these became known as the September massacres. The Assembly was unable to do anything, but a National Convention was formed that proclaimed itself the de facto government of France on September 20, abolishing the monarchy on the next day, and declaring France a republic. This date later became the start of Year 1 of the French Revolutionary Calendar.

The French rallied to support the Convention and many were angered by the Brunswick Declaration by which the Austrians and Prussians threatened retaliation if Louis XVI was injured. On December 21 “Louis Capet, until now king of France,” was arraigned before the Convention. After his trial, on January 17, Louis XVI was sentenced to death by guillotine for “conspiracy against the public liberty and the general safety,” only by a small majority. He was executed four days later;

his last words “I die innocent, I forgive my enemies. May my blood be useful to France; may it appease the anger of God.” His widow, Marie Antoinette, was executed on October 16, and their eldest son, who became in royalist eyes Louis XVII, died while in prison. This left the younger brothers of Louis XVI—Louis, comte de Provence (later Louis XVIII), and Charles, comte d’Artois (later Charles X), as the royalist claimants to the throne. Both had managed to leave France before the Revolution.

### THE REIGN OF TERROR

At this time the Committee of Public Safety, set up by the Convention, came to be controlled by a lawyer and Jacobin radical named Maximilien Robespierre. He unleashed what became known as the Reign of Terror, in which some 18,000 people were executed, mostly by the guillotine, for counterrevolutionary activities. Many of those killed were people who had supported the initial revolution but who felt that Robespierre had gone too far.

Included in those who were executed were many Girondins and also Philippe Égalité, formerly the duke of Orléans, who had even voted for the death of Louis XVI, his first cousin. Georges-Jacques Danton, one of the great revolutionary leaders, was also denounced and executed. A great orator, he had been a longtime opponent of Robespierre. Many people tried to escape to England, Spain, Switzerland, or Germany, accounts captured in novels such as *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens and the *Scarlet Pimpernel* books of Baroness Orczy.

The reign of terror reached its peak on October 24, with the start of the use of the revolutionary calendar, back-dated to September 20 of the previous year. Just over a fortnight later, on November 10, Notre-Dame Cathedral was turned into the Temple of Reason, with Lady Liberty replacing the Virgin Mary on some of the altars. To change the internal dynamics of the cathedral, a stage set from the Opéra was placed in the transept of the cathedral, in the center of which was a model of a mountain with the classical image of philosophy mounted on it.

A young actress, with a white robe and red bonnet and armed with the spear of knowledge, then passed down the aisle with the crowds chanting “Thou, Holy Liberty, come dwell in this temple, be the goddess of the French.” It was not long afterward that over 2,000 other churches in France were also “transformed” into Temples of Reason. In May 1794 an inscription was added to the front of Notre-Dame: “The French people

recognize the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul,” and “Temple of Reason” was then changed to become the “Temple of the Supreme Being.”

### THE END OF THE TERROR

Eventually Robespierre went too far. He had been involved in the execution of many moderate Jacobins, and on July 27, 1794, in the Thermidorian Reaction, named after the French revolutionary month in which it happened, Robespierre and his leading aide, Louis-Antoine de Saint-Just, were both arrested and executed. A new government was then introduced. Known as the Directory, it consisted of a small group of five, similar to a political cabinet, who were chosen each year by the Conseil des Anciens (Council of Elders) made up of 250 senators, and the Conseil des Cinq-Cents (Council of the Five Hundred), made up of 500 representatives. It was the first bicameral legislature in French history and did much to calm the tensions that had arisen while Robespierre was in power.

The Directory restored a semblance of law and order and also allowed many émigrés to return. They were able to successfully combat military threats from the Austrians and the Prussians and also internal revolts in the Vendée region in coastal west-central France. When the British attacked Toulon in the south of France, an artillery commander, Napoleon Bonaparte, was able to encourage the French soldiers to eject the invaders. Bonaparte then was involved in the invasion of northern Italy and buoyed with his success there, where he defeated the Austrians and their allies, he went on his expedition to Egypt.

Although his forces on land managed to defeat the Turks and the Mamluks, the British under Horatio Nelson destroyed his fleet at Aboukir Bay. Soon afterward Napoleon left to return to France, where he became part of a plot to overthrow the Directory that took place on November 9, 1799 (18th Brumaire of the Year VIII), when he staged his coup of 18 Brumaire, seizing power and establishing the consulate, rule by three people, which eventually saw him becoming consul for life and, in 1804, emperor.

See also NAPOLEON III; NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Fukuzawa Yukichi

(1835–1901) *Meiji Restoration educator*

As an author and educator, Fukuzawa Yukichi was probably one of the most important nongovernment Japanese figures from the MEIJI RESTORATION, which followed the overthrow of the TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE in 1868. Fukuzawa wanted Japan to embrace many Western ideas in order to make the country stronger and wrote more than 100 books explaining his ideas.

Fukuzawa was born on January 10, 1835, at Buzen, Japan, the younger son of a lower samurai. His father’s family had been recently impoverished, but he was able to go to school in Nagasaki, where he studied Western ideas called *rangaku* (“Dutch learning”). Although the ideas were no longer solely Dutch, the concept had arisen because the Dutch had, for many years, been the only Europeans who were able to visit Japan. As a result of this, Fukuzawa went on some of the first Japanese missions to the West, which took place in 1860 and in 1862. The initial idea had been that the shogun should send envoys overseas, and Fukuzawa offered his services to Admiral Kimura Yoshitake.

The 1860 mission was the first Japanese delegation to the United States, and it set sail for San Francisco. On arrival, Fukuzawa bought a copy of *Webster’s Dictionary*, which was to form the basis of his study of English. It helped him produce a Japanese-English dictionary, his first book. Japan’s 1862 mission went to Europe, and by this time Fukuzawa was the interpreter, accompanying the delegation to Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Prussia. On his return his book *Seiyo jijo* (Conditions in the West) was published and became an instant best seller because of its simple but detailed explanations of the political situation in Europe and the United States. He would visit the United States again in 1867, going to Washington, D.C., and New York. In Japan, Fukuzawa started writing prolifically, public speaking, and entering debating competitions. His championing of many Western ideas led to some hatred from conservatives, and there were a few attempts on his life.

Fukuzawa wrote more than 100 books. Seventeen of them form the *Gakumon no Susume* (An

encouragement of learning), which was published between 1872 and 1876. His most famous work was *Bunmeiron no Gairyaku* (An outline of the theory of civilization), which was published in 1875. In this book he argued that “civilization is relative to time and circumstance.”

As a result, a comparison of civilizations over a long time period was not as important as a comparative study of them at a particular snapshot in time. He was a strong supporter of parliamentary government, access to education for everyone, women’s rights, and other causes championed in the West. These ideas were regularly expressed in *Meiroke Zasshi* (Meiji six magazine), which Fukuzawa helped to publish. With the Meiji Restoration, he founded Keio Gijuku, which became Keio University in 1890.

In 1882 Fukuzawa founded a newspaper called *Jiji shimpo* (Current events). It became one of Japan’s most important political newspapers and was read by many liberal politicians, quite a number of whom also contributed articles. These included men like Ito Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, and Okuma Shigenobu. During the 1890s, Fukuzawa wrote his autobiography, which was published in English in 1934. In it he spoke of his great support for the Meiji government abolishing feudal privileges and also saw Japan’s victory in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR of 1894–95, which gave Japan the status of a great power, as one of his happiest moments.

However, this did lead to criticism of him as an imperialist and a supporter of Japanese expansionism. In reality, Fukuzawa’s support for the war was because he deplored the living conditions in China at the time, with

foot-binding, cruel punishments, and some areas suffering from famine. He felt that Japanese knowledge could contribute to improving the lot of the poor in China and would also serve as a counterweight to the Western imperial powers that had established treaty ports throughout China. He was also critical of the unequal treaties forced on China by the colonial powers and thought that Japan, embracing modernity, would be able to prevent this system from spreading. Furthermore, he genuinely believed that the progressive Japanese would be able to improve the living conditions of the peasants in Korea. Much of his interest in Korea came from a period when he invited some young Korean noblemen to Japan, and they misbehaved dreadfully, even trying to steal the school safe. With these men as the potential future leaders of the country, he despaired of what might happen if the Japanese were not able to exert themselves as a modernizing influence.

Fukuzawa died on February 3, 1901, in Tokyo. His house in Nakatsu remains a major tourist attraction in that city and is a nationally designated cultural asset. A statue of him stands in the grounds of Keio University, and an engraving of him by Edoardo Chiossone appears on the 10,000 yen banknote.

See also NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD



## **Garibaldi, Giuseppe** (1807–1882) *unifier of Italy*

Giuseppe Garibaldi, known as the Liberator in Italy, was born in Nice, the port of Piedmont-Sardinia. By 1824 he was a sailor and was committed to the unification of Italy. In 1834, after acquiring a license as a merchant captain, he took part in an abortive republican rising in Genoa. Sentenced to death, he fled to South America, where he married his first wife, Anita, who was to fight beside him in all of his battles.

Between 1836 and 1848 he was active as a soldier and a naval captain in the area around São Paulo in its ultimately futile attempt to break away from Brazil. Transferring his services at Orientale Province, he supported the province's attempt to establish its independence by forming the Italian Legion and being placed in charge of the defense of Montevideo and the small Orientale (Uruguayan) fleet. His victories at Cerro and Sant' Antonio helped to establish Uruguayan independence.

In 1848 he returned to Italy and volunteered to fight for Italian unification. Afterward he aided in military efforts to fight off French attacks on the Roman republic and defeat the forces of the Bourbon rulers of Naples. In the summer of 1849, when the Roman republic fell to overwhelming French forces, he disbanded his troops in San Marino. After being pursued by Austrian armies, he departed for America. His wife died during the retreat.

Garibaldi returned to Italy in 1854 and in 1859 took part in battles against Austrian forces, enjoying many

victories. The great moment of his life occurred in 1860. Landing with 1,000 volunteers in May with his “Red Shirts” in Sicily, he defeated the Neapolitan army and drove it out of Sicily. By September and October, he had defeated the Neapolitan army on the mainland at the Battles of Reggio and the Volturno. He also arrived in Naples, and, by November, all of Naples and Sicily were in his hands. He then, although republican in sympathy, gave basically the whole of southern Italy to the Piedmontese monarchy.

After unsuccessful attempts to unite Rome with the new Italian state, he returned to battle in 1866, when he led a voluntary army against Austria. He defeated the Austrians at Monte Saello, Darso, Condino, and Bezzeca in July 1866. The war ended with Venetia being united with Italy. In the 1860s, he volunteered for the French army in the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR after France declared itself a republic. He secured victories at Châtillon, Autun, and Dijon. Rome was occupied during the war as French troops withdrew.

Garibaldi served in the French assembly for four years and then returned to Italy, where he was sporadically active in politics. For most of the decade, however, he was in retirement on the island of Caprera north of Sardinia. A skilled seaman and soldier, he was moderate enough to avoid the temptation of power. Garibaldi could have gained power in Naples and Sicily, but, guided by his vision of a united Italy, he shelved his republican convictions so as to form the second vision. His role in the founding of Uruguay



Known in Italy as the Liberator, Giuseppe Garibaldi was instrumental in the creation of two independent nations.

and Italy puts him in rare company as a father of two nations.

See also ITALIAN NATIONALISM/UNIFICATION; URUGUAY, CREATION OF.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## gauchos

This was the name given to the horsemen who worked on the Argentine and Uruguayan pampas from the middle of the 18th century until the late 19th century, having a similar image in Latin America as the cowboys have in North America. The term is sometimes also applied to horsemen in Chilean Patagonia, in southern Paraguay, and in Brazil, where the Portuguese term *gaúcho* is used.

There are many theories about the origin of the word *gaucho*. It was first used around the time of the independence of Argentina in 1816, and some claim it is a corruption of the term *quechua*, or *huachu*, meaning “orphan” or “vagabond”. Others say it derives from the Arabic word *chaucho*, which is a Middle Eastern term for a type of whip used in herding animals.

The Spanish introduced cattle into Argentina in 1531 when they established the first settlement at Buenos Aires. Five years later Indians destroyed the fort, and it was not until 1580 that the Spanish reestablished a presence at Buenos Aires. By that time, cattle that had escaped nearly 50 years earlier had bred and started to form large herds in the pampas. Horsemen rounded up the cattle, and by the early 18th century an important beef and leather industry was flourishing. The ability to salt beef and, by the mid-19th century, to refrigerate it ensured that the Argentine and Uruguayan economy would be dominated by the beef industry.

The men who rounded up the cattle and wild horses were well known for their skills of horsemanship and their ability to live in the pampas and in Patagonia, in southern Argentina, and Chile. They gained a reputation for being fearless and tough, but also for maintaining feuds and being cruel in fighting. Unlike the North American cowboy who tended to be of Spanish or British stock, the gauchos came from a variety of backgrounds. Some were of Spanish descent, but most were mestizos (of mixed European and Indian descent). There were also numbers of black—descendants of African slaves brought to the Americas—and mulattos (of mixed black and European ancestry).

As with the North American cowboys, gauchos rode and fought prodigiously. They used the lasso, the curved knife, and also the *boledoras* (or *bolos*). This last weapon was a leather cord that had three iron or stone balls sewn into it. It was thrown at the legs of an animal and, entwining itself quickly, would bring the creature to the ground. Gauchos also had a characteristic dress—with a broad sombrero, a shirt, wide trousers known as *bombachas*, tied at the ankles, and tight-

fitting leather boots. In cold weather they would wear a woolen poncho that was either a quiet sandy color or very brightly colored wool. During the 1850s, many gauchos in Entre Ríos wore red to show their support for their local leader, Urquiza. On his saddle a gaucho would often carry a rolled blanket.

When not riding with the cattle, gauchos lived in small mud huts, where families slept on piles of hides. Most were nominally Roman Catholic, although their religious beliefs tended to include local superstitions. As with their North American counterparts, they would spend much of their spare time drinking, gambling, playing the guitar (or later the accordion), and singing about their exploits or those of other gauchos. They generally ate beef and drank yerba maté, a local herbal drink consumed communally.

During the 1820s much of the land of Argentina was taken over by a small number of pastoralists and speculators who formed massive estancias. This resulted in the gauchos becoming employees of these cattle barons, to whom they were unswervingly loyal. A few of these men became CAUDILLOS or warlords controlling provinces and influencing national politics in both Uruguay and Argentina. During the fighting between the Unitarists (based in Buenos Aires and believing in a strongly centralized government) and the Federalists (who wanted regional autonomy), the gauchos supported the latter. Led by men like Urquiza, they earned a reputation for being fearless in battle and utterly ruthless to their opponents, especially after the massacres that followed the capture of Quinteros in 1858.

Gradually, the regional leaders began to lose their influence, and the murder of Urquiza in 1870 marked the end of the political influence of the gauchos. The importance of the railways that began to cover much of northern and central Argentina also helped erode their economic power. Some were able to continue as farmhands, while others moved to the cities. In Uruguay, the role of the gaucho in politics had ended five years earlier than in Argentina with the end of the cycle of wars for control of the country. However, they remained an important part of Uruguayan life into the 20th century. In both Chilean and Argentine Patagonia, gauchos remained until the early 20th century, but never as the political or military force they had been farther north.

Many people had a long-time fascination with gauchos, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, in *Facundo* (1845), subtitled *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism*, wrote one of the few detailed accounts about gauchos

when they were at the height of their political power. As with the North American cowboys, it was just as the gauchos began to lose their importance that books on them started to be published. *La literatura gauchesca* became popular with Estanislao del Campo's epic *Fausto* (1866) and José Hernández's epic poem *El gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872). Some gaucho ballads and folk stories were also recorded and published, and in Uruguay books by Javier de Viana and Carlos Reyes became popular. One of the most famous novels was Ricardo Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926).

There are still many traces of gauchos in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chilean Patagonia, and gaucho-style leatherwork can be seen in all three countries, as well as in southern Paraguay and parts of Brazil. In Calle Florida in Buenos Aires, expensive restaurants specializing in beef have people dressed as traditional gauchos, and the Museo del Gaucho y de la Moneda (Museum of Gauchos and Money) in Montevideo is popular with many tourists. There are also some estancias in Argentina and Uruguay that allow tourists to experience a small part of the gaucho life and culture.

See also URUGUAY, CREATION OF.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## German unification, wars of

The period between 1864 and 1871 saw three wars that resulted in the unification of Germany. In essence, this period saw the formation of a German state under the influence of Prussia, guided by its chief minister, OTTO VON BISMARCK. Prussia had put itself in a good position to lead Germany. The GERMAN ZOLLVEREIN, or Customs Union, that broke down physical and financial barriers had been formed in 1819. By 1842, under Prussian leadership, it included most of central and northern Germany. Its rival, Austria, was kept out on the grounds that the bulk of its empire was non-German and outside the traditional borders of The Holy Roman Empire and its successor, the German Confederation. In addition, Prussia had gained millions of new German subjects by

the Congress of Vienna in return for giving up some of its Polish subjects; it received much of Saxony, much of the Rhineland and Westphalia, and dominated northern and western Germany. It had the effect of turning Prussia into a German state. In Bismarck, appointed in 1862, it had a practitioner of power politics who could gauge the attitude of his opponents and take advantage of opportunities.

It was unlucky that neither of Germany's neighbors, France nor Russia, would welcome a united Germany and might combine to stop it. Bismarck secured the acquiescence of Russia by providing assistance to Russia when it put down Polish disturbances in 1863. Moreover, he promised Russia that he would aid them in future Polish-related problems, thereby gaining a secure eastern front and the avoidance of a two-front conflict. Bismarck had as his goal the expansion of Prussia. If this resulted in the unification of Germany, it would be a positive by-product. The two obstacles were Austria and France. Although polyglot in composition, Austria's ruling dynasty had held the position of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the precursor of the German Confederation between 1438 and 1806. France had benefited from the disunity of Germany for over three centuries.

### THE FIRST WAR

The first of the three wars was over the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. The provinces that were either German in composition, as in the case of the Holstein, or partly German, as in the case of Schleswig, were united to Denmark by family inheritance through the house of Oldenburg. With the impending end of the direct male line of the crown of Denmark, the German Confederation claimed the two duchies. Denmark promised to respect the political independence of the two duchies. This agreement was violated in November 1863, when the new king, Christian IX, accepted a constitution that included the incorporation of the northern mixed population duchy of Schleswig into Denmark proper. When Denmark refused to cancel this act, Austria and Prussia as representatives of the Confederation, declared war.

The Austrians, geographically separated from Schleswig-Holstein, would have been content to allow the duchies to remain tied to the crown of Denmark by a personal union. Bismarck, however, was determined to add the duchies by one means or another. Denmark, certain that the powers would aid her, refused. War resulted. The Jutland Peninsula was occupied between January and April 1864. After an attempt at media-

tion by the Great Powers between April and June 1864 failed, hostilities were renewed. Bismarck made some vague hints to NAPOLEON III of compensation, perhaps in Belgium or Luxembourg, to secure French neutrality. Britain, under a liberal Whig administration, was sympathetic to German nationalist feeling, and Russia's neutrality had already been secured. Therefore, hostilities were renewed, and by fall much of the Jutland Peninsula had been occupied and the major Danish island of Funen had been threatened. Denmark's position was such that it was forced to sign the Treaty of Gastein. As a result, Austria administered Holstein, and Prussia controlled Schleswig on behalf of the German Confederation.

### WAR BETWEEN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

It was nearly inevitable that conflict would then occur between Austria and Prussia. Austria had nothing to gain by keeping Holstein separated from Austria by central and northern Germany, while Prussia could annex Schleswig-Holstein to connect Prussian Brandenburg with its Rhenish possession. When Austria proposed that the provinces be returned to the legitimate heir of the senior cadet line of the house of Denmark, Bismarck said this was a violation of the Treaty of Gastein and sent troops into Holstein. Austria, supported by the majority of members of the German Confederation, declared war on June 1, 1866.

The Austrians at the time were distracted by a domestic crisis with the Hungarians and started the war at a disadvantage. Bismarck had concluded a treaty with Italy on April 8, 1866, in which Italy agreed to participate on the side of Prussia should war occur within three months. In return, Italy was to receive Austria-administered Venetia. Once again, Bismarck secured the neutrality of France through vague promises of compensation after the wary Napoleon III indicated that he would like to annex Rhenish Hesse, the fortress of Mainz, Luxembourg, the Saar, and parts of Belgium. Bismarck rejected those demands and saved them for future reference in case of need of French assistance or neutrality. The Austro-Prussian War is often called the Seven Weeks' War because of its duration. Prussia had superiority in spite of its inferiority of population.

Since 1862 the Prussians had been updating their military. They had developed military training and tactics involving quick flanking pincer movements. As a result, in spite of opposition from German states such as Hanover, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Wurttemberg, Saxony, and others, the Prussian armies advanced very

quickly. They defeated the Hanover army at Langensalza on June 29 and occupied Nuremberg and northern Bavaria by July 1.

In the meantime, Prussian armies occupied Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt. The decisive action came in July. Since Austria had sent some of its army to meet the Italians, whom they defeated at the Battle of Custozza on June 24, and some troops remained in Hungary, a way was opened for a Prussian thrust to the capital of Vienna. Therefore, in von Moltke's plan, three Prussian armies advanced from Saxony and Silesia into Bohemia. The Austrian commander general von Benedek took up a position at Koniggratz (known as Sadowa in Czech), where on July 3 he was attacked by the united first and second Prussian armies. They were joined by the Prussian third army under the crown prince, which turned the tide of battle. This intervention ended with an Austrian rout and an opening to Vienna. The war ended, although the peace agreement at Nikolsburg was not signed until July 26.

#### AFTER THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR

The consequences of the Austrian defeat were greater for the German Confederation than for Austria. Austria had to pay a war indemnity, cede Venetia to Italy and Holstein to Prussia. Henceforth, Austria was to be excluded from German affairs. The German Confederation paid a heavier price. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt were directly annexed to Prussia. This had the effect of connecting all of Prussia's possessions in northern and western Germany. Prussia now composed more than half of Germany.

There were other consequences of the Seven Weeks' War in terms of German unification. The old German Confederation was replaced by the North German Confederation of all German territory north of the Main. The four states south of the Main (Baden, Bavaria, grand ducal Hesse, and Wurttemberg) could form a South German Confederation. They had sided against Prussia, but escaped punishment except for a reduced war indemnity and an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia. The southern states consented to Prussian troops being introduced into the military fortifications after Bismarck revealed Napoleonic demands.

The North German Confederation included the kingdom of Saxony, the former Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Lübeck, and Hamburg, the grand duchy of Brunswick, Mecklenberg, Oldenburg, and 13 other duchies and principalities. The North German

Confederation was arranged so that Prussia dominated. To further emphasize this, the presidency of the confederation was given to the king of Prussia, and the direction of the affairs of the confederation was placed in the hands of a chancellor, in this case, Bismarck. The authority of the confederation extended to foreign policy, the army, and economic affairs. The constitution of the confederation established a unified commonwealth in criminal justice, economic, and judicial affairs.

The laws of the North German Reich were to have precedence over the laws of the states. The states could maintain their own administrative system, educational affairs, and church affairs. Although the upper house, or Reichstag, gave each state one vote, the lower house, the Bundesrat, based on universal male franchise, was controlled by Prussia, with its greater population. Also, the Bundesrat had the right with the approval of the president (king of Prussia) to dissolve the Reichstag. He semi-coerced the South German states into closer association by saying that a new customs union that would replace the Zollverein had to be operated through a customs-parliament that met in Berlin. Not wishing to forfeit the large market, the South German states entered into the new custom-parliament that had equal representation from the South German states and the North German Confederation.

The South German confederation that might have served as a partial obstacle to further unification never materialized, as Baden and Wurttemberg were not willing to put themselves under Bavarian leadership. Much of the reason for this was a perceived loss of power against Bavaria, which had over half of the population of the South German states. The next few years, from 1867 to 1870, Bismarck used to firm up support both within and without.

#### PRELUDE TO WAR WITH FRANCE

French demands for parts of southern Germany and also Luxembourg had been put in writing. This, when disseminated, stirred up nationalism throughout Germany, including in the South German states. The French demands upon Belgium alienated the British, who considered themselves the protector of Belgium. Austria was alienated from France when Bismarck leaked the negotiations with France prior to the Austro-Prussian War. Italy would not support France as long as French troops remained in Rome. Russia was already bound to Prussia by the 1863 agreement. The immediate cause of the third war that led to German reunification was the



succession to the throne of Spain after a revolution had ejected its previous occupant. The Spaniards asked a member of the Catholic branch of the HOHENZOLLERN (the Prussian royal family) to accept the appointment of a constitutional king of Spain. This proposal caused great indignation in France, which threatened war if a Hohenzollern accepted the throne. The French felt that Hohenzollern princes in Spain and Germany would put them in a vise.

After some weeks of hesitation, the Hohenzollern prince Leopold withdrew his candidacy. It appeared that after several years of diplomatic setbacks, the French had gained a victory. However, a feeling developed that the renunciation was not enough. They sent their ambassador to Prussia to the town of Ems, where the Prussian king William I was taking the waters. The ambassador asked William to guarantee that he would never again permit the Hohenzollern to seek the throne. The king refused to undertake such a task. He then sent a telegram to Bismarck describing the incident. This famous Ems Telegram was edited and abbreviated by Bismarck so that it appeared that the French ambassador had been brusque to the point of insult to the Prussian king, while the Prussian king had been equally short to the point of offense to the French ambassador. The message was then published in an abbreviated form. Public opinion in both countries was incensed. The French declared war on July 15, 1870.

### THE THIRD WAR

Although the Prussians and the French appeared equal, Prussia had certain advantages. First, the French military was still somewhat demoralized from its ill-starred adventure in Mexico between 1863 and 1867. Second, parts of the French army were tied down in parts of Indochina and Algeria, where they were busily establishing the French overseas empire. Finally, the Prussians ultimately had an advantage in manpower. The South German states had to recognize the stipulations of their offensive and defensive alliances with Prussia that put their forces under Prussian command in the event of war. The Prussians could also count on the manpower of the North German Confederation in addition to their own. Altogether, there was an army of a unified Germany of 1.2 million as opposed to a French army of 500,000, some of whom were overseas.

The Prussians immediately acted upon prearranged battle plans. Three armies were immediately formed for the purpose of invading French territories from three separate directions. General Steinmetz advanced from

the Moselle, Prince Frederick Charles from the Palatinate to Metz, and the crown prince from the upper Rhine to Strasbourg. The war was fought in two phases; July–September and September–February. At first, events went well for the French. They advanced into the Saar district in late July 1870 and won a small victory. So confident were they of victory that they drew up plans for a partition of Prussia and a redistribution of the coal-rich Saar district.

They would soon be disillusioned as Prussia/Germany scored a number of victories in August. On August 4 and August 6 the crown prince won victories over Marshal MacMahon at the Battles of Wissemburg and Worth and forced him to evacuate Alsace. Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, fell by the end of the month. The Germans also advanced into Lorraine and approached its capital of Nancy. Two other German armies surrounded the troops of Marshal Bazaine at the key city of Metz and at bloody battles at Vionville and Gravelotte on August 16 and August 18 repulsed the attempts of the French to break out of the ring. When Marshal MacMahon attempted to get around the German north flank to relieve Bazaine at Metz, he discovered the road was already closed. When he attempted to break through against superior numbers of troops, he was decisively defeated at Sedan on September 1 and surrendered together with his army and the emperor on September 2. The war continued for another five months, but the French Empire fell. The French request for an armistice was not accepted, due to their unwillingness to surrender Strasbourg, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The main German army then advanced against Paris, and the main fortresses of Metz and Verdun fell in September and Strasbourg in October. The last frontier fortress, Belfort, fell in mid-February 1871.

In the meantime, Paris was besieged between late September and late January 1871, and most of northern France was the scene of battles. The attempt by French troops from the north and the Loire Valley to relieve Paris failed, and ultimately it too fell on January 28, 1871. The last remaining efficient army of the French was pushed into Switzerland, where it was interned early in February 1871.

A preliminary peace was signed on February 26. The official treaty that ended the war was the Treaty of Frankfurt, on May 10, 1871. In its provisions, Alsace, northern Lorraine, and the city of Metz were ceded to Germany. (After the final formation of the German Empire, Alsace-Lorraine became a common province of the empire.) Moreover, France had to pay 5 mil-

lion francs in war indemnity. German troops occupied central and southern Lorraine until the indemnity was paid (in 1875). German troops occupied Paris until the Treaty of Frankfurt was approved by the national assembly in May 1871.

### END RESULTS

The most important result of the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR was the unification of Germany. The feeling of nationalism that swept Germany in the wake of the war led the South German states into negotiations. After some special concessions, especially by Bavaria, which retained the right to control its own army in times of peace, the South German states entered the confederation. After further maneuvers by Bismarck, the question of a new German Empire led by the king of Prussia, first by the king of Bavaria and then by a delegation from the North German Confederation, was presented. Upon acceptance on January 18, 1871, the king of Prussia became German emperor. This last title took the place of emperor of Germany in deference to German dynasties that did not wish to be officially subordinated to the Hohenzollerns.

The constitution that covered the old North German Confederation plus the South German states plus Alsace-Lorraine was adopted on April 14, 1871. The form of government adopted by this new state closely reflected the government of the North German Confederation, with special concessions to the South German states, such as control of posts and telegraphs and the right to post taxes on beer and brandy. The new state automatically became the strongest state in Europe due to its army and its manufacturing base.

See also ITALIAN NATIONALISM/UNIFICATION.

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## German Zollverein

The establishment of the Deutscher Zollverein (German Customs Union) was an important step toward the goals of industrializing and unifying Germany. The German states, numbering more than 300 principalities, were bound together in the loosely federated Holy Roman Empire. After the 1815 CONGRESS OF VIENNA, the Federated League of States, consisting of 39 states with different systems, made German unification difficult. The eventual rise of Pan-Germanism, along with the Zollverein, facilitated progress toward unity.

Even Prussia, Germany's most powerful state, had 67 tariff systems. In all of Germany, there were three currency systems. There were many border checkpoints, numerous units of measurement, and different customs laws. The pioneering idea of economic unification came from Prussia, which did away with internal tariffs and established free trade throughout its scattered territories in 1818. The internal customs boundaries of different Prussian provinces became a thing of the past, with one uniform tariff against non-Prussian countries.

Prussian efforts at economic integration were such a success that they were replicated by other German states. Moreover, the Customs Union of Prussia could protect local industries against a flood of imported British goods. The two main Prussian export items, corn and linen, had been affected by British policy, and the 1818 union made these easier to sell. Anhalt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, and Hessen-Darmstadt joined the Prussian Union in 1828.

Two other units joined up independently of the Prussian Union, as they did not want to be under Prussian authority. Saxony, the Thuringian statelets, Hessen-Kassel, Nassau, Frankfurt, Hannover, Braunschweig, and Oldenburg established the Central German Customs Union in 1828, and after five years in the south, the Bavarian-Wuerttembergian Customs Union was founded. All three unions integrated themselves into a Zollverein in 1834 to reap the obvious economic benefits. The custom barriers were no longer in place, and a uniform tariff was applied to states outside the Zollverein. Goods coming from outside were taxed on a joint account of the member states and the proceeds were divided. The introduction of a uniform currency, the Vereinsthaler, standardized the different currencies.

The Zollverein consisted of 17 states and represented a population of about 26 million people. Its considerable size resulted in the growth of industries

with the application of a free-trade policy. The Customs Union also witnessed the lessening of Austrian influence and the gradual dominance of Prussia, facilitating the task of unification afterward. Economic leadership of Prussia would soon challenge Austria's presidency in the German Confederation. Austria, along with the two Mecklenburgs and Hanseatic towns, had remained outside the Zollverein, but Baden and Nassau joined in 1836. After six years, Braunschweig and Luxemburg also became members of the Customs Union. In 1835 the German railroads opened in Bavaria, and economist Georg Friedrich List planned railways across the whole of Germany. He had rejected the idea of diplomatic missions or bilateral treaties with European countries. Prussia signed commercial treaties with Britain, France, and Belgium, making the Zollverein even more powerful.

The railroads connecting Cologne in Prussia with Antwerp in Belgium were completed in 1843, and the next year the two states signed a trade agreement. By 1848–49 there were 3,000 miles of railway lines in Prussia. In 1851 Hanover and Oldenburg joined the Customs Union. The Deutscher Handlestag (the national chamber of commerce) was established in 1861 at the request of German economists, who were clamoring for greater economic unification. The Zollverein was dissolved as the southern German states supported Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.

The next year it was established again with no individual state having veto power. The constitution of the renewed Zollverein established the Zollbundesrat (the Federal Council of Customs) consisting of emissaries of individual rulers and an elected Zollparlament (Customs Parliament). Prussian dominance was significant, and other German states wanted to join. Schleswig-Holstein, Kausenburg, and Mecklenburg became members in 1868. The regulations of Zollverein became part of the laws of the newly created German nation. Alsace-Lorraine, taken from France after the victory in 1870s FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, joined the Customs Union in 1872. The Hanseatic cities followed suit in 1888.

The dominance of Prussia made German unification inevitable. Liberating the German states from the oppressive burden of numerous tariffs and taxes, the Zollverein paved the way for economic transformation of the German Empire.

See also BISMARCK, OTTO VON; GERMAN UNIFICATION, WARS OF.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Gilded Age

Named after an 1873 novel by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, this era of growth and excess following the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR would more than live up to the authors' sarcasm. As American industry and agriculture began to outpace European competition, some entrepreneurs and corporate leaders became very wealthy, while the gap between rich and poor widened dramatically. Lavish public displays of self-indulgence by a small but growing number of newly rich Americans provided the "gilding" for this time of great social and political conflict.

### THE "GILDED" ECONOMY

Although the late 19th century was a time of simmering worldwide economic distress that regularly erupted into panics and recessions, the United States, having overcome the single greatest challenge to its potential power, grew enormously during the years after the Civil War. The seeds were planted during the war when Union president ABRAHAM LINCOLN and Congress encouraged western agriculture, set in motion the long-anticipated transcontinental railroad project, and awarded lucrative contracts to suppliers of war materials.

Historians call the post-Civil War era an age of "incorporation." Previously, the industrial economy had been localized, mostly hiring nearby workers and serving local or regional customers. Now, new kinds of businesses and businessmen were creating national combinations of financial and industrial power. The corporation was a business model designed to be a faceless entity within which individual capitalists could make products and accrue wealth without fear of personal liability. The corporate structure was the engine that propelled the enormous growth of railroads, steel, meat-packing, and petroleum.

Few of these new industrialists were "faceless" for very long. Economic uncertainty made it possible for the bravest (or most ruthless) entrepreneurs to impose order on important industries by squeezing out smaller players and creating huge new combines, or trusts.

Especially in California, railroad barons, including Leland Stanford and Collis P. Huntington, used cut-throat tactics to dominate the most favorable routes, raising shipping rates once they had achieved control. In the 1870s midwesterner John D. Rockefeller created Standard Oil, gaining 90 percent control of the oil business and making a fortune even before the rise of the automobile. Scots-born Andrew Carnegie had successful careers in telegraphy and railroads before turning Pittsburgh into the world's steel capital and becoming one of the world's richest men.

Carnegie gave away all his millions before he died in 1919, and Rockefeller was also an important benefactor. But many of the new capitalist class were less modest. As the railroad Vanderbilts and others built luxurious summer homes in Newport, Rhode Island, and Carnegie's chief lieutenant, Henry Frick, built virtual palaces in Pittsburgh and (later) on New York's Fifth Avenue, the gilded gap between rich and poor became more obvious. The new industrialists' gaudy parties and spending sprees were covered in breathless detail by American newspapers.

Meanwhile, the urban middle class was growing. Industrialists created large organizations staffed by middle managers and served by engineers, lawyers, accountants, and other rising professionals. But for industrial laborers, whether skilled or unskilled, prospects were bleaker.

### GILDED AGE POLITICS

Historians still disagree whether the business leaders of the Gilded Age were rapacious robber barons or admirable captains of industry. In either case, those building mighty industries took full advantage of the political and social attitudes of their era to amass enormous fortunes and wield great power.

In a time of weak federal power, with Congress closely divided between Republicans and Democrats (although Republicans dominated the presidency), there were few legal barriers to the creation of great wealth by any means necessary. Railroad interests (already owing much of their success to huge federal land grants and other valuable concessions) were particularly known for making deals, legal and illegal, with federal, state, and local officials. There was no corporate income tax, no meaningful regulation of stock transactions, and no barriers to monopolistic vertical trusts. Someone like Rockefeller could control every aspect of his business, from owning oil-rich properties to pumping oil out of the ground to selling Standard Oil's distinctive red cans to retail customers. Not until 1890 did Congress pass

the Sherman Antitrust Act, a weak but groundbreaking attempt to make the most blatantly brazen business practices punishable by fines and prison terms.

The era's general lack of regulation was part of the larger ideology of *laissez-faire*, the idea that only an economic system free from governmental interference could build wealth, social order, and national success. Dating back to the 18th-century writings of British economist ADAM SMITH, *laissez-faire* in the Gilded Age found a strong philosophical ally in the new creed of SOCIAL DARWINISM.

Social Darwinism arose in Britain, where writer Herbert Spencer, among others, developed a sociological theory based on CHARLES DARWIN's pathbreaking 1859 theory of evolution. Darwin's was a biological study of the origins, development, distribution, and extinction of living organisms over many millions of years. Social Darwinism, led in the United States by William Graham Sumner, a Yale University professor, applied Darwin's discoveries and theories to the existing social and economic order.

Sumner and others discovered that Darwin's laws exactly validated what was happening in industrial societies like those of the United States and Britain. Inequality was a law of nature. Those who succeeded were nature's fittest; those who failed or fell behind proved that only the strongest could or should survive. Helping the poor was a fool's game. "While the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race," said Carnegie. "Nature's cure for most social and political diseases is better than man's," declared the president of Columbia University. Survival of the fittest, wrote Rockefeller, is "a law of nature and a law of God."

Social Darwinism and *laissez faire* worked in tandem to diminish worker power and autonomy. A laborer, the era's ideology maintained, was free to sell his (or her) services to the highest bidder, but not free to join with other workers to demand from employers or government protection and improvement of their conditions. By the 1880s the U.S. Supreme Court, in the name of economic liberty of contract, was regularly striking down efforts to raise wages, limit work hours, abolish sweatshops, and form unions.

### GILDED AGE OPPONENTS

People who worked for or depended on the new industrial system did not meekly resign themselves to the insecurity and cruelty of industrial labor. The era was beset by strikes, riots, and political radicalization among workers even before unprecedented tides of new

immigrants began arriving in the 1880s. Farmers and laborers in the predominantly agricultural West and South agitated against exploitative railroads and condemned currency and trade policies that kept them in debt.

The Gilded Age's first major upheaval was the Great Railroad Strike that erupted in 1877, the fourth year of a major recession. Starting that July in Baltimore, where the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Company had imposed a 10 percent pay cut on workers, the strike spread to rail yards across the nation. It was the first coast-to-coast strike in U.S. history. At first, the strikers were hailed by other workers and local people also fed up with railroad practices. But President Rutherford B. Hayes, provoked by some acts of worker violence, soon called out federal troops to protect railroad property. A hundred people, mostly strikers, died. Government intervention against workers on behalf of corporations became a hallmark of Gilded Age labor relations.

An 1886 strike against Chicago's McCormick Reaper Company also resulted in bloodshed and fears of mounting social disorder blamed on anarchist ideas percolating out of Europe. At Haymarket Square, where workers were protesting police violence that had killed four McCormick strikers, a bomb exploded, killing a policeman. Police raided radical and labor organizations and arrested eight anarchists. On little evidence, all eight, including six German and one English immigrant, were convicted of the bombing, and four were hanged. Five months later in New York, the STATUE OF LIBERTY, France's salute to the promise of American freedom, was ceremoniously unveiled.

The upsurge in union militancy was accompanied by a rising tide of local and national political organizing. The relatively egalitarian Knights of Labor played major roles in the railroad and McCormick strikes, but lost ground to the better organized American Federation of Labor (AFL), founded in 1886 and focused on achieving the eight-hour day. Traditional farmer organizations, like the Grange, became more outspoken. In the 1880s the Greenback-Labor Party twice fielded presidential candidates in an effort to change monetary policies unfavorable to farmers. It was a precursor to populism's Peoples Party a few years later.

### GILDED AGE CRITICS

Even people like William Graham Sumner, America's apostle of Social Darwinism, knew that much was amiss in his society. Although opposed to government meddling, Sumner was a moralist who distinguished between honest and productive capitalists, who used

their power for greater good, and plutocrats who corruptly worked the political system to steal special privileges for themselves. Other critics of his era were ready to go much farther. These included social observers with alternate political agendas, critics who zeroed in on specific examples of corruption and injustice, and a host of utopian writers, many of whom imagined perfected societies in which people and their marvelous machines always behaved properly.

Henry George was a California newspaper editor who lost his labor-union-backed bid to become New York City's mayor in 1886. In a best-selling book, *Progress and Poverty*, first published in 1879, George laid out a plan he called the "single tax." This tax on land, George believed, would assure that all Americans could own some land by preventing the wealthy and powerful from buying up too much property. It was a sort of free-soil promise for urban dwellers that avoided socialistic solutions to the nation's inequities. Single-tax societies sprang up across the nation.

In some big city churches, ministers like Baptist Walter Rauschenbusch worked with labor unions to develop programs to aid the poor and immigrants with better health care, housing, and help for the unemployed. A counterattack on the tenets of Social Darwinism, this Social Gospel movement was a predecessor of Progressivism.

Jacob Riis, a Danish immigrant newspaperman, used photography to reveal problems in Gilded Age society. His New York City photos and commentary collected in the 1890 book *How the Other Half Lives* showed successful middle-class urbanites what was happening to the ignored or abused "other half"—unwashed, untutored, miserable, and much to the consternation of the comfortable middle class, possibly ready to rise up in anger.

The Gilded Age brought forth a torrent of utopian fiction, foreseeing battles between rich and poor ending in social cataclysm or even America's total destruction. The most influential and positive of the utopians was Edward Bellamy, a Massachusetts writer, whose best-selling *Looking Backward: 2000–1887* came out in 1888. Awakening in a perfectly clean, calm, and prosperous Boston, Bellamy's hero learns how America overcame the evils it was experiencing in the 19th century by introducing marvelous new machines and assuring all citizens enough of what they need and work tailored to their abilities. Bellamy Societies sprang up across the country as people argued the merits of his vision.

Although there is some dispute about when the Gilded Age ended, the depression of 1893–97, the emer-

gence of Progressivism, and the onset of World War I all worked to bring this historic era to an end. Some believe that the United States has experienced repetitions of the Gilded Age in the 20th century and will continue to do so in the 21st. But these new gilded ages are unlikely to reveal the same combination of upper-class excess, ferocious industrial growth, government inertia, and worker/farmer anger that produced the era satirized by Mark Twain.

See also FINANCIAL PANICS IN NORTH AMERICA; LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES; NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Gladstone, William

(1809–1898) *British prime minister and reformer*

William Ewart Gladstone, one of the dominant prime ministers in British history, was born in Liverpool, England, on December 29, 1809. Although his legacy is as a great Liberal reformer, he began his career as a Tory member of Parliament for Newark in December 1832. The year 1832 was important because it witnessed the passage of the Great Reform Bill of 1832, a first and historic step to enfranchise a larger segment of the British population. Before this, members of Parliament were often chosen by corrupt lords or magnates, which guaranteed the election of members handpicked by the influential local political power. The passage of successive Reform Bills in the 19th century is considered to have been the main reason that Britain missed the tides of revolution that swept through Europe during the same period.

For a man who would be a Liberal standard-bearer, Gladstone's first speeches, which marked him as a great orator, were in favor of slavery, at a time when William Wilberforce was attempting to have the institution banned. While author Philip Magnus says Gladstone was opposed to the actual institution of slavery, he was against the

sudden abolishment of slavery without due planning. Otherwise, in Gladstone's words, emancipation from slavery would be "more fleeting than a shadow and more empty than a name." In spite of Gladstone's perorations, Wilberforce's dream was realized.

Gladstone's evident parliamentary skills brought him to the attention of the Tory Party's prime minister Robert Peel. Two years after his maiden appearance in Parliament, Gladstone joined Peel's government as a junior lord of the treasury and then as an under-secretary at the Colonial Office in 1835, at a time when British relations were becoming tangled over the importation of opium from British India (then governed by the quasi-governmental BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY) to the Chinese QING (CHING) DYNASTY.

Peel's overall reputation as a reformer may have played a role in the gradual evolution of Gladstone's political view. When Peel resigned as prime minister in 1835, Gladstone loyally followed him. In 1841, when Melbourne fell from power, Queen VICTORIA asked Peel to form another Tory government. In 1843 Peel rewarded Gladstone's loyalty by appointing him to the prestigious position of president of the board of trade. Gladstone's evolving liberal agenda ultimately cost him the support of his long-time patron, the duke of Newcastle. Still, Gladstone retained his position in Peel's cabinet until Lord John Russell formed a Whig government in July 1847.

Serving under Peel, Gladstone became aware of the problems in Ireland and embarked on the political cause of home rule for Ireland that would dominate the later years of his political life. By the fall of Peel's administration, Gladstone had already become a rising force in the Tory Party. In 1847 he became the member of Parliament for Oxford University, a unique indication of the value of Oxford to the nation. When the Tory George Gordon, Lord Aberdeen, formed a coalition government in 1852, Gladstone became chancellor of the exchequer. Once the CRIMEAN WAR began in 1854, the Aberdeen government was blamed for all the mismanagement that dogged the British army in the long and bloody struggle with Russia, which Britain fought as an ally of the Ottoman Empire.

Aberdeen's government fell in 1857, perhaps the last casualty of the Crimean War. Aberdeen himself would die in 1860. By this time, Gladstone had earned such a name as a competent public servant that Henry Temple, Lord Palmerston, the Whig who had formed the coalition ministry with Aberdeen, offered Gladstone his old position as chancellor of the exchequer in June 1859. Taking office necessitated Gladstone giving up

the conservative Tory Party and joining Palmerston's Liberals, as the Whigs were now being called. Oxford University, as Tory as it had been when it supported King Charles I in the English Civil War, abandoned Gladstone, and he was forced to take a seat as the Liberal member of Parliament for South Lancashire. When Palmerston died in 1865, Lord John Russell became prime minister and requested that Gladstone stay on at the exchequer. Moreover, Gladstone became leader of the Liberals in the House of Commons.

### VOICE OF PROGRESSIVISM

On March 12, 1866, Gladstone emerged as the voice of progressivism in the British parliament when he proposed the Second Reform Bill. Although the lack of Conservative support doomed the bill and Russell's ministry, it was clear that the time had come to extend the voting franchise once again. The workers in the factories were demanding more of a say in their government. Meanwhile, Gladstone's premonitions about Ireland were coming true. When Edward Stanley became prime minister in 1866, BENJAMIN DISRAELI, the Conservative leader in the House of Commons, also realized that another reform bill had become a political necessity. Together, in a rare display of partisan unity, the two future political rivals joined forces and mustered enough votes to pass the Second Reform Bill in 1867.

In the same year the Conservatives were defeated in the general elections and Gladstone became prime minister. While the Reform Bill opened the franchise far wider, it nevertheless still left open the voting system for abuse. In 1872 Gladstone passed the Ballot Act to ensure secret, safe, voting.

In 1874 Disraeli became the new prime minister, inaugurating the fascinating political situation where the two most powerful and astute politicians of their day took turns holding the office of prime minister. It was also a time of epochal change for Britain, for from this time on the events of its growing empire took perhaps even greater involvement of its government than the affairs at home which had previously commanded all the talents of Gladstone and Disraeli.

In 1875 the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire rebelled against Turkish rule. Sultan Abdul Aziz began a reign of terror, killing thousands of men, women, and children. The rebellion ultimately led to Russian intervention on the side of the Christian Slavs. Gladstone, motivated by reports of the slaughter, wrote his *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* in 1876. As Russian troops swept down the Bal-

kans, Disraeli, as prime minister, deployed the British Mediterranean Fleet off Constantinople. War between the Russians and Great Britain was finally averted when Chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK chaired the CONGRESS OF BERLIN in 1878 to effect a diplomatic solution to the Balkan crisis.

In 1880 Parliament was dissolved by Disraeli in March. Disraeli, thinking he could score an impressive political triumph, lost the general election, and Gladstone was returned to office as prime minister. While reversing Disraeli's stern policy toward the Turks, Gladstone found himself increasingly embroiled in colonial affairs, especially in southern Africa. A British victory over the Zulus in July 1879 had made England the dominant power in South Africa. When British troops under General George Colley were slaughtered in the Battle of Majuba Hill, instead of taking revenge, Gladstone granted political self-government to the Boers in their Transvaal Republic. Either through advancing age or a godlike determination that he alone knew what was best, Gladstone almost always found himself at odds with the British people on imperial matters.

In 1875 Disraeli bought the controlling interests in the SUEZ CANAL from the bankrupt Khedive ISMAIL of Egypt and Gladstone was later forced to send a British expeditionary force to Egypt. Gladstone now was confronted with a virtual British colony in Egypt. His imperial involvement did not end there. Years of Egyptian misrule had led to a rebellion in the Sudan led by Muhammad Ahmad Abdullah, who called himself the Mahdi, the Rightly Guided One. One Egyptian expedition under General William Hicks to crush the Mahdi ended in total defeat, and the Mahdi created a separate Sudanese state.

In 1884 Gladstone sent British hero General CHARLES "Chinese" GORDON to the Sudan to evacuate Egyptians from the capital of Khartoum. When it became clear that Gordon was determined to remain in Khartoum, Gladstone authorized a British relief expedition to be sent up the Nile to Khartoum, all the while hoping Gordon would change his mind at the last moment. When the first elements of the relief force finally reached Khartoum in January 1885, it was clear that the city had fallen to the Mahdi and Gordon had been killed. As a result of this, Gladstone was blamed for the murder of Gordon, a national hero.

Gladstone continued to pursue the policy of political reform that had been dearest to his heart. In 1886, riding on his new popularity among the working class, Gladstone was elected yet again to serve as prime

minister. The other issue that mattered to him was home rule for Ireland, an attempt to make amends for generations of misguided and sometimes brutal British rule against the Irish people. On this issue, both the Tory Party and the conservatives of the Liberal Party joined forces against him, determined to preserve primacy for the British—and avoid any political autonomy for the Irish at all costs. In the general election of 1886, Gladstone's government was defeated, with his advocacy of home rule for Ireland the deciding factor. Robert Cecil, the marquess of Salisbury, was given permission by Queen Victoria to form a government, drawn entirely from the Tory Party.

In 1892 Gladstone was elected yet a third time to serve as prime minister. In 1893, his Irish home rule bill was finally passed in the House of Commons, by a vote of 307 to 267. Victory seemed near. Yet the bill still had to pass the House of Lords, where the alliance between the Tory Party and the industrial and land-owning magnates of Ireland opposed to home rule was firm. Opposition was led by Lord Salisbury, who referred to Irish home rule as "this treacherous revolution." The House of Lords defeated the bill by a vote of 419 to 41.

On March 1, 1894, Gladstone addressed the House of Commons for the last time and resigned as prime minister. He died on May 19, 1898.

See also AFRICA, EXPLORATION OF; REVOLUTIONS OF 1848; SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN; SUDAN, CONDOMINIUM IN.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Gokhale, G. K.

(1866–1915) *Indian nationalist leader*

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the founder of the Servants of India Society, was one of the outstanding leaders of the Indian freedom movement in its earlier phase. He was born in Kotluk in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency on May 9, 1866, to Chitpavan Brahmin, Krishnarao and Satyabhama. His father, who had risen

from a clerk to police personnel, sent him to an English school in Kolhapur. He had a prodigious memory and received a bachelor of arts degree from Elphinston College in Bombay (now Mumbai) at the young age of 18. He taught first at the New English School at Pune and then at Ferguson College of the Deccan Educational Society from 1866 to 1904.

At the same time, Gokhale came under the influence of a social reformer and judge, Mahadev Govind Ranade, who encouraged him to write articles in the English weekly, the *Mahratta*, and later to publish a daily newspaper titled *Jnanaprakash*, where he put forth his moderate views on politics. He was the Secretary of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, founded by Ranade from 1890 to 1895, and edited its journal. There was a disagreement with BAL GANGADHAR (B. G.) TILAK, another notable leader, over the question of lifetime membership in the Deccan Educational Society. After Tilak's resignation, Gokhale and Ranade established the Deccan Sabha in 1896, which aimed at promoting liberalism and moderation in Indian politics. Gokhale joined the Indian National Congress (INC) and was its joint secretary in 1895. He met Mohandas Gandhi in 1896 and the two developed a lifelong friendship. Gandhi later wrote a book titled *Gokhale, My Political Guru*.

Gokhale went to London in 1898 to give evidence before the Welby Commission, which had been convened by the British parliament to look into the complicated question of Indian expenditure. He protested the draining of wealth from India and the exploitation of the country and severely criticized the use of Indian revenue to finance military operations outside India. In 1899 he was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council and worked on famine relief, land alienation, and municipal government. He was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1902, where he argued for granting responsible government to India and fundamental rights to its citizens.

In June 1905 Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society to promote Indian national interests by peaceful means. Gokhale, as a moderate politician, had professed loyalty to the British Empire, but at the same time advocated for India the type of self-government enjoyed in Canada and Australia.

In 1905 there was a tremendous upsurge against British rule as a result of the partition of Bengal by Viceroy Lord Curzon. It was a time of frenetic activities for Gokhale, who was elected president of the INC. He traveled to England in October to meet British parliamentarians and liberals and championed the cause



of India with eloquence and clarity. His presidential address to the congress in December 1905 was a scathing attack on the British government and its repressive policy toward antipartition Indians.

Gokhale next worked to avert a split in the INC between congress old guards and extremists led by Tilak. Moderates like Gokhale favored constitutional reforms, which were helped when the British government announced the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, which introduced the system of limited elections that pleased the Indian moderates.

Gokhale was also concerned with the problems of Indians living in South Africa. On Gandhi's invitation, he went there in October 1912. He also served as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in 1912, where he advocated greater Indian representation in the upper ranks of government services, but his proposals were not carried out because of opposition by British members. The years of hard work weakened Gokhale's health, and he died on February 19, 1915. Gokhale had started his life in a humble way and became one of the greatest leaders in the country's history, thanks to his spirit of dedication, capability, public spirit, and selfless service. Leading an austere life, he was popular with his countrymen. It was not without reason that Gandhi regarded him as his preceptor.

See also INDIAN MUTINY.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Gong (Kung), Prince (1833–1898) *Chinese statesman*

Prince Gong was the title given to Ixin (I-hsin), sixth son of Emperor Daoguang (Tao-kuang) of the QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY and half brother of his successor,

Emperor Xianfeng (Hsien-feng), a depraved and inept ruler.

In 1853 Prince Gong was appointed Grand Councilor and took responsibility for the defense of the capital area as the Taiping rebels threatened. His mettle was put to the test in 1860 when British and French forces marched on Beijing (Peking) in retaliation for China's reneging on the Treaty of Tianjin (Tientsin) of 1858. Xianfeng and his court fled the capital to Rehe (Jehol), where the Qing emperors had a resort palace, leaving Prince Gong to deal with the invaders without soldiers under his command and few officials to assist him. The British and French forces looted and then burned the emperor's Summer Palace and forced Prince Gong to sign the TREATY OF BEIJING.

This treaty confirmed the Treaty of Tianjin and in addition granted Britain and France the right to station permanent envoys in Beijing, the lease of Kowloon (adjacent to Hong Kong) to Great Britain, the opening of Tianjin as a treaty port, and increased the indemnity to both victor nations. Xianfeng abandoned himself to dissipation and died in Rehe in 1861, leaving the throne to his five-year-old son under a council of five regents that did not include Prince Gong. In the ensuing power struggle, Gong allied with the two dowager empresses (widows of Xianfeng) and executed a coup that toppled the regents. Thereupon the dowager empresses Ci'an (Tz'u-an), wife of Xianfeng, and CIXI (Tz'u-hsi), mother of the boy emperor, assumed the powers of state with Gong as prince regent.

Events of 1860 changed Prince Gong's attitude toward Westerners from one of hostility to respect. He found allies in two prominent Manchu noblemen, including his father-in-law Gueiliang (Kuei-liang) and Wenxiang (Wen-hsiang), and Han Chinese officials ZENG GUOFAN (TSENG KUO-FAN), LI HONGZHANG (LI HUNG-CHANG), and ZHO ZONGTANG (TZO TSUNG-T'ANG) because all favored reforms. Prince Gong modernized the conduct of foreign affairs, establishing a new office called the Zongli Yamen (Tsunqli Yamen) that took charge of foreign relations with Western powers for the next 40 years.

He also set up two offices to supervise foreign trade in treaty ports in northern and southern China and the Imperial Maritime Customs Service to collect duties and fees mandated by treaties made with Western nations and appointed two Englishmen, Robert Lay and ROBERT HART, to head this office. In order to train young men as interpreters, he established a language school called the Tongwen Guan (T'ung-wen kuan), which soon expanded to include modern subjects such as geography, mathematics, and astronomy; later this school became National

Beijing University. It remains China's most prestigious university. He also had works of international law translated into Chinese, which he used to China's advantage in dealings with Western nations.

In time, the ambitious dowager empress Cixi began to resent Prince Gong's powers. When Tongzhi died in 1874, Cixi seized the occasion to appoint her three-year-old nephew the new emperor in a power play that enabled her to become regent. With her position firmly established and with the death of his allies Wenxiang in 1876 and Ci'an in 1881, Prince Gong became sidelined and increasingly discouraged. To show her power and control, Cixi chastised Prince Gong for concocted misdeeds, ignored his advice, and led China toward collision with France and Japan with catastrophic results. Prince Gong was a pragmatic statesman who steered China toward stability and a quarter century of peace after the disaster of 1860. He also left numerous compilations on the conduct of state during his decades in power and two collections of verse.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE; TAIPING REBELLION; TONGZHI RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Gordon, Charles

(1833–1985) *British military officer, adventurer*

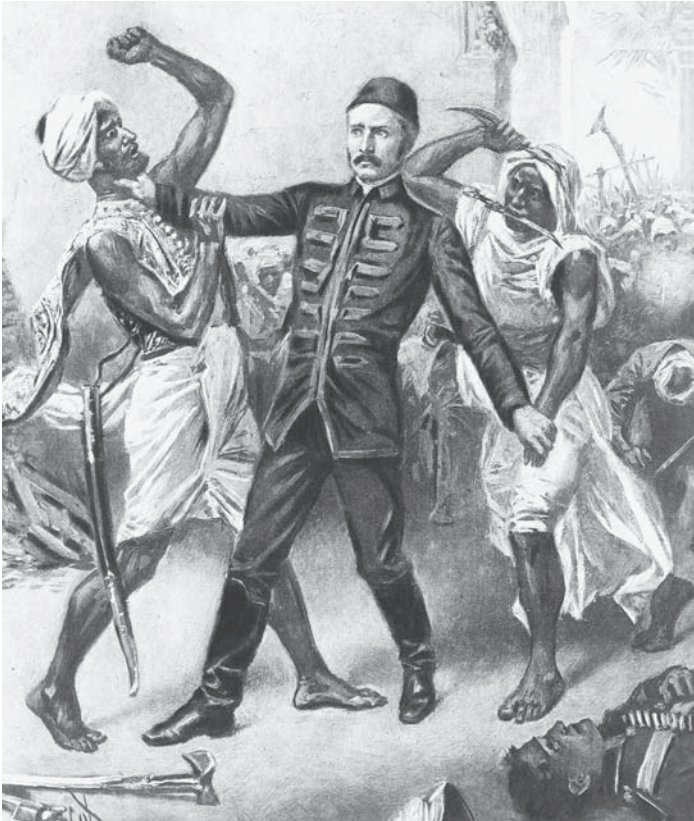
Charles George Gordon was a British army officer. His famous early exploits in China between 1862 and 1864 earned him the name "Chinese Gordon," while his later actions and death in Khartoum, the Sudan, gained him the epithet "Gordon of Khartoum."

Gordon was trained as an army engineer and saw action in the CRIMEAN WAR and the INDIAN MUTINY. He was sent to China in 1860 and took part in the capture of Beijing (Peking) in the second ANGLO-CHINESE WAR. In 1862 he was sent to Shanghai, China's premier port of international trade. Southern

China was then in the throes of the serious TAIPING REBELLION (1850–64), centered in Nanjing (Nanking), the rebel capital. In 1860 the army of the Taiping Loyal King threatened Shanghai. To defend themselves the rich merchants of the city commissioned Frederick Ward, an American adventurer, to organize a mercenary army. With soldiers recruited from among Western deserters, Ward's rifle squadron captured Sunjiang (Sunkiang), a town near Shanghai, and turned back the rebels. In 1861 Ward recruited 100 European officers and expanded his force with 4,000–5,000 Chinese and 200 Filipino soldiers, whom he armed and drilled in the Western fashion. This force won many battles and repulsed another attack on Shanghai in 1862, for which the Chinese government named it the Ever-Victorious Army. After Ward died of wounds in 1862, another American, Henry A. Burgevine, was named commander, but he was soon relieved from command due to the many problems he caused.

Gordon was next appointed to lead this army with British government permission. He served under the overall command of LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang), governor of Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province, in which both Nanjing and Shanghai were located. Between 1862 and 1864 the Ever Victorious Army fought in 33 actions against the Taipings. Gordon's most famous victory was taking Suzhou (Soochow), an important city between Nanjing and Shanghai, from the rebels. The Taiping Rebellion ended in 1864 with the capture of Nanjing and the suicide of the rebel leader. The Qing (Ch'ing) government rewarded Gordon with the rank of general, which entitled him to wear the Yellow Jacket (equivalent of a high military decoration). With the end of the rebellion, the Ever Victorious Army was disbanded, and Gordon returned to England for reassignment by the British army. The Ever Victorious Army was important, because it was the first Chinese fighting force to use Western firearms and training; its effectiveness showed the superiority of Western military techniques and technology.

Gordon was stationed in Britain until 1871 and then undertook tours of duty overseas, mainly in Egypt and the Sudan. In 1884 the British government sent him to the Sudan to extricate the Egyptian garrison (Egypt claimed overlordship over the Sudan) from the forces of the Mahdi, a Sudanese religious leader in revolt against the Egyptians. Gordon's small force was besieged in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum, by the forces of the Mahdi and was killed two days before a British relief force arrived on January 22, 1885. In death, this colorful British officer who had earlier



*Gordon and his force were besieged in Khartoum, and he was killed two days before a British relief force arrived.*

earned the name “Chinese Gordon” became known as “Gordon of Khartoum.”

See also **ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WARS**; **GLADSTONE, WILLIAM**; **QING (CH’ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE**; **SUDAN, CONDOMINIUM IN**.

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JIU-HWA LO UP SHUR

## Government of India Act (1858)

The Government of India Act of 1858 was an act of the British parliament that ended the existence and long tenure of the **BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY** in India and transferred its power and assets directly to the

British Crown. Thus ended the role that the remaining 1,700 shareholders in the company had, directly or indirectly, over the lives of 250 million Indian people. This revocation of the company happened in spite of the fact that the charter of the East India Company had been renewed in 1853.

The impetus for the Government of India Act was the **INDIAN MUTINY** (or the War of Independence, as the Indians later called it) that took place in 1857 and shook the power of the British in India. The British East India Company was founded in 1600. Initially lucrative, it incurred large losses beginning in the 1700s and had to be bailed out by the British government, in William Pitt’s India Act of 1784. The East India Company’s deep financial trouble continued after the Indian Mutiny, leading to an overhaul in 1858.

The main provision of the bill that was passed by Parliament transferred the territories of the East India Company to the British Crown. This meant that all treaties and contracts made by the company would be honored by the British government, including a debt of £98 million, one-ninth of the entire British government’s national debt. The rule of India was placed in the hands of the secretary of state for India who was able to deal directly on Indian matters under the prime minister’s administration. The British government would also appoint a governor-general who was under the secretary of state for India.

The bill was introduced by Prime Minister Lord Palmerston and was passed on February 18, 1858. It finally became law on August 2, 1858, and started the period of direct rule of India that lasted until independence for India and Pakistan in August 1947.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Grant, Ulysses S.

(1822–1885) *American general and president*

Ulysses S. Grant commanded the Union armies during the **AMERICAN CIVIL WAR** and was the 18th president of the United States. Hiram Ulysses Grant was born on April 27, 1822, in Point Pleasant, Ohio. When his

paperwork for admission to the Military Academy at West Point was submitted, the congressman submitting the paperwork made the mistake of listing his name as Ulysses Simpson Grant, which he never changed. Grant graduated 21st in his class of 39, was commissioned a second lieutenant on July 1, 1843, and was assigned to an infantry regiment. During the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR his regiment was initially attached to Zachary Taylor's army, then to Winfield Scott's army to capture Mexico City. Grant fought in all the major battles during the campaign and was breveted to captain. But his official rank was only raised to first lieutenant after the war.

He married Julia Dent in August 1848 and served in several posts after the war, rising to the rank of captain in August 1853. Grant resigned his commission in July 1854 to return to his family. Grant tried several different business ventures and ended in business with his father and brothers in Galena, Illinois. At the start of the Civil War he volunteered with the Illinois militia and was eventually given command of a regiment in July 1861. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in August. He led a force against the Confederate forts of Henry and Donelson in February 1862. When he demanded the unconditional surrender of Fort Donelson, the northern newspapers dubbed him "Unconditional Surrender" (U.S.) Grant.



President Grant with his wife, Julia, and son Jesse in 1872. Grant's term in office was plagued by scandals caused by his associates.

Grant spent much of 1863 attempting to capture Vicksburg, Mississippi. It was not until May 1863 that he was able to drive the Confederate army back into Vicksburg and lay siege to it. After almost two months, Vicksburg surrendered to him on July 4, 1863. With the fall of Vicksburg, Grant was promoted to major general.

In October he led a Union army that lifted the Confederate siege of Chattanooga, Tennessee. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN gave him command of all the Union armies and the job of bringing the war to an end. Grant joined the Army of the Potomac that was facing General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Grant spent most of 1864 trying to destroy Lee's army and finally settled into a siege at Petersburg, Virginia. Grant was able to trap Lee's army during a breakout attempt, and he forced Lee to surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. After the surrender of Lee's army, the remaining Confederate armies also surrendered and brought the war to an end. Grant was rewarded by Congress with the revived rank of full general in July 1866.

Grant ran for president in 1868 as a Republican and served two terms, from 1868 to 1876. Unfortunately, he was not much of a politician, and corruption was a problem during his administration, although Grant was not personally involved. However, he also did not take a firm stance against corruption in his administration, favoring colleagues and friends despite mounting evidence of their corruption.

During his administration, Grant proposed the annexation of Santo Domingo both as a way to improve civil rights issues in the South and to attempt to force Cuba to abandon slavery. The measure was voted down in Congress, mainly due to the influence of Senator Charles Sumner. He also signed America's first national park (Yellowstone) into existence.

Grant's inability to handle financial matters caused him problems after his terms as president, eventually causing him to go bankrupt. In order to try to pay off his debts and provide for his family, he wrote his memoirs, which turned out to be a great success. Suffering from throat cancer, Grant finished his memoirs days before he died on July 23, 1885.

See also RECONSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## Great Awakening, First and Second

The First and Second Great Awakening are names given to two periods of religious revival that occurred over wide geographic areas in the 18th and 19th centuries. Revivals occur in many religions throughout the world, but they are often identified with American evangelicalism. The awakenings exerted immense influence on American culture, as later generations of Christians emulated these revivals, hoping to recreate their benefits, including unusually high numbers of conversions and an intensified piety and commitment. The idea of a nationwide revival inspires a deep longing among evangelicals to see the nation morally renewed.

The causes of religious revivals are impossible to specify, though contributing factors can be identified. The effects usually consist of greater preoccupation with spiritual things among the awakened: prayer, spiritual concern, communal harmony, and moral reform.

### THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING

The First Great Awakening began in the 1730s, touching most English-speaking populations around the North Atlantic. In New England, descendants of the Puritans were conscious of having fallen away from the severe moralism and intense religious devotion of their forefathers, seizing instead the new economic opportunities offered by the expanding Atlantic market. Christians of the middle colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey struggled to maintain identity and cohesion in a highly diverse religious environment utterly unlike the Europe their churches had been formed in. Churches in the southern colonies, largely Anglican, served a plantation elite, leaving the poor, and especially slaves, unevangelized.

The awakening's first interpreter was one of its major leaders, Jonathan Edwards. In 1734 and 1735 Edwards's church experienced some "surprising conversions" which he believed were the beginnings of a revival. His *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, written in 1737, advertised these events and what Edwards thought they portended across the Atlantic world. Churches prayed for revival, preachers empha-

sized the need to experience the "new birth." Edwards speculated that the revival was part of God's plan to evangelize the world and usher in the millennial reign of Christ. While many preachers accepted Edwards's speculations, their overriding concerns matched those of ordinary people: assuring their personal salvation rather than the salvation of the masses.

### CONVERSION AND GEORGE WHITEFIELD

Conversion had always been a church and community affair. Most Protestant traditions taught that experiences of God had to be confirmed, through one means or another, by the local community of believers. Only then could the individual trust that the experience was real. The revivalists of the First Great Awakening, while far from antiecclesiastical, made the church secondary to the transaction that took place between an individual and God, and most taught that if a person truly believed, they could be assured they were converted. Thus, for people coping with more diverse communities, geographical mobility, and the declining authority of communal hierarchies, the revivals offered new paths to spiritual life.

Itinerant preacher George Whitefield (1714–70) emphasized the simplicity of conversion: "Believe on the Lord Jesus and be saved." In a society increasingly characterized by the dislocations of urban and frontier existence, this streamlined model of conversion was particularly effective. Where earlier forms of conversion required one to agree with nuances of church doctrine, as well as find a place in a local community, in Whitefield's preaching these fell to the background.

What was central was the transaction between an individual and God. Whitefield's popularity was in large part due to the nature of his message: He told ordinary people there was another way to salvation, and it did not require placating other human beings. Other factors surely contributed to his celebrity: youth, good looks, voice (which was both loud and pleasant, he had originally aspired to be an actor), and the controversy he generated by itinerating with no fixed pulpit. All appealed to the mass audiences he attracted, estimated by his friend and supporter BENJAMIN FRANKLIN at up to 20,000 on some occasions.

Whitefield's evangelistic tours, which began in 1739, revolutionized American expectations and left an altered religious landscape. Churches debated his call for a more evangelical theology and preaching. Many split, allowing for religious choice in towns where none existed before. Numerous preachers took his simple message, his appeals to the emotions, as

well as his penchant for controversy, and carried them farther, sometimes to extremes, as Protestants divided into the pro-revival (“New Light”) and anti-revival (“Old Light”) camps. New Lights sent missionaries to Indians, evangelists to work among slaves, and, most important, supported numerous educational initiatives, such as the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), which called Edwards as its first president. Pastors and scholars, influenced by the revival and eager to see it replicated, filled pulpits and lecterns throughout the colonies and infused the American culture with New Light ideas.

### THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

The Second Great Awakening (1790–1840) was characterized by emotional preaching, outdoor assemblies, and sophisticated (for their time) publicity efforts. It spanned by some reckonings almost half a century, occurring in various regions and with a motley assemblage of leaders and participants. The energies it unleashed left an even deeper impression on the United States than the first and is seen by some historians as the beginning of modern revivalism. If the first was evangelical in the sense that it emphasized individual conversion over confessional loyalty or church membership, the second institutionalized almost all the themes that currently define evangelicalism: revivalism, publishing ventures (especially Bibles and tracts), moral crusades, and the use of political means to reform society according to a specific Protestant vision. In addition, new religious groups, known as upstart sects of Baptists and Methodists, and distinctively American movements, such as Adventism and MORMONISM, grew out of the awakening. Slaves and free blacks converted in significant numbers for the first time, altering southern religious styles in the process.

The 1760s–90s were a low point in religious adherence and belief in the United States, with enlightened deism influential among elites; churches and personal morals disrupted by war; and politics, commerce, and westward migration competing with religion for popular interest. In New England, Yale’s Timothy Dwight warned that the new nation was sliding toward infidelity. Clergy in that region were generally Federalists, supporting the old, pre-Revolutionary hierarchies: Men of education, wealth, and character needed to control politics and culture. The Revolution had turned those assumptions upside down, and, as power migrated into the hands of non-elites, conservatives feared for social order. Revival, said Dwight, would instill virtues such as respect for authority in what otherwise might

become an unruly rabble. Concerned that the French ENLIGHTENMENT was in vogue among Yale’s students, Dwight’s chapel sermons eventually sparked a revival. This phase of the awakening stressed the danger posed to youth by imported or innovative ideas and movements, offering revivals themselves as the antidote to the specter of national degeneration.

### FRONTIER REVIVAL

Similar concerns in the South led to small revivals at several colleges. Graduates impressed by these events joined the swarm of migrants pouring onto the frontiers of Kentucky and Tennessee. There, widely dispersed populations had run ahead of all institutions, including churches, and were living in moral chaos. Evangelists found people starved both for the comforts of the Gospel as well as entertainment, and preachers determined to provide them with both.

It is here that the frontier camp-meeting had its start. Meetings derived from Scottish Presbyterians, who gathered annually in multi-church outdoor communion services that lasted several days, involved a series of sermons, reflection, repentance, and finally a mass celebration of the Lord’s Supper. This practice was carried to the frontier and evolved into something uniquely American. Old World sacramental decorum was traded for the boisterous, uninhibited expressions of the frontier. The result was the “Great Revival” of Cane Ridge, Kentucky, where thousands congregated in 1800–01. Cane Ridge was notorious for its bizarre phenomena: crying out, jerking, uncontrollable laughter, and swooning.

To many, these signified true supernatural work; many preachers encouraged them. The active participation of marginalized segments of society—plain folk, blacks, and women—may have contributed to the uninhibited nature of these revivals. The open market of religious choice that America now was meant that these groups had the power to affect, if not determine entirely, the style and the content of revival preaching. Democratic appeal became an essential requirement for frontier religion. Calvinism (predestination) was jettisoned to make room for more emphasis on individual ability. Sermons had to be practical, simple, and entertaining.

The result was a religion that hewed close to the concerns, but also the prejudices, of the local community. Once critics of slavery, evangelicals in the South found themselves accommodating the system to better attune the sermons to the local populace. Previously marginal churches such as the Methodists and Baptists bested competitors in popular appeal and came to dominate

the South. Abolitionism received an influx of zealous evangelicals in the North, while slavery enjoyed the blessings of all the evangelical churches of the South.

### THE LEGACY OF THE AWAKENINGS

The Methodists' powerful presence in antebellum America enticed other groups to adopt their style. Perhaps the most important figure in this regard was also one of the century's most important religious figures, CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY. A lawyer when he converted, he developed a theology and preaching style that would produce revivals. He adopted Arminian (free-will) views of human ability, arguing that conversion was an individual act that required no special divine grace. He preached in a way that argued his case and demanded an immediate decision. He brought a revivalism forged on the frontier to the urbanized Northeast and eventually the world. His ideas—and the legacy of the Second Great Awakening—were passed on in his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* in 1835. He and many other leaders became important voices for abolition, womens' rights, health reform, the perfectibility of society, various moral reforms, and missions.

Neither awakening had as much of a numerical effect on the churches as their promoters hoped and claimed. What they did effect was a revolution in how churches operated in a diverse, democratic society. Protestants became open to experiment and were determined to grow in national influence, making evangelicism the powerful movement it remains today.

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JOHN H. HAAS

## Great Game

See AFGHAN WARS; ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY.

## Great Plains of North America

The Great Plains of North America extend about 2,400 miles from parts of the Northwest Territories to Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. In the United States, they continue southward through sections of Mon-

tana, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wyoming, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas, into Mexico, and about 1,000 miles from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains eastward to Indiana. The area of the Great Plains is 1.2 million square miles, with 700,000 square miles in Canada and 500,000 square miles in the United States.

The High Plains, a higher region of the Great Plains west of the 100th meridian, are arid and receive only 20 inches or less of rainfall a year, making the land suitable for range animals or marginal farms. The southern part of the Great Plains lies over the Ogallala aquifer, an immense underground layer of water-bearing rock dating from the last ice age. Drought devastates the plains about every 25 years and dust storms ravage it as well.

As Meriwether Lewis noted in his journal, vast herds of bison ranged on the Great Plains and provided the foundation for the lives and culture of the Native American tribes like the Blackfeet, Crow, Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and others. Much of this territory was acquired by the United States from France in the LOUISIANA PURCHASE and was then opened to settlement. After European settlers nearly exterminated the buffalo and removed Native Americans to Indian reservations, they opened the Great Plains to ranching and grazing.

The Homestead Act of 1862 and later the Dominion Lands Act of 1871 in Canada opened the Great Plains for settlement and farming. A settler could claim up to 160 acres of land if he and his family lived on it and cultivated it for a period of time. Thousands of Americans and immigrants built homesteads. Many were not skilled dryland farmers and failed, as they were unprepared for the rigors of life on the Great Plains.

In the early 1920s historian Walter Prescott Webb introduced his Great Plains thesis stating, “. . . for this land, with the unity given it by its three dominant characteristics, has from the beginning worked its inexorable effect upon nature's children. The historical truth that becomes apparent in the end is that the Great Plains have bent and molded Anglo-American life, have destroyed traditions, and have influenced institutions in a most singular manner.”

He stressed the environmental distinctiveness of the Great Plains and differentiated them from the rest of the North American continent. He cited the comparatively level land surface on the plains, the absence of trees, the semiarid climate, and argued that two important physical characteristics across the plains were missing. These elements were water and abundant timber, and their lack made the Great Plains environmentally unique.

The second part of Webb's thesis stressed that the Great Plains represented an institutional chasm. He argued that Anglo-American lifestyles and institutions were adapted to wet, well-timbered environments, and Americans had evolved mainly from the wet and timbered regions of northwestern Europe. When they immigrated to North America, they settled along the Atlantic seaboard, a region of plentiful rainfall and dense forests. They settled the region successfully because their lifestyles, tools, methodologies, and institutions were suited to this physical environment.

When settlers came to the Great Plains, the culture and customs that they brought with them from the East made it difficult for them to cope with the foreign environment for long periods of time. Settlement jumped from the wet forests of the East to the western Pacific slope of California and Oregon, leaving the corridor known as the Great American Desert uninhabited and undeveloped. They had to adapt their institutions and lifestyles to the plains. On the Great Plains, the horse, the Colt revolver, the Winchester carbine, the open-range cattle industry, barbed wire, sod housing, windmills, dry land farming, and irrigation, as well as new laws, were all part of the process of adaptation.

See also JEFFERSON, THOMAS; LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION; MANIFEST DESTINY.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

## Greek War of Independence

The Ottoman Empire had ruled all of Greece, with the exception of the Ionian Islands, since its conquest of the Byzantine Empire over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. But in the 18th and 19th centuries, as revolutionary nationalism grew across Europe (due, in part, to the influence of the FRENCH REVOLUTION) and the power of the Ottoman Empire declined, Greek nationalism began to assert itself and drew support from western European "philhellenes."

By that time, the desire for independence was common among Greeks of all classes, whose Hellenism, or sense of Greek nationality, had long been supported by the Greek Orthodox Church, by the survival of the Greek language, and by the administrative arrangements of the Ottoman Empire.

In Odessa (a port on the Black Sea now in Ukraine) in 1814, Athanasios Tsakalof, Emmanuel Xanthos, and Nikolaos Skoufas founded a Greek Independence Party, called *Philiki Etairia* (Friendly Society). The founders recruited merchants and rich expatriates abroad, as well as military leaders, priests, and intellectuals.

The fall of NAPOLEON I in 1815 released many military adventurers from whom the Greeks could learn the art of contemporary warfare. Vienna, Great Britain, and the United States were havens of refuge and planning for Greek émigrés. The obvious candidate to lead the *Philiki Etairia* was Ioannis Kapodistrias. In 1808 he was invited to St. Petersburg and in 1815 he was appointed by Czar ALEXANDER I as foreign minister of Russia. The message of the society spread quickly and branches opened throughout Greece. Members met in secret and came from all spheres of life. The leaders held the firm belief that armed force was the only effective means of liberation from the Ottoman Empire and made generous monetary contributions to the freedom fighters. With the support of Greek exile communities and covert assistance from Russia, they prepared for a rebellion.

Only a suitable opportunity of revolt was needed, and this was provided by the rebellion of Ali Pasha against Sultan Mahmud II. While the Turks were preoccupied with this threat, the Greeks rose to war. The start of the uprising can be set as March 6, 1821, when Alexandros Ypsilanti, the leader of the *Etairists*, crossed the Prut River into Turkish-held Moldavia with a small force of troops, or on March 23, when rebels took control of Kalamata in the Peloponnese peninsula. Regardless, on March 25, 1821, Bishop Germanos raised the Greek flag as the banner of revolt at the monastery of Aghia Lavra in the Peloponnese. The ensuing revolution went through three phases: local successes in 1821–25, the crisis caused by the Egyptian intervention on behalf of the Ottoman Empire in 1826–28, and a period of overwhelming European intervention on behalf of the Greeks ending in Turkish recognition of Greek independence in 1832.

From the beginning, the revolution had great momentum. Simultaneous risings took place across the Peloponnese, central Greece, including Macedonia, and the islands of Crete and Cyprus. Fighting broke



out throughout the Peloponnese, with freedom fighters laying siege to the most strategic Turkish garrisons and razing the homes of thousands of Turks. The worst atrocity occurred in Tripolitsa (today Tripolis), where 12,000 Turkish inhabitants were massacred. The Turks retaliated with massacres in Asia Minor, most notoriously on the island of Chios, where more than 25,000 civilians were killed.

The fighting escalated throughout the mainland and many islands. Using the element of surprise, and aided by Ottoman inefficiency, the Greeks succeeded in taking control of vast areas. Within a year the Greeks had captured the Peloponnese, Athens, and Thebes. In January 1822 the rebels declared the independence of Greece. The Turks attempted three times between 1822 and 1824 to invade the Peloponnese but were unable to take the area back from the victorious Greeks.

The Ottomans, however, soon recovered and retaliated violently. The retribution drew sympathy for the Greek cause in western Europe, although the British and French governments suspected that the uprising was a Russian plot to seize Greece from the Ottomans. The Greeks were unable to establish a coherent government and soon fell to fighting among themselves. They lacked unity of objectives and strategy, and the objectives of the different classes and regions were too disparate to be reconciled. In 1822 two Greek governments existed, and by 1824 open civil war prevailed in Greece. In 1823 civil war broke out between the guerrilla leader Theodoros Kolokotronis and Georgios Kountouriotis, who was head of the government that had been formed in January 1822. After a second civil war in 1824, Kountouriotis was firmly established as leader. These internal rivalries prevented the Greeks from extending their control and from firmly consolidating their position in the Peloponnese.

#### EGYPT'S RESPONSE

Fighting between Greeks and Ottomans continued until 1825, when the sultan asked for help from his most powerful vassal, Egypt. Egypt was then ruled by MUHAMMAD ALI Pasha, who had built up a large army and new naval fleet. The Egyptian force, under the command of Ali's son Ibrahim, quickly gained control of the seas and Aegean Islands. With the support of Egyptian sea power, the Ottoman forces successfully invaded the Peloponnese. They recaptured the town of Athens in August 1826, and the Acropolis, symbol of Greece's former greatness, fell to the Turks in June 1827.

The Western powers were reluctant to intervene, fearing the consequences of creating a power vacuum in southeastern Europe, where the Turks still controlled much territory. In Europe, however, the revolt aroused widespread sympathy. Greece was viewed as the cradle of Western civilization, and it was lauded by romanticism. The sight of a Christian nation attempting to cast off the rule of a Muslim empire also appealed to the European public. Help did come from the philhellenes—aristocratic young men, recipients of a classical education, who saw themselves as the inheritors of a glorious civilization, willing to fight to liberate its oppressed descendants. Philhellenes included Percy Bysshe Shelley, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Victor Hugo, and George Gordon, Lord Byron. Byron spent time in Greece but died from fever in 1824. Byron's death did even more to augment European sympathy for the Greek cause.

#### EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

The Greek cause was saved by the intervention of the European powers. Favoring the formation of an autonomous Greek state, they offered to mediate between the Turks and the Greeks in 1826 and 1827. When the Turks refused, a combined Russian, French, and British fleet destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian fleet in the Bay of Navarino in October 1827. This was the decisive moment in the war, although the British admiral Codrington ruined his career because he had not been ordered to achieve such a victory.

Although the Battle of Navarino severely crippled the Ottoman forces and made the independence of Greece practically certain, another two years passed before the fighting ended and nearly five before the new state took shape. In October 1828 the French landed troops in the Peloponnese to stop the Ottomans. Under French protection, the Greeks were able to form a new government. In April 1827 Kapodistrias was elected as provisional president of Greece by the third National Assembly. The Greeks then advanced to seize as much territory as possible, including the ancient cities of Athens and Thebes.

Again the Western powers intervened, and Ottoman sultan Mahmud II even proclaimed a holy war. Russia sent troops into the Balkans and engaged the Ottoman army in another Russian-Turkish war in 1828–29. Fighting continued until 1829, when, with Russian troops at the gates of Constantinople, the sultan accepted Greek independence by the Treaty of Adrianople, or Edirne, in 1829. In 1830 the Greeks still had in mind a future ruler who would remain the sultan's vassal. The treaty

of Adrianople made this impossible, and in February 1830, the throne of Greece was offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. In 1832, however, the 17-year-old Bavarian prince Otto from the House of Wittelsbach accepted the Greek throne and became King Otho of the newly independent state. Neither the boundaries nor the constitution of the new Greek state were yet settled, and the state at the time was much smaller than in the present day.

See also BALKAN AND EAST EUROPEAN INSURRECTIONS; MUHAMMAD ALI; RUSSO-TURKISH WAR AND NEAR EASTERN CRISIS.

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MARTIN MOLL

## Guangxu (Kuang-hsu)

(1871–1908) *Chinese ruler*

Guangxu's personal name was Zaitian (Tsai-t'ien). He was born in 1871 and chosen emperor by the dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi) when her son and his cousin the emperor TONGZHI (T'ung-chih) died without heirs. His youth ensured another long regency by the ambitious and unscrupulous Cixi. Guangxu was bright and studious, studied English and traditional subjects under able tutors, and grew up to be a man of character and moral convictions. In 1889 Cixi married him to her niece in order to increase her web of control over him, and though she then formally retired to her luxurious Summer Palace, she continued to dictate policy and make key appointments, leaving Guangxu practically powerless.

China's catastrophic defeat by Japan in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR (1894–1895) convinced Guangxu that dramatic and immediate reforms were needed to save the nation. He therefore supported a group of reformers led by Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei) in 1898 and promulgated laws that would modernize China modeled on Japan's MEIJI RESTORATION. He was betrayed to Cixi by General Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai), who struck quickly to imprison Guangxu, crushing the reformers, who were

killed, imprisoned, or exiled. In retrospect, Guangxu's attempt to change China was called the HUNDRED DAYS OF REFORM.

It is believed that Cixi wanted to dethrone or kill Guangxu but was prevented from doing so due to protests by powerful provincial governors and through diplomatic influence of the Western powers. Cixi's reactionary rule culminated in the Boxer Rebellion, the besieging of foreign diplomatic compounds in Beijing (Peking) by her supporters, the Boxers, and the capture of the capital by Western relief forces in 1900. She decided to flee the capital and took the captive emperor with her, murdering his courageous consort Zhen Fei (Chen-fei) for suggesting that he stay behind to negotiate with the Western powers.

When the fugitive Cixi and the court returned to Beijing in 1902 after the settlement of the Boxer fiasco, she made Guangxu take the blame for what had happened.

Guangxu endured his imprisonment with patience, reading and preparing for the day when he would be free to rule after his adoptive mother died. She died from illness on November 15, 1908, at 73, at which time the palace announced that he had suddenly died on the previous day at age 37. It is widely believed that he died an unnatural death at the hands of her supporters, with or without her consent. Thus ended the tragic life of Emperor Guangxu, who could never escape the control of his vicious aunt/adoptive mother. Before her death Cixi had named her infant great-nephew successor of the childless Guangxu. The boy ruled as Emperor Xuantong (Hsuan-tung) between 1909–11; he was the last emperor of the QING DYNASTY.

See also LI HONGZHANG; TONGZHI RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR





## Haitian Revolution

The Haitian Revolution represents one of the signal events of the age of revolution, reverberating across the Atlantic world and profoundly shaping social and political relations across the Western Hemisphere in the decades after its eruption in 1791. The only successful large-scale slave revolt in the history of the Americas, the revolution in Haiti served as a cautionary tale for slave owners across the Americas, prompting a tightening of slave regimes and of slave surveillance and control measures from Canada and the United States to Brazil and Peru. Despite the profundity of its impact, however, the Haitian Revolution also has tended not to receive the attention it merits—partly because the French-controlled western portion of the island of Hispaniola, as a colony of neither the Spanish, Portuguese, nor British, fell outside the purview of accounts of these empires' histories (and has been conventionally excluded, for instance, from treatments of both the U.S. and Latin American independence periods), partly, in the view of some, because of the racism inherent in conventional historical accounts of this era.

The events of the revolution itself are dizzyingly complex and difficult to summarize. On the eve of the revolution, the French colony of Saint-Domingue, vaunted as the Pearl of the Antilles, was the largest sugar-producing region in the world, outpacing even Brazil, the world's second-largest, its 800 sugar plantations producing more sugar than all of the British West Indies combined. In the decade before 1789 Saint-

Domingue's slave imports averaged 30,000 per year. Its population was divided into three caste-like strata. At the bottom roughly half a million black slaves, comprising 85–90 percent of the population. At the top were 40,000 whites, divided between a tiny number of large plantation owners and wealthy merchants, or *grands blancs*, and the vast majority of poor and middling whites, the *petits blancs*, who deeply resented the former. In between were some 28,000 free people of color (*gens de couleur*, or *affranchis*, principally mulatto and some black). Despite Louis XIV's Code Noir of 1685, making mulattos and free blacks subjects of the French empire, the rights of the *gens de couleur* were restricted by a series of laws meant to protect the superior social position of whites.

With the onset of the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1789, the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity essentially percolated down the social hierarchy, from whites to free coloreds to black slaves. As the *grand blancs* sought autonomy from the French government, Saint-Domingue's free coloreds, via the influential Paris-based, mulatto-dominated Société des Amis des Noirs (Society of Friends of the Blacks) sought equal representation in the Estates General in Paris. Rebuffed, in October 1790 several free colored leaders led an abortive uprising. By this time, the colony had entered a period of revolutionary turmoil, with debates about liberty and rights resounding throughout its towns and streets. Neither whites nor free coloreds contemplated liberty for slaves, though neither could prevent their slaves from hearing or acting on these debates.

In August 1791 after a period of secretive organizing, the slaves launched their uprising, burning cane fields across the western part of the island—an uprising that lasted more than a decade, and that ultimately led to the independence of Haiti on January 1, 1804.

After August 1791, confronted with the specter of a slave revolt, whites and free coloreds temporarily closed ranks, though the animosities between the two groups proved too great to bridge. The slave rising spread into the eastern part of the island, nominally controlled by the Spanish. On March 4, 1792, the French revolutionary government granted equality between whites and free coloreds, a decree that did not stop the island's slide into civil war. The British, courted by the *grand blancs* and hoping to exploit the opportunity to weaken their French rival, invaded parts of the west, while the Spanish, hoping to regain control of the west, marched from the east. The conflict thus combined a civil war among and between the island's fractious whites and free coloreds, an international war pitting France, Britain, and Spain, and a slave uprising against them all. In the end, a small group of the most prominent ex-slave leaders emerged victorious.

A pivotal event in this process occurred on April 29, 1793, when Leger-Félicité Sonthonax, a Jacobin high commissioner sent by the French government to restore order, exceeded his authority by abolishing slavery throughout the island. The decision permitted a temporary alliance between the French and slave rebels against the British and Spanish, while also catapulting into prominence former house slave TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, who became commander of the French forces and the undisputed leader of the ex-slave rebels. After five years and the loss of more than 25,000 troops, the British were defeated, departing the island in April 1798. Soon after, in February 1799, mulattos under André Rigaud rebelled against Toussaint, sparking another civil war. Toussaint's forces crushed the rebellion by August 1800. Meanwhile Toussaint, Saint-Domingue's governor-general and commander in chief, established relations with the United States and promulgated a series of laws intended to maintain sugar production and a semblance of social order.

Back in France, NAPOLEON determined to regain the island. Invading in January and February 1802, French forces captured Toussaint in June. He was transported in chains back to France, where he died the next year. Leadership of the black-mulatto forces fell to Toussaint's lieutenant Jean-Jacques Dessalines. For the next 21 months some 58,000 French forces fought against Dessalines's army. They were defeated

at the cost of some 50,000 French lives, most dying of yellow fever, and in January 1804, the independent nation-state of Haiti (an indigenous name for the island) came into being.

See also SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE AMERICAS.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Hamid, Abdul II (Abdulhamid II)

(1842–1918) *Ottoman sultan*

Abdul Hamid II, who reigned 1876–1909, became sultan after his brother, Sultan Murad V, was deposed because of mental illness. He came to power by promising reforms and support for a constitution, but he soon reasserted the sultan's traditional authoritarian powers. At the time, the Ottoman Empire was beset with problems. The empire was deeply in debt, nationalist rebellions had broken out in Bosnia and Bulgaria, war raged in Serbia and Montenegro, and Russia threatened to further its expansion into Ottoman territories.

However, the promulgation of a constitution and establishment of a parliament in 1877 seemed to promise new reforms that would perhaps revive the empire's former strength. The constitution, drawn up by the able administrator and reformer MIDHAT PASHA, was short-lived, as Abdul Hamid II used the 1877 war with Russia as the excuse to disband parliament and suspend the constitution. He then removed Midhat from power and sent him into exile.

Abdul Hamid II hired German advisers to rebuild the army and administer the finances. To the dismay of the British, German influence within the empire increased steadily until World War I. Abdul Hamid II turned a blind eye to the BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT, although ostensibly Egypt remained part of the Ottoman Empire, it became a de facto part of the British Empire ruled by British "advisers."

Abdul Hamid II limited the power of government bureaucrats and concentrated power within the sultanate.

He also established strict censorship over publications and monitored political activities through a network of secret agents. Although most of his predecessors had paid scant attention to their title as caliph, Abdul Hamid II reemphasized his role as caliph and protector of the Muslim world.

Abdul Hamid II vainly attempted to use the appeal of the pan-Islamic movement, popularized by JAMAL AL-DIN AL-AFGHANI, to counter the growing nationalism within the diverse Ottoman Empire. The construction of the Hijaz railway to facilitate the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina was part of his campaign to foster Islamic support. Abdul Hamid II also rejected the Zionist offer made by Theodor Herzl to pay a portion of the huge Ottoman debt in exchange for an Ottoman charter allowing Zionist colonization of Palestine. Herzl was told that the sultan was not in the business of “cutting off his arm,” meaning that Palestine was considered an integral part of the empire, but that Jews were welcome to live there.

Fearing assassination, he made himself a virtual prisoner in the palace of Yildiz. Abdul Hamid’s authoritarian rule increased discontent within the military. As a result, the Young Turks, dominated by army officers, took over the government in 1908. Abdul Hamid II was forced to accept the reinstatement of the 1876 constitution. In 1909 he abdicated in favor of his brother, who became Sultan Muhammad V. Abdul Hamid II spent his last years under house arrest at the Beylerbeyi Palace in Istanbul, where he died in 1918.

See also YOUNG OTTOMANS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM; ZIONISM AND THEODOR HERZL.

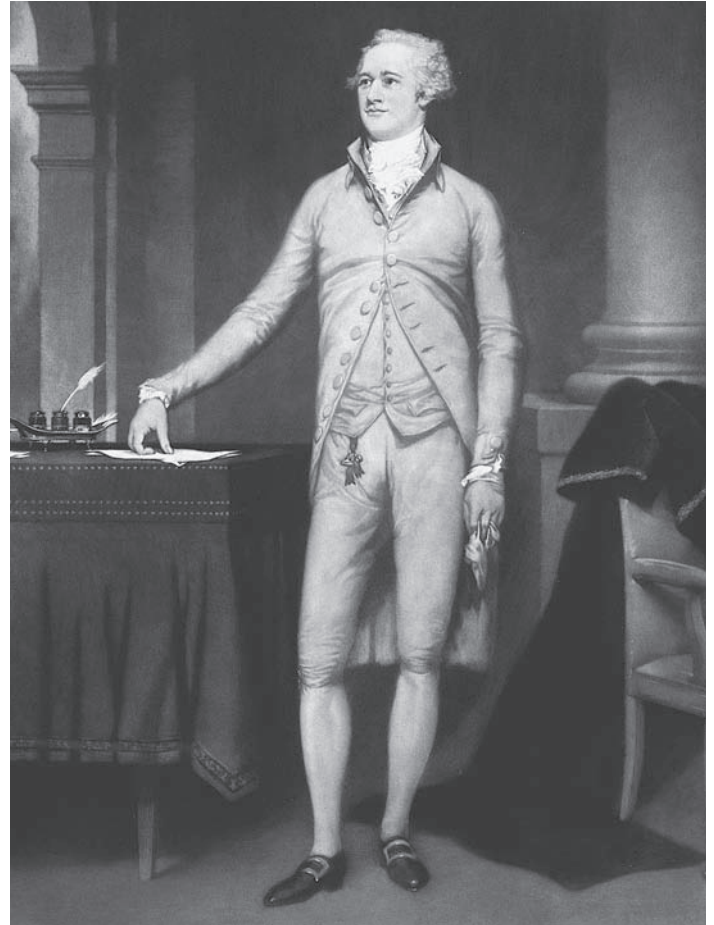
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JANICE J. TERRY

## Hamilton, Alexander

(1755?–1804) *first U.S. treasury secretary*

Born in the British West Indies to parents who were not legally married, Alexander Hamilton surmounted his origins, becoming a wartime aide to General GEORGE WASHINGTON, a key theorist and promoter of the U.S. CONSTITUTION, and the creator of a bold financial system for the new republic. Proudful and



*As the first U.S. secretary of the treasury, many of Alexander Hamilton’s ideas contradicted conventional wisdom of the era.*

outspoken, Hamilton died at the hands of Vice President Aaron Burr in a politically motivated illegal duel in July 1804.

Motherless by age 12 and estranged from his father, Hamilton trained as a clerk on the sugar island of St. Croix. There, the self-taught young man dabbled in poetry, penned an eyewitness account of a devastating 1772 hurricane, and so impressed Presbyterian minister Hugh Knox that the older man took up a collection to send his protégé to college in New York. Mentorship by important older men would become a pattern in Hamilton’s career.

Caught up in the growing revolutionary fervor, Hamilton soon became a pamphleteer and, by 1776, captained an artillery company. Noticed by Washington, Hamilton became the general’s trusted aide-de-camp. Marriage in 1780 to Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of a wealthy and politically influential Albany landowner, and a temporary falling out with Washington resulted

in Hamilton's returning to Albany, where he studied law alongside Aaron Burr, another young and ambitious New Yorker. Hamilton resumed pamphleteering on urgent issues of governance, taxation, and finance. He found time to cofound the Bank of New York and an antislavery society, although his father-in-law owned slaves. In 1782 as a delegate to the congress crafting the Articles of Confederation, Hamilton began an intellectual partnership with a promising young Virginian, JAMES MADISON.

An early proponent of a stronger and more centralized government to replace the faltering Articles, Hamilton was New York's sole delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. As "Publius," he, along with Madison and John Jay, wrote a series of arguments for ratification, later collected as the *Federalist Papers*.

### CONTROVERSIAL ECONOMICS

In September 1789 Hamilton became George Washington's and the nation's first secretary of the treasury. Audaciously, Hamilton proposed a controversial economic plan based in part on the ideas of pioneering British economist ADAM SMITH. Many of Hamilton's ideas contradicted much of his era's traditional financial wisdom and religious teachings. His proposals included consolidation of state liabilities into a permanent federal debt, a national bank controlled by a public/private partnership that could manipulate the nation's money supply, and luxury taxes on such goods as tea and whiskey. Hamilton also urged Congress to use federal funds and impose tariffs to promote manufacturing and America's role in the emerging INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Hamilton soon found himself at odds with former ally Madison and secretary of state THOMAS JEFFERSON, both slave-owning Virginians who had a very different vision of the new nation, based primarily on the expansion of agriculture. Nevertheless, major portions of Hamilton's economic plan were adopted after Jefferson brokered an agreement creating a federal capital district on the Potomac between Maryland and Virginia, rather than New York, Hamilton's preference. Hamilton's FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES was chartered in 1791, and the U.S. Mint approved in 1792. Although Hamilton was personally involved in the creation of one of America's first water-powered industrial cities, Paterson, New Jersey, most of his "Report on Manufactures" failed to win congressional approval.

At the height of his power and influence, Hamilton became entangled in a web of personal and financial

misadventures that would cast a shadow over his career. Although generally regarded as personally honest, he did not always use good judgment in picking close friends and assistants. Some used insider information to speculate on currency fluctuations and otherwise enrich themselves. One key aide, William Duer, not only took financial advantage of his connection with the treasury secretary but also introduced Hamilton to Maria Reynolds, a married woman. Their ensuing affair, apparently abetted by Mrs. Reynolds's husband for purposes of blackmail, continued for more than a year and ended with Hamilton's embarrassing confession, publicly revealed in 1797.

As the FRENCH REVOLUTION took a turn into violence, political differences between cabinet colleagues Hamilton and Jefferson intensified as Jefferson hailed the end of French monarchy while Hamilton abhorred turmoil in the United States's old ally. In 1794, when Pennsylvania farmers rebelled against Hamilton's whiskey tax, the treasury secretary persuaded President Washington to use troops to quell the uprising by raising the specter of anarchy akin to recent events in France. Hamilton rode into battle alongside his general. The next year, Hamilton resigned his cabinet post to resume a lucrative law practice. He would in 1796 help Washington write his farewell address.

JOHN ADAMS of Massachusetts and Hamilton were part of the new Federalist Party by the time of America's first contested presidential election in 1796, but they were not friends. Unable to derail Adams's presidential candidacy, Hamilton played a supportive role by questioning the character of Jefferson, a leader of the new Democratic-Republican Party. Hamilton also founded a newspaper, the *New-York Evening Post*, as a mouthpiece for Federalist politics and his own New York ambitions.

### THE DUEL

The election of 1800 deadlocked, with Jefferson and Burr, both Republicans, each receiving 73 electoral votes. Into this procedural mess (later corrected by the Constitution's 12th Amendment) waded Hamilton. Despite their political differences, Jefferson and Hamilton were major figures, founders of the republic. By contrast, Hamilton argued as he urged the electors to pick Jefferson, Burr was an opportunist of questionable character. Burr became Jefferson's vice president; the uneasily competitive Burr-Hamilton relationship became loathing on both sides.

Against a backdrop of vicious New York political maneuvering, Burr and Hamilton squared off at dawn

on a Weehawken, New Jersey, bluff overlooking Manhattan. Both fired; Burr's bullet tore through Hamilton's liver. A day later, Hamilton was dead.

Burr, never even tried for illegal dueling, resumed his seat as president of the Senate in the next congressional session. Elizabeth Hamilton would outlive her husband by 50 years. She was buried alongside him in Trinity Churchyard near Wall Street, America's financial heart.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES, FIRST AND SECOND; NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; PAINE, THOMAS; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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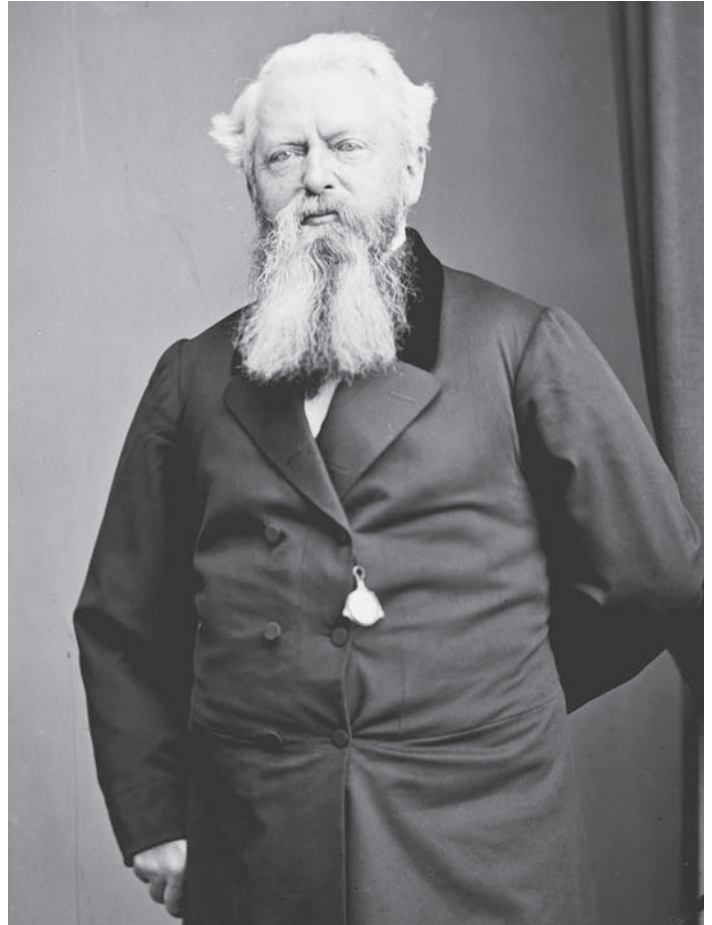
MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Harris, Townsend, and Japan

Townsend Harris was born in Sandy Hill, New York, in 1804. At 14, he went to New York City, where he worked his way up from shop clerk to partner in a large company. He took a special interest in cultural and educational opportunities. He became president of the Board of Education in New York City and, in the face of entrenched political power, pursued his dream of education for all classes of society. Harris was responsible for the foundation of the Free Academy, now the City College of New York City. In 1848 he planned and carried out a tour of the South Pacific to study the islands and their indigenous native populations.

Harris's expertise in Asia and the Pacific did not go unnoticed in Washington, D.C. In 1854, the administration of President Franklin Pierce appointed him American consul in Ningbo (Ningpo), China. He followed this tour of duty with successful negotiations with Siam in 1856. Meanwhile, on February 15, 1855, Commodore MATTHEW PERRY returned to Edo (Tokyo) Bay in Japan. During his first voyage to Japan in July 1854, he had opened diplomatic negotiations with the Japanese government, promising to return the next year. A treaty was signed as a result that opened Japan.

With his diplomatic experience in the Far East, Harris was chosen as the first U.S. consul in Japan, arriving in August 1856, in Shimoda. Despite his best



*With his lifelong interest in Asia and the Pacific, Townsend Harris was a natural choice as diplomat to Japan.*

efforts, it was more than a year before he set foot in Edo, the capital of the shogunate (military regime). (The Japanese had two capital cities, the shogun's and the imperial capital at Kyoto.) Although Shogun Tokugawa Iesada had practiced delaying tactics in receiving Harris, he realized that Japan was too weak to risk a war with the United States. Preliminary discussions had already taken place at Shimoda, and negotiations continued in Edo. A treaty was finally signed in July 1858 and took effect in 1860.

The commercial treaty opened six Japanese ports to U.S. trade and allowed Americans to reside in Edo and Osaka. Later, added provisions fixed import tariffs at 5 percent and exempted Americans from Japanese laws. The forcing of the weak shogunate to sign unequal treaties with the United States and other Western nations undermined the TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE and paved the way for the MEIJI RESTORATION.

Harris died in New York City in 1878.



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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Hart, Robert

(1835–1911) *British diplomat, Chinese official*

Sir Robert Hart was a remarkable Englishman who served both Great Britain and China. He began working in China in the British consulates at Ningbo (Ningpo) and Canton and rose to become the Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs between 1863 and 1906.

As a result of China's defeat by Great Britain and the Treaty of Nanjing (Nanking), China opened five ports for Western trade in 1842 and established customs offices in the treaty ports to collect duty on imported goods. Shanghai emerged as the premier port, but it was captured in 1853 by rebels of the Small Sword Society, who put the Chinese officials to flight. In the ensuing anarchy, British and American consuls and customs officials devised an ad hoc system of collecting customs dues for the Chinese government. Together with the French and with the approval of the Chinese governor-general of the provinces where Shanghai and Ningbo were located, they established a board of inspectors to perform the task.

Since Great Britain was the principal trader with China, the inspector-general was always a Briton, beginning with Thomas Wade, a Sinologist who soon resigned to pursue his academic work. The second was Horatio Lay, who proved unsuitable and was replaced by Hart in 1863. Under his leadership an international customs service was developed that by 1873 had 252 Britons and 156 other Western nationals. The service expanded as more Chinese ports were opened to Western trade. In 1896 China established a modern postal system and put it under the charge of Hart. The Maritime Customs only become an independent arm of the Chinese government in 1911 under the Ministry of Posts and Communications.

Hart developed a code of conduct for the Westerners who served under him—to learn Chinese, be collegial with their Chinese coworkers, and respectful of Chinese customs, reminding them that they served China. The customs receipts remitted to the Chinese government were important in funding modernizing projects such as the first modern school established under the Zongli (Tsunqli) Yamen, China's equivalent of a Foreign Office that trained interpreters and students in modern subjects. Its officers also accumulated accurate statistics on trade and local conditions in China.

Hart also gave advice to PRINCE GONG (Kung), China's leader in handling foreign affairs, and worked with powerful provincial governors such as LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang) who were interested in modernizing China. He submitted position papers to the Zongli Yamen on modern education, budgetary planning, and even accompanied a group of Chinese officials to Europe in 1866 to observe Western government systems. He also strongly advised the Chinese government to break precedent and establish diplomatic missions in Western capitals. Hart also exerted his good offices in helping China reach peace terms with France during the SINO-FRENCH WAR of 1884–85, which resulted in France gaining Annam, but evacuating its troops from Taiwan and the Pescadore Islands.

A grateful Chinese government awarded him with numerous honors. He also received recognition from Great Britain and most Western nations that traded with China for his role in developing a capable, modern customs service that served all parties with integrity.

See also ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WARS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Hawaii

The Hawaiian Archipelago consists of a group of 19 islands and atolls that extend across 1,500 miles of the Pacific Ocean, 2,300 miles from the United States mainland. Eight high islands, located at the southeastern end of the archipelago are considered to be the main

islands. In order from the northwest to southeast they are Nihau, Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Kahoolawe, Maui, and Hawaii.

Scattered across the Pacific Ocean, the Hawaiian Islands are the most isolated from any other body of land in the world. Their isolation and a wide range of environments produced a unique array of plants and animals.

Volcanoes rising from the seafloor formed all of the Hawaiian Islands, with the last volcanic eruption outside of the island of Hawaii occurring at Haleakala on Maui in the late 18th century. Loihi, deep in the waters off the southern coast of the island of Hawaii is the newest volcano. Volcanic activity and erosion carved out unique geological features in the Hawaiian Islands, and if the height of the island of Hawaii is measured from its deep ocean base to the snowclad peak of Mauna Kea, it is the world's fifth highest island.

Anthropologists and historians believe that Polynesians from the Marquesas and Society Islands first settled the Hawaiian Islands around A.D. 300–500 or as late as A.D. 800–1000. Overseas trading and voyaging across Polynesia ebbed and fell, and local chiefs ruled and defended their settlements. Early politics tended toward growing chiefdoms that encompassed entire islands. The historical record indicates that foreigners visited Hawaii before the 1778 arrival of CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, but historians give him the credit for discovering Hawaii because he first plotted and published the geographical configuration of the Hawaiian Islands. Captain Cook named the Islands the Sandwich Islands to honor his sponsor, John Montagu, fourth earl of Sandwich.

After the Europeans, the Chinese were the second group of foreigners to arrive in Hawaii. Beginning in 1789, Chinese employees serving on Western trading ships disembarked and settled in Hawaii. In 1820 the first American missionaries arrived to preach Christianity and teach the Hawaiians “civilized” ways.

Over half of the population of Hawaii is of Asian ancestry, especially Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino, many of them descendants of early immigrants who came to the islands in the 19th century to work on the sugar plantations. These immigrants began arriving in the 1850s, and on June 19, 1868, the first 153 Japanese immigrants arrived in Hawaii.

Throughout waves of immigration and economic development, Hawaiians fought to retain their government and culture. In 1810 King Kamehameha the Great united the Hawaiian Islands for the first time under a single ruler and established a dynasty that governed the

kingdom until 1872. In 1887, claiming misgovernment, a group of American and European businessmen involved in Hawaiian government forced King Kalakaua to sign the Bayonet Constitution, which stripped the king of administrative authority, eliminated voting rights for Asians, and set minimum income and property requirements for American, European, and native Hawaiian voters. These actions restricted the electorate to wealthy elite Americans, Europeans, and native Hawaiians. King Kalakaua reigned until he died in 1891.

Anthony D. Allen of Schenectady, New York, was one of the many African Americans who found their way to Hawaii after Western contact and were warmly welcomed by the Hawaiians. Born in 1774 to a slave mother and a father who was a freeman and a mariner, Anthony was freed at age 24. Like his father before him, he shipped out to China and other ports and finally to Hawaii, where he settled around 1811.

The native Hawaiians called him *Alani*, and he served as steward to Kamehameha the Great and acquired about six acres of land in Waikiki from the high priest Hewa Hewa. He married a Hawaiian woman, and they had children and grandchildren who were Hawaiian citizens. Allen farmed successfully, keeping his own cattle and horses. He ran a boarding house, a bowling alley, and a hospital, having picked up medical skills in Schenectady, where ill or injured seamen and sea captains could recuperate ashore. Missionaries, neighbors, visitors, and native Hawaiians admired him. After a long and prosperous life, Allen suffered a stroke in December 1835, and was buried near his Waikiki house.

After King Kalakaua died, his sister, Liliuokalani, succeeded him and ruled until 1893, when a group of American and European businessmen overthrew her. She had threatened to nullify the Hawaiian constitution and even though she backed down, the businessmen staged a bloodless coup and established a provisional government. They drafted a constitution and declared a republic of Hawaii on July 4, 1894. When William McKinley won the presidential election of November 1896, he reopened the question of annexing Hawaii to the United States. In June 1897 President McKinley signed the Newlands Resolution annexing Hawaii to the United States and submitted it to the Senate for approval.

American historians have usually portrayed the Hawaiians as passively accepting the annexation of their territory and the assimilation of their culture. Current research has revealed that native Hawaiians organized



*King Kamehameha the Great united the Hawaiian Islands for the first time and established a dynasty that ruled until 1872.*

a massive petition drive to protest the Newlands Resolution. Ninety-five percent of the native population signed the petition, causing the annexation treaty to fail in the Senate.

Although the legality of the Newlands Resolution was questioned because it was a resolution and not a treaty, both houses of the U.S. Congress passed it, and Hawaii became a territory of the United States. Although several attempts were made to make Hawaii a state, it remained a territory for 60 years. Plantation owners found territorial status more convenient because they could continue importing cheap foreign labor, but activist descendants of original laborers finally broke their power by actively campaigning for statehood.

Admitted on August 21, 1959, Hawaii is the 50th state and the only state surrounded by water. It is the southernmost part of the United States and the only state that is located completely in the Tropics. Hawaii is also the only state continuing to grow in territory because volcanoes like Kilauea continue to produce lava flows. The official languages of Hawaii are English and Hawaiian, and Honolulu is its capital and largest city. With a total area of 10,941 square miles and a length of 1,522 square miles, it is ranked 43rd in area of the states.

Hawaii quickly became a modern state with booming construction and an expanding economy. The plantation owners endorsed the Republican Party, which was voted out of office, and the Democratic Party of Hawaii dominated state politics for 40 years. In recent years, Hawaii has implemented programs to

promote Hawaiian culture. The Hawaii State Constitutional Convention of 1978 incorporated specific programs like the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to promote the indigenous Hawaiian language and culture.

See also ALASKA PURCHASE.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Herzl, Theodor

See ZIONISM AND THEODOR HERZL.

## Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel

(1753–1811) *Mexican rebel priest*

Lionized as the Father of Mexican Independence and champion of the downtrodden and oppressed, in 1810 the renegade parish priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla launched a failed rebellion against the Spanish authorities that ended in his capture and execution. Despite its failure, the rebellion inaugurated an 11-year-long struggle for independence and exposed the deep fault lines of race and class that divided New Spain in the waning days of the colonial period. Akin to the HAITIAN REVOLUTION in terms of the horror it struck into the hearts of the privileged and propertied, the Hidalgo rebellion made glaringly obvious to Mexico's elite the potential dangers of sparking social revolution from below in the fight for political independence. Thus, when independence did come in 1821, it came as a fundamentally conservative transfer of power that preserved the former colony's rigid race and class hierarchies.

The son of a hacienda manager, Hidalgo studied at the Jesuit college in San Nicolás in Valladolid and the Royal and Pontifical University in Mexico City, earning his bachelor's degree in 1774. Steeped in the classics, he also delved into ENLIGHTENMENT thinkers and learned several Indian languages. After entering the priesthood, from 1778 to 1802 he taught and served

as rector at his alma mater of San Nicolás, earning a reputation as something of a maverick and freethinker. Assigned to the backwater village of Dolores in 1803 as punishment for various offenses, he proved as much concerned with his parishioners' material well-being as their spiritual salvation, instructing them in a host of practical enterprises (such as apiculture, viticulture, silk growing, and tile manufacture).

The parish of Dolores lay in the Bajío, the “breadbasket” of the colony just north and west of Mexico City. Over the previous decades, the Bajío had seen the progressive impoverishment of its mostly mestizo and Hispanized Indian population, along with an accumulation of social grievances that would prove crucial in the events to follow. After the crisis of authority sparked by the Napoleonic invasion of Iberia in 1807–08, plots and conspiracies against the Spanish colonial government multiplied. One such plot, set to be launched on December 8, 1810, counted Hidalgo among its participants. Upon learning that the authorities had been informed of the scheme, Hidalgo leapt into action. At around 2:00 in the morning of September 16, 1810, the slumbering residents of Dolores were awakened by the ringing of the church bell. Addressing the assembled crowd in words that will never be known with certainty, Hidalgo, in his famous Grito de Dolores (Cry of Dolores) urged his parishioners to defend their religion and rise up against the bad government of the hated *gachupines* (Spanish).

Grabbing their hoes and digging sticks, the inflamed crowd made its way to nearby San Miguel, gathering recruits as it went. Around noon the next day, in the village of Atotonilco, Hidalgo appropriated from the local church a banner of the dark-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico, which henceforth would serve as his movement's emblem and standard. The rebellion snowballed with astonishing rapidity. Looting and pillaging Spanish residences and public buildings, armed with machetes, slings, and farming implements, the crowd had become an impassioned mob of thousands. Around noon on September 28, the ragtag army reached the provincial capital of Guanajuato, where they had their first sustained encounter with the Spanish military. Overrunning the town by sheer force of numbers, the crowd slaughtered some 500 Spaniards, burning, pillaging, looting the granary, and wreaking widespread havoc.

Over the next month, the army continued on its rampage, taking the provincial capitals of Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and Valladolid before heading toward

Mexico City, the heart of Spanish power in the Americas. On October 30, 1810, at Monte de las Cruces on the outskirts of Mexico City, Hidalgo's 80,000 to 100,000-strong army defeated a much smaller but formidable Spanish force sent to stop them. At this point, Hidalgo made what many consider his most momentous and enigmatic decision. Instead of following the advice of his lieutenants and sentiments of the crowd and descending into the colony's capital city, he opted to retreat. Scholars continue to debate his reasons, though most consider that he found intolerable the prospect of the mass slaughter that would surely follow.

From this point the movement rapidly lost momentum, as his makeshift army divided and desertions mounted. In March 1811 Hidalgo was captured far to the north in the deserts of Coahuila. Tried and found guilty of heresy and treason, he was executed at dawn on July 31, 1811, his head displayed on a pole atop the ashen walls of the Guanajuato granary. Mexicans celebrate national independence on September 15–16, in commemoration of Hidalgo's Grito de Dolores, even though actual independence did not come until 11 years after the revered priest's fateful cry. More recent scholarship has focused on the social bases of Hidalgo's rebellion and the confluence of social and cultural dynamics that created the most massive popular uprising in New Spain's history.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Hohenzollern dynasty (late)

The Hohenzollern dynasty was the ruling house of Brandenburg-Prussia and of imperial Germany. The family took its name from the German word *Zöller*, meaning “watchtower” or “castle,” and in particular from the Castle of Hohenzollern, the ancestral seat, today in Baden-Württemberg. In 1415 Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund made Frederick VI of Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg. He and his successors had the right to participate in the elections of the German kings, who

were heirs to the Imperial throne. In 1525 Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic Knights, secularized the order's domains as the Duchy of Prussia.

In 1614 the acquisition of Cleve, Mark, Ravensburg, and the Duchy of Prussia marked the Hohenzollern rise as a leading German power. Frederick William, the Great Elector, defeated the Swedes and obtained Pomerania, the secularized bishoprics of Cammin, Minden, and Halberstadt. His reign brought centralization and absolutism to the still-scattered Hohenzollern possessions. In 1701 Frederick III of Brandenburg secured from the Holy Roman Emperor the title "King in Prussia." The change to King of Prussia was not formally recognized until 1772. The Prussian kings retained their title of elector until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. The Prussian royal title was a new symbol of the unity of the family holdings.

Frederick William I, through his administrative, fiscal, and military reforms, was the real architect of Hohenzollern greatness. His son Frederick II, called FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA, seized Silesia from Austria, defended his acquisitions during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, and acquired West Prussia in 1772 as a result of the first partition of Poland. Frederick William II, Frederick William III, and Frederick William IV were, however, mediocre rulers.

The CONGRESS OF VIENNA settlement in 1814–15 resulted in a substantial extension of Hohenzollern territory, and the period 1815–66 was marked by the conflict for domination of Germany.

Frederick William IV, who reigned from 1840, was a draftsman interested in both architecture and landscape gardening. He married Elizabeth of Bavaria in 1823, but the couple had no children. In March 1848 Prussia faced a revolution, which overwhelmed Frederick William. The monarch ultimately succumbed to the movement. He offered concessions, promising to promulgate a constitution. The victory of the liberals, however, was short-lived; it perished by the end of the year 1848. The conservatives regrouped and retook control of Berlin. The king did remain dedicated to German unification, leading the Frankfurt parliament to offer him the crown of Germany on April 3, 1849, which he refused, saying that he would not accept a crown from the gutter.

In 1857 Frederick William suffered a stroke that left him mentally disabled. His brother William took over as regent, becoming King William I upon his brother's death on January 2, 1861. A crisis arose in

1862, when the Diet refused to authorize funding for a reorganization of the army. William resolved that OTTO VON BISMARCK was the only politician capable of handling the crisis and appointed him minister-president.

Bismarck saw his relationship with William as that of a vassal to his feudal superior. Nonetheless, it was Bismarck who effectively directed politics, internal as well as foreign. Under Bismarck's direction, Prussia's army triumphed over its rivals Austria and France in 1866 and 1870, respectively. In the Palace of Versailles, near Paris, on January 18, 1871, William was proclaimed the emperor of a unified Germany. In 1829 William married Augusta of Saxony-Weimar and had two children, Frederick and Princess Louise of Prussia. Upon his death on March 9, 1888, William I was succeeded by Frederick III. In 1858 Frederick married Princess Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland, the eldest daughter of Queen VICTORIA and Prince Albert. The couple had eight children. By the time he became emperor in 1888, he had incurable cancer of the larynx. Frederick ruled for only 99 days before his death on June 15, 1888, being succeeded by his eldest son, Wilhelm (William) II.

A traumatic breech birth left Wilhelm with a withered left arm, which he tried with some success to conceal. Additionally, he may have experienced some brain trauma. Historians are divided on whether such a mental incapacity may have contributed to his frequently aggressive, tactless, and bullying approach to problems and people, which was evident in both his personal and political life. Such an approach certainly marred German policy under his leadership.

In 1881 Wilhelm married Augusta Victoria, duchess of Schleswig-Holstein. They had seven children. Wilhelm's reign was noted for his militaristic push to assert German power. He sought to expand German colonial holdings. Under the Tirpitz Plan, the German navy was built up to contend with that of the United Kingdom. Despite Wilhelm's attitude it is difficult to say that he was eager to unleash World War I. During the war, he was commander in chief, but he soon lost all control of German policy, and his popularity plunged. After the explosion of the German Revolution, Wilhelm could not make up his mind about abdicating. The unreality of this refusal showed up when William's abdication both as emperor and king of Prussia was announced by Chancellor Prince Max von Baden on November 9, 1918. The very next day, Wilhelm fled into exile in the Netherlands, where he died on June 4, 1941.

The Hohenzollern Swabian line remained Catholic at the Reformation. Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became prince of Romania in 1866 and king, as Carol I, in 1881. In 1914 Ferdinand succeeded his uncle in Romania, where his descendants ruled until 1947.

See also REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

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MARTIN MOLL

## Hong Xiuquan (Hung Hsui-ch'uan)

(1814–1864) *Chinese religious rebellion leader*

Hong Xiuquan was the leader of the most devastating rebellion that swept southern China between 1850 and 1864. An estimated 20 million people died as a result.

The Hong family lived 30 miles from Guangzhou (Canton), where Western influence on China was strongest. Ambitious to bring honor to his family through academic success, he sat for the lowest level civil service exams in Canton in 1828, 1836, 1837, and 1843 and failed each time. He suffered a serious illness and delirium after his third failure, when he claimed being taken to heaven. There, according to his account, he met his Heavenly Mother (Mary), Elder Brother (Jesus), and Heavenly Father (God). God instructed him to return to Earth to defeat the demons and establish the heavenly kingdom.

He equated his vision with writings in the tract that he was given by a Protestant Christian missionary in 1836, titled “Good Words Exhorting the Age.” He obtained more translations of Christian teachings, then went to Hong Kong in 1847 and studied under an American Baptist missionary, Issachar Roberts, but was not baptized.

With this background of personal failure and limited understanding of Christianity, Hong formed a new trinity of God, Elder Brother Jesus, and himself (God's second son); converted friends and relatives; and founded the Society of God Worshipers. His con-

verts were mostly poor people in the southern province of Guanxi (Kwangsi); they destroyed local Buddhist temples and provoked the government to send in an army. A clash in 1850 ignited the revolt, and success led to the establishment of the Taiping Tianguo (T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo), or Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. Hong became the Heavenly King, and his top lieutenant, Yang Xiuqing (Yang Hsiu-ch'ing), the Eastern King (Yang claimed to be God's third son, the Holy Ghost).

Other followers also received titles as kings and marquises. Early Taiping followers were fanatical believers in Hong's version of Christianity; they hated the failing QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY and were highly disciplined.

By 1853 the Taiping army had swept over southern China and captured Nanjing (Nanking), which became the Heavenly Capital. There, Hong and his associates issued regulations and laws according to their interpretation of Christianity. But they had no skill in administration and implemented few reforms. Western governments were initially interested in Hong's Christianity and government and sent representatives to Nanjing to investigate. But they were disillusioned by Hong's pretensions as universal king and other bizarre pseudo-Christian teachings and practices.

Rivalry between Yang and Hong erupted into civil war in 1856 and the defeat of Yang. Thereafter, Hong trusted no one except his family members, abandoned himself to pleasures, and became increasingly delusional. The Taiping movement collapsed as Qing supporters led by ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan) offered reforms and won military victories with Western arms, aided by Western officers. Hong committed suicide as his capital fell.

See also GORDON, CHARLES; LI HONGZHANG; QING (CHI'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE; TAIPING REBELLION; TONGZHI RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT; ZHO ZONGTANG.

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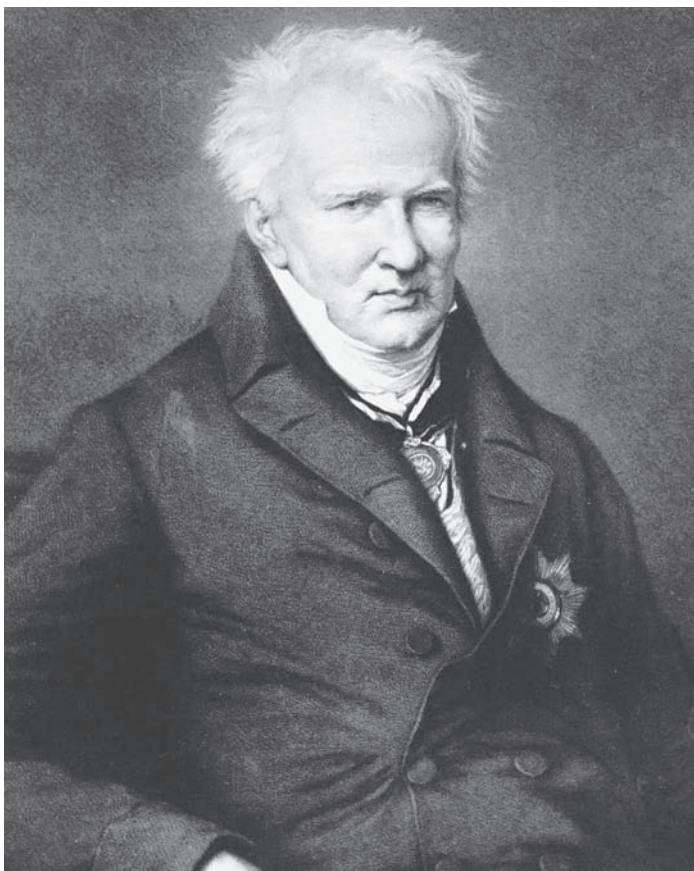
JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Humboldt, Alexander von

(1769–1859) *scientist, author, and artist*

His contemporaries once described Baron Alexander von Humboldt as the “last universal scholar in the field of the natural sciences.” Naturalist, botanist, zoologist, author, cartographer, artist, and sociologist are just a few of the titles that Humboldt earned. His influence resonates throughout the world, but, paradoxically, it is stronger throughout the Americas than in Germany, the country of his birth.

When Baron Alexander von Humboldt visited the United States for three weeks in 1804, just after the LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION had departed to explore the American West, he was the guest of THOMAS JEFFERSON. Jefferson had a scholarly reputation in Europe, and von Humboldt had achieved a reputation as an explorer, scientist, and cartographer. The two men became close friends. Margaret Bayard Smith, wife of the founder of the *Washington Intelligencer* newspaper, described one of these visits in her diary.



*Alexander von Humboldt's legacy resonates today as one of the most important achievements in naturalism and science.*

Mrs. Smith recorded one of Humboldt's twilight encounters with President Jefferson in 1804 when the President's aide ushered him into the drawing room without announcing him. Von Humboldt found Jefferson sitting on the floor in the middle of half a dozen of his grandchildren. All were so busy playing that for some minutes they did not realize that another person had entered the room. Finally Jefferson stood up, shook hands with his visitor, and said, “You have found me playing the fool, Baron, but I am sure to you I need make no apology.”

Jefferson felt unapologetic enough to romp with his grandchildren in the presence of Humboldt, who like himself, had achieved self-taught proficiency in many scientific fields. CHARLES DARWIN respected him enough to use his journals as a reference during his year-long voyage on the *Beagle* and described him as “the greatest scientific traveler who ever lived.”

Humboldt's journey began in Berlin, Prussia, where he was born on September 14, 1769. His father, an army officer, died nine years after his birth, and his mother raised Alexander and his older brother, Wilhelm. She hired tutors to provide early education grounded in languages and mathematics for the two boys.

When he grew older, Alexander studied at the Freiberg Academy of Mines under the noted geologist A. G. Werner, and he also met George Forester, CAPTAIN JAMES COOK's scientific illustrator on his second voyage, and they hiked around Europe. In 1792, when he turned 22, Humboldt took a job as a government mines inspector in Franconia, Prussia. Five years later Alexander's mother died, and he inherited a substantial estate. In 1798 Alexander left government service and began to plan a travel itinerary with his friend Aimé-Jacques-Alexandre Goujoud Bonpland, a French medical doctor and botanist. They went to Madrid, where King Charles II granted them special permission and passports to explore South America.

Between 1799 and 1805 Humboldt and Bonpland explored the coasts of Venezuela, the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers, much of Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Mexico. Much like their American counterparts Lewis and Clark, they collected plant, animal, and mineral samples, studied electricity and discovered the electric eel, extensively mapped northern South America, climbed mountains, observed astronomical events, and performed many scientific observations. While he investigated the reasons for the dry interior of Peru, Humboldt discovered a cold ocean current that runs along much of the western coast of South America. It is now known as the Humboldt Current

or the Peru Current. Carlos Montufar, a scientist who later became a revolutionary in Ecuador, accompanied the pair on part of their trip.

Humboldt enjoyed many distinctions. He was the first European to witness native South Americans preparing curare arrow poison from a vine and the first person to recognize the need to preserve the cinchona plant, the bark of which contains quinine used to cure malaria. He was the first person to accurately draw Inca ruins in South America at Canar, Peru, and he also was the first person to discover the importance of guano, dried droppings from fish-eating birds, as an excellent fertilizer.

In 1804 Humboldt went to Paris and chronicled his field studies in 30 volumes. He stayed in France for 23 years and regularly met with other intellectuals. Eventually he depleted his fortunes because of his travels and self-publishing his reports. In 1827 he returned to Berlin and secured a steady income by becoming adviser to the king of Prussia. From 1827 to 1828 he gave public lectures in Berlin, and his lectures were so popular that he had to find huge halls to hold all of the people.

In the 1830s the czar of Russia invited Humboldt to Russia, and after he explored the country and described some of his discoveries, including permafrost, he recommended that Russia build weather observatories across the country. Russia built these weather stations in 1835, and Humboldt used the data from them to develop the principle of continentality, the concept that the interiors of continents have more extreme climates because of the lack of the moderating influence from the ocean.

At the age of 60, Humboldt traveled to the Ural Mountains in Siberia and to Central Asia to study the weather. He wrote extensively about his travels and discoveries. One of his books, *A Personal Narrative*, inspired Darwin. As Humboldt made more scientific discoveries, he decided to write everything known about the Earth. He titled his work *Kosmos* and published the first volume in 1845, when he was 76 years old. His work was well written and well received, and the first volume, a general overview of the universe, sold out in two months. His other volumes explored topics including astronomy, Earth, and human interaction.

Humboldt died at age 90 in 1859, and the fifth and final volume of *Kosmos* was published in 1862, based on his notes. He is buried in Tegel, Germany, and his name is commemorated in a few places in his native country, including in front of the Humboldt University in Berlin and on his grave in Tegel. Many landmarks in the Americas, including a current, a river, a mountain

range, a reservoir, a salt marsh, parks, and many counties and towns are named for Humboldt. On the Moon, Humboldt's Sea is named in his honor.

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CARYN E. NEUMANN

## Hundred Days of Reform

The inadequacies of the SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT adopted by the Qing (Ch'ing) government of China convinced many educated Chinese that only thorough institutional reforms could save the nation from the expansionist ambitions of the Western powers and Japan. In 1895 defeat by Japan and the humiliating TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI provided the catalyst that stirred into action a group of candidates who had gathered in the capital, Beijing, for the triennial metropolitan examinations. One of the candidates, named Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei), penned a long memorial to the throne protesting against the treaty and urging immediate reforms; it was cosigned by 603 of the candidates and gained widespread attention. Eliciting no response, Kang and his student Liang Qichao (Liang Ch'i-ch'iao) began to organize study societies in Beijing and other major cities, sponsoring lectures and founding newspapers and magazines with the goal of promoting modernization and political change. By 1898 their study societies had galvanized a sizable number of reform-minded intellectuals into a political force.

Meanwhile, the young emperor GUANGXU (Kuanghsu), who had nominally assumed the reins of government, began to show sympathy for the new reform ideas and read many of Kang's memorials and other works. He was particularly impressed by Kang's accounts of reforms under Peter the Great of Russia and in MEIJI Japan. As a result, he appointed him and his supporters to important government positions. Between June 11 and September 16, 1898, over 40 reform decrees were



issued by the emperor that encompassed such areas as education, government administration, military reorganization, economic development, and the budget.

Although there had not been time to implement most of the reforms, they nevertheless alarmed the Confucian conservatives and officials loyal to the ostensibly retired but still powerful dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi). On September 21 Cixi and her supporters mounted a successful coup d'état that stripped Guangxu of all his powers and put him under arrest. Six reform leaders were executed while Kang, Liang, and a number of others escaped and went into exile. The 103 days of euphoric reforms came to an end. All the reforms were rescinded. In the final analysis the idealistic reformers had no political experience or support from the real power holders in the government. They overestimated the ability of Guangxu to override the authority of Cixi while underestimating the opposition of the die-hard conservatives. Their ambitious program, lacking a well-thought-out strategy, was too radical for the time. Although some feeble attempts at reforms were made during the next

decade China continued its downhill slide toward diplomatic disaster and domestic instability.

As a result of the failure of the Hundred-Day Reform, disillusionment with evolutionary transition to a constitutional monarchy led to widespread support of Sun Yat-sen's call for the overthrow of the Qing, or Manchu, dynasty. The final outcome was the successful revolution of 1911 and the establishment of the first republic in Chinese history.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-FONG L. CHANG



## immigration, North America and

North American immigration led to the gradual unfolding of settlements throughout the continent. Spain settled St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565 and New Mexico in 1598. France settled Acadia in 1604 and Québec in 1608. New Orleans dates from 1718. New Spain and New France grew slowly, if at all, as did also New Sweden, New Netherlands, and other European efforts. From 1607 on, only England had success in attracting large enough numbers of immigrants to take control of the continent.

In 1688 the total population of the English colonies was 200,000, mostly British. In the next century the population doubled approximately every 25 years. Between 1700 and 1770, 260,000 Africans, 50,000 white convicts, and 210,000 white voluntary immigrants came from Europe to British North America, as did about 80,000 Scots-Irish and about 70,000 Germans.

The British allowed into their colonies anyone who wanted to immigrate. Mostly, the migrants to British North America were English, but from the beginning there were representatives of virtually all western European countries. Europeans came for adventure and to escape harsh conditions at home—war, pestilence, and famine. Africans came as slaves. Some of the Scots-Irish left northern Ireland because of the negative economic effects of the Navigation Acts of the 1650s and 1660s. Getting to North America was arduous because of the nature of transportation, but the indenture sys-

tem made emigrants of those who could not otherwise afford it.

After Thomas Malthus's *Essay on the Principles of Population* argued that the British population was growing faster than food production and that inevitably a large number of the British would starve, the government performed a census, counting over 10 million people and estimating that this was double the population of 1750. The shift of British agriculture to scientific farming made many farmworkers unnecessary. To survive, many British farmers moved to the cities, where they became surplus city dwellers. Then they emigrated to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and North America.

At the time of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, there were 2.5 million people in the colonies, 22 percent slaves. Another quarter million were Scotch-Irish, and 200,000 were German. There were about 25,000 Roman Catholics and 1,000 Jews in an overwhelmingly Protestant population. Several thousand French opponents of their revolution came to the United States in the 1790s. In the years just before and after the Revolution, 15,000 Scots settled in North America.

Restrictions on immigration began as early as the 1790s, with the enactment of the 1790 act requiring a two-year residency for citizenship and the 1795 increase of the residency requirement to five years. The ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS of 1798 included a Naturalization Act that changed the waiting period to 14 years and an Alien Act that authorized the president to deport any



*“Leaving Old England for America”—an illustration depicting immigration in Harper’s Weekly in 1870*

foreigner he deemed a threat to American interests. The Alien Act expired in 1800, and the Naturalization Act was repealed in 1802.

Between 1812 and 1920, about 30 million Europeans came to the United States. Another 700,000 came from Asia, and about 900,000 from Latin America. In 1820 the U.S. population of 9.6 million was predominantly English and Protestant, with about 2 million enslaved African-Americans. By the 1830s another 150,000 northern Irish and English immigrants had come to the United States.

The migration from England increased markedly after 1830, as a farm depression hit. Displaced farmers headed for Liverpool, which became the number-one European debarkation point in the 1830s. In 1830 about 15,000 people left from Liverpool; by 1842 the number was 200,000, a figure equal to half the European emigrant population.

Immigrant totals from the 1840s to the 1920s included 6 million Germans, 4.5 million Irish, 4.75 million Italians, 4.2 million British (English, Scottish, Welsh), 4.2 million Austro-Hungarians, 2.3 million Scandinavians, and 3.3 million Russians and Balts. The MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR’s aftermath incorporated 75,000–100,000 Mexicans into the United States in California, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

Immigrants came for free or cheap land. After the frontier closed in 1890, they came for jobs in America’s industrial sector that promised higher wages than at home. They came due to the availability of cheap passage—such as the 17th-century indentured servitude system and the credit-ticket system of the 18th century. Late in the 19th century, the switch from sail to steam allowed faster voyages by larger vessels, reducing the cost and hardship of passage.

Immigrants came for promises and hopes—after the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, states and railroads began sending agents to Europe to attract settlers to their vacant territories. And labor recruiters as well as immigrants told the folks back home of the American land of milk and honey. Between the 1840s and 1870s Germans and Irish predominated, and between 1854 and 1892 Germans were number one every year except three, when Irish predominated. Between 1810 and 1855 about 2.5 million Irish came, and more than 3 million Germans migrated between 1820 and 1880.

## THE IRISH

The Irish migration was ongoing through the 18th and 19th centuries, but it accelerated after the potato blight of 1845 destroyed about 75 percent of the Irish potato crop. The loss of the potato meant hard times for the 4 million Irish who depended on it for their primary source of food. The blight returned in 1846, and 350,000 people died of starvation and typhus that year. Although the crops for the next four years were good, death continued its toll on the Irish. The IRISH FAMINE killed 1 million people. Blaming it on the British government and absentee property owners, the Irish began to migrate. In 1846, 92,000 came to the United States. That number rose to 196,000 in 1847, 174,000 in 1848, 204,000 in 1849, and 206,000 in 1850. By 1854 about a fourth of the Irish population—2 million people—had come to the United States in 10 years. The 1850 census reported 961,719 Irish-born Americans living in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, and New Jersey. Despite the efforts of the Irish Emigrant Society, most Irish immigrants lacked the money for transportation, land, or

tools in the interior, so most Irish remained close to their ports of arrival.

Irish Americans used the political machine to dominate many eastern and midwestern cities. From a means to protect the ethnic community, the machines became a mechanism for Americanizing. In Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, and New York, Irish accounted for up to 30 percent of city workers, and they were overrepresented in construction, particularly in skilled union trades. Only 10 percent of the Irish returned to Ireland.

### GERMANS AND EASTERN EUROPEANS

While the Irish were coming in droves in the 1840s, political turbulence in Germany led to a major influx from that country. Germans had been in North America from colonial times, but the unsuccessful REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 led to a major migration of more than 1 million people in a decade. The revolution's leaders were among the migrants, but most emigrants were ordinary people leaving a country in economic and political disarray. By 1860 over 100,000 German immigrants lived in New York City. They had 20 churches, 50 schools, 10 bookstores, and two German-language newspapers. Chicago had about 130,000 Germans and enjoyed German bands, orchestras, and a German-language theater. Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati also had large numbers of Germans.

German Jews began arriving in the 1850s. They were successful as both large and small entrepreneurs. In 1890 about half the German Jews in the United States workforce were businessmen. French migration resumed in the 19th century. Like the Germans, many fled the failed 1848 revolution. In 1851, the French influx exceeded 20,000, and a French-language paper opened in New York. Other French-language papers were published in Charleston and Philadelphia. The FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR cost France Alsace-Lorraine and increased French migration, particularly to the cities of New York, Chicago, and New Orleans but also to the Middle West. Between the gold rush of 1848 and the CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT of 1882, about 300,000 Chinese came to the United States. Chinese push factors included increased taxes, social dislocation, a restrictive economy, and poverty.

Southern and Eastern Europeans began to dominate in 1896. Russian immigration began after the 1881 pogroms against southern Jews after the assassination of Czar Alexander II. Intermittent pogroms continued through the end of the century. Immigrants who believed that the path to success involved hard work and loyalty tended to acculturate. By modeling themselves after American entrepreneurs, they would find acceptance.

Those who intended to remain for a long time built collective institutions—communities within the greater American community. They emphasized strong families and built churches, lodges, unions, businesses, political organizations, and other institutions. The immigrants were Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, and those of no particular faith. Immigrant churches maintained their ethnic identities, and each group had its own, where they worshipped in their own language and customs.

The Roman Catholic Church accommodated to the desire of eastern and central Europeans for parishes reflecting their national languages and practices—including saints, schools, hospitals, and festivals—not those of the Irish-dominated American Church. Lutherans from central Europe and Scandinavia built their own churches, schools, and hospitals. They resisted Americanization, ecumenism, and American-inspired revivalism. The Orthodox from Greece, Russia, and the Balkans began arriving in the late 19th and early 20th century. Although the Russian Orthodox mission in Alaska dated to 1794, the late 19th-century migrations made the church significant in most large American cities, as it attracted particularly Ukrainians who lacked churches of their own.

### ITALIANS

While some immigrants acculturated, others maintained their ethnicity. Italian immigration began after 1870. Low wages, high taxes, and overcrowding pushed rural Italians with little education to migrate. Between 1890 and 1900, 655,888 arrived, two-thirds men, most intending to work until they could afford to return to Italy. Because they intended to return home, their incentive was to retain their home cultures, not become Americanized. Other sojourners included the Chinese and Japanese—over half of the Chinese in California and Japanese in HAWAII before 1930 returned home. The Italian return rate was 60 percent. Not all groups gained access to the political system, but all found economic roles. Denied political access, the Chinese found their niche in service sectors; the Japanese were fruit and vegetable farmers, and the Jews dominated the garment industry.

As in colonial days, Canada remained population poor, whether in the French or the English provinces. Canada finally began to attract immigrants in significant numbers in the 1890s—simultaneous with the European population explosion and the closing of the frontier with its free or cheap land in the United States. Strong leadership by Wilfred Laurier and Clifford Sifton in the 1890s led to an aggressive campaign promoting western Canada in Europe, Britain, and the United States, modeled on

the advertising of the railroads and states of the United States that helped to populate the Midwest and GREAT PLAINS areas. Sifton also forced the railroads to surrender their land grants that they had refused to open for settlement. The program began to be effective after the turn of the century, with over 750,000 immigrants from the United States between 1900 and 1914, including newcomers as well as settled citizens. Canadians began to worry about U.S. domination of western Canada's culture, economy, and politics.

An estimated 30,000 escaped slaves migrated to Canada via the Underground Railroad. While Canada had no slavery, many escapees found discrimination similar to that of northern American cities. Many settled in southern Ontario, creating many African-Canadian communities. Canadian authorities generally found reason to reject the late 19th-century and early 20th-century black applicants, who were few in number because black Americans were too poor to emigrate, unlike the white settlers from the Great Plains, who came to Canada experienced and well-financed.

See also CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT; MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND NEW ORLEANS; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

## Indian Mutiny

The Indian Mutiny was the most traumatic single event to mark the British experience in India, from the first appearance of the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY in the early 17th century to the end of Britain's Indian empire in 1947. Most shocking of all, it took place among the troops, whose loyalty had been the mainstay of British power since its sepoy (infantry) and *sowars* (cavalry) had won England dominance in India in the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The Muslim and Hindu sepoy were offended by the rumored use of pig and cow fat as lubricants for cartridges, which they viewed as sacrilegious. There was a deeper force driving the insurrections, however: reaction to rapid social change brought by the British to India.

The mutiny began in the cantonment (garrison) of an Indian cavalry regiment on May 10, 1857, at Meerut. The mutinous soldiers then headed for nearby Delhi, where the

last impotent monarch of the MUGHAL DYNASTY, Bahadur Shah II, resided with the vain hope that he could revive the empire of his great predecessors. However, from the very beginning, the Indian Mutiny was not the apocalyptic uprising of native troops; most of the rebellion was confined to the high-caste Hindu soldiers of the Bengal army, who had shown signs of dissatisfaction for years at their caste slowly losing prominence. The rebellion spread throughout north-central India, and cantonments in Cawnpore and Lucknow were besieged by the mutineers. It did not spread to the new regions of the empire, like the Punjab, with its Sikhs, or the Northwest Frontier, with its Pashtun population, because the Hindus and Muslims of those regions had been anti-Mughal.

The bloodiest single incident of the mutiny took place at Cawnpore, where the British cantonment was besieged by rebels under the command of Nana Sahib, who had nursed a grievance against the East India Company. Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler was in command at Cawnpore and was unprepared for what was to come. Although the news of the mutiny had spread, Wheeler took no precautions to protect his men, women, and children. On the night of June 4, 1857, the sepoy at Cawnpore mutinied. However, just as at Meerut, in spite of the hostility of their fellow soldiers, some Indian sepoy cast their lot with the British.

By June 25 Wheeler surrendered to Nana Sahib, accepting his promises of safe conduct. But when on June 27 the British marched out to the boats that would supposedly take them to safety, they were attacked by Nana's men, and none escaped. Those who survived were imprisoned in what would become known as the Bibigarh, the "House of the Women," since most of the men were already dead; the women were murdered later. When the British recaptured Cawnpore, the atrocities so horrified the troops that they exacted grim retribution.

While the tragedy at Cawnpore was being played out, Sir Henry Lawrence managed to hold out in the British Residency at Lucknow with a garrison of some 1,800 British men, women, and children, and some 1,200 Indian sepoy. Once again, Indian soldiers had chosen to remain loyal to their officers. Although Lawrence was killed on July 4, the defenders held out against some 20,000 mutineers in one of the great epics of British history. Finally, on November 9, 1857, General Colin Campbell, who had earned fame at the Battle of Balaklava during the CRIMEAN WAR, led a relieving column that smashed the rebels still besieging Lucknow.

Meanwhile, the final phase was being played out in Delhi, where the mutineers from Meerut had headed. Delhi fell on September 20. Mopping-up action contin-

ued to 1858. Its end also spelled the end of the Mughal dynasty and the British East India Company.

See also SIKH WARS.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Industrial Revolution

The term *Industrial Revolution* has been used to describe the most extensive change the world has ever experienced. It was coined by English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–73) but brought into popular use by English historian Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975). The most significant aspect of the Industrial Revolution was that it changed much of the world from a collection of separate agrarian communities into interconnected industrialized cities. In the process, much of the work that had been done by human hands for centuries was performed by machines, which were faster and more efficient than humans could ever be. While many scholars accept 1760–1850 as the official period in which the Industrial Revolution took place, it actually continued into the 20th century in parts of the world and continues to evolve in developing nations into the 21st century.

The Industrial Revolution is said to have actually started in England during the early 18th century when Abraham Darby at Madeley, in Shropshire, in the west of the country, and others, became involved in improving the production of iron, as well as improving its quality. This led to the building of ironworks, and later steelworks, in some parts of England, with charcoal use being phased out, and with coke iron being used to increase the production of iron and then steel. Much of this development took place close to the coalfields in the Midlands and also in the north of England. By 1770 there were over 170 steam engines being used in various industries around Britain, and in 1775 James Watt started to develop his first steam engine, which generated much more power using far less fuel than before. Watt's design helped manufacturers such as

Matthew Boulton produce buttons, buckles, and plate metal cheaply. There were also major developments in the textile industry, with Richard Arkwright developing water-driven mills (although others have claimed to have invented them), with the result that large wool and cotton mills were built in Lancashire. Artisan riots led to the smashing of machines in the Luddite attacks.

Other pioneers during the Industrial Revolution in Britain included Thomas Telford, who worked with canals and locks, and Humphrey Davy, who invented the miner's safety lamp in 1815. Although there was extensive use of child labor and exploitation of the poor, there were also many industrialists who exhibited a strong social conscience. The heavy emphasis on the Protestant work ethic led to Quakers such as John Cadbury (1801–89) and others like Josiah Wedgwood (1730–95) and William Lever (1851–1925) introducing medical care, pensions, and profit-sharing for employees, who were often provided with company housing.

British manufacturing was so important to the British economy by the time of the Napoleonic Wars that the French blockade, known as the "Continental System," which prevented the sale of British goods in the European continent, severely affected the British economy. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 led to a resurgence in British manufacturing, exporting goods to many parts of Europe and South America. This helped create an Industrial Revolution in Scotland during the late 1810s and the 1820s, leading to the building of factories in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The invention of the steam locomotive by George Stephenson in 1833 led to private railway companies building lines throughout the British Isles, starting in the 1840s. Shipbuilding in London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Clyde, Belfast, Hull, and Sunderland developed and became increasingly important to the British economy. Rapid improvements in printing and book production meant that the ideas of the Industrial Revolution spread quickly around the world.

The first part of the European mainland to take part in the Industrial Revolution was Belgium (then a part of France), with William and John Cockerill moving from Britain to establish small factories in Liège, in about 1807. After 1830 Belgium became wealthy due to its iron, coal, and textile industries, and also its railways, which were also constructed by the government. France developed later industrially, with the emergence of manufacturing in northern France and in Alsace-Lorraine. It was not until 1848 that France emerged as a major industrial power.

Some parts of Germany experienced industrial development, with a large pottery industry in Meissen, near Dresden. However, in the 1840s parts of Germany industrialized quickly, especially Dusseldorf in the Ruhr Valley and Saarland, with the shipyards of Hanover and the coal and steel industries at Chemnitz and in Silesia, as well as factories built in Dortmund, Munich, Posen, Stuttgart, and Würzburg. All ensured that Germany became one of the world's major industrial powers by the end of the 19th century, with the Krupp steel works and other businesses selling raw materials and products around the world. Part of the impetus of the Industrial Revolution in Germany was the building of the railway system and the construction of large shipyards. Although there was also industrial development around Prague, the coalfields near Kraców, the textile mills near Łódź, and even in some parts of Russia, such as the Donets coalfields in the Ukraine, industrialization in much of eastern and southern Europe did not take place until the 20th century.

In the United States, inventors such as Benjamin Franklin had developed devices that proved popular, and the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney changed the cotton industry in the southern United States. Gradually, industrialization was centered in the northern states, with the iron, steel, and coal industries and, later, with textiles and food processing, as well as the construction of a vast railway network. This led to the building of factories in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and by the end of the 19th century, Chicago and Detroit. With the large distances between cities in the United States, the telegraph system proved to be exceptionally important with the emergence of Western Union. In the late 1870s the telephone network followed with the invention of Alexander Graham Bell's telephone. Both the telegraph and the telephone systems were rapidly introduced to other countries around the world.

Outside of Europe, there were factories built in Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, India, and China, especially in Shanghai, taking advantage of cheap labor and access to raw materials. The industrialization introduced into Japan after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 was largely organized by the state. This led to the building of foundries, toolmaking, and railways and shipbuilding, but all of this did not begin until well after the start of the 20th century.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Iqbal, Muhammad

(1877–1938) *Indian Muslim leader*

Mohammed Iqbal was born in Sialkot in the Punjab region of British India on November 9, 1877. His father, Shaikh Nur Muhammad, was a follower of the Islamic school of Sufi mysticism.

Iqbal benefited from the British educational policy and attended the Scotch Mission College at Sialkot, followed by the Oriental College at Lahore. By the time he received his master of philosophy degree, he had mastered English, Arabic, and Persian (Farsi), which before the English conquest of India had been the official language of the Mughal Empire. He also knew the common language spoken in the Northwest Frontier region of India. Iqbal began writing poetry and essays in a style that reflected his many cultural heritages. From the beginning, Iqbal devoted his work to understanding and expressing the place of Muslims in the larger society of India and the world as a whole.

In 1905 Iqbal went to Cambridge, where he became interested in philosophy. Since Germany was the European center for philosophy studies, he went to the University of Munich, where he received a Ph.D. in philosophy on Russian metaphysics. This demonstrated the influence of the Sufism he had learned at home from his father. The dissertation's importance was realized in England, and it was translated into English. In 1908 Iqbal received a law degree in England and returned to India.

Once home, Iqbal tended to avoid the political arena. It was a time of political ferment among both Muslims and Hindus that would ultimately lead to the establishment of separate states for each group. Gradually, Iqbal became ideologically aligned with the All-India Muslim League and its leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In 1926 Iqbal was elected to the Punjabi Legislative Council.

Yet with a belief that would be strongly condemned by Islamic extremists, Iqbal's view of the life of a future Muslim community remained decidedly liberal. To find a basis for Islam to exist and flourish in the modern world, Iqbal believed it was essential for Muslims to return spiritually to the time of the prophet Muhammad when

Islam flourished in its purest form, before the worldlier period of the caliphates. Iqbal's comprehensive vision of philosophy was embodied in his work *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, published in 1930. A second edition was published by Oxford University Press in Britain in 1934. An accomplished poet and scholar, Iqbal drew on the rich heritage of Persian and Urdu poetry to express his belief in the ability of Western and Muslim thought not just to coexist but to enrich each other.

In 1930 as his commitment to a Muslim state grew deeper, Iqbal accepted the presidency of the All Indian Muslim League. However, there is still a dispute whether he envisioned a totally independent Muslim state, as Pakistan became under Jinnah, or one within a larger Indian political entity. In the same year, he went to England to attend an Imperial Round Table discussion on the political future of India and its Hindu and Muslim population. He was recognized as a leader of modern Islamic intellectual life, and while he was in Europe he was feted by the Universities of Cambridge, Rome, and Madrid.

In the 1930s illness forced him to retire from public life and to pursue intellectual interests.

See also AFGHAN WARS, FIRST AND SECOND.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Irish Famine (1846–1851)

The British called it the Great Famine, the Irish middle class called it the Great Hunger, and the peasantry called it the Great Starvation. Before the famine, Irish farmers grew barley and grain. They raised cattle and dined on beef, dairy products, and potatoes.

Population growth and subdivision of farmland through inheritance—as well as loss of land due to higher rents—slowly shrank the average farm. Fifteen acres was the minimum to produce a crop surplus. Two-thirds of the Irish had fewer than 15 acres. Population pressures after 1815 produced ever smaller holdings and increased competition for land. By 1841 the population was at 8 million, with two-thirds working in agriculture. Eight million Irish were too many.

Half-acre plots became common. Only potatoes could feed a family with half an acre of land. The aver-



Ireland depicted as a woman holding up a sign for help to American ships; her foot rests on rock enscribed "We are starving."

age consumption was between seven and 15 pounds of potatoes a day. Cattle gave way to pigs and plots of cultivated oats, which gave way to rented plots on which potatoes were grown. The potato, introduced in the late 16th century, did well in Ireland's damp climate. It provided the most food per acre, which became increasingly important as the population exploded in the late 18th century. Because *conacre*, the division of land among all sons, reduced farm size drastically, those who lived on farms needed the most prolific potato, Aran Banner. However, Aran Banner was most susceptible to blight. Potato blight had struck Ireland before. A famine in 1741 killed 250,000 people. In addition, between 1816 and 1842 Ireland suffered 14 famines, some partial and some total. Between 1845 and 1848 harvests were poor and summers were wet. The wetness aided the spread of blight. Already stretched thin, the Irish peasants were unable to withstand four successive failures.

The blight of 1845 led the people to plant more potatoes than ever to compensate. They did not expect a second failure, but the one in 1846 was worse; the one in 1847 worse yet. Ireland was preindustrial, and those who failed at agriculture had nowhere to go. The starving flooded towns and cities, bringing typhoid,



cholera, and dysentery. Disease killed more than starvation. Food prices inflated, and landless and penniless laborers rioted, formed secret societies, engaged in crime and lawlessness. The British government valued the right of the owners to collect rents and crops over the needs of the people for food and shelter.

The Coercion Act established martial law and a curfew, and troops and constables safeguarded shipments of food exports. The British imposed their poor laws and expected the Irish to pay for relief. The British established a scientific study of the causes of the failure. What they did not do was establish relief and public works—at least at first. Eventually, private charities and government began providing soup kitchens; by 1847 half the population was eating at public expense. Those owning a quarter acre of land or more were ineligible. Critics accused the government of genocide.

At least 1 million Irish died of starvation or disease. Over 1 million people left Ireland for America and Liverpool. The famine decreased the Protestant share of the population and hastened the replacement of Gaelic, the language of the native poor, with English. By 1851 the Irish population was 6.5 million.

See also IMMIGRATION, NORTH AMERICA AND.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

## Ismail, Khedive (Ismail Pasha)

(1830–1895) *Egyptian ruler*

Khedive Ismail was heir to the throne of MUHAMMAD ALI and became khedive (viceroy) in 1863. A keen modernizer, Ismail had grandiose plans to modernize Cairo along French architectural lines as well as to Westernize Egypt. Ismail was against the slave trade and extended Egyptian control in Sudan. During his reign the SUEZ CANAL was opened with great fanfare as well as enormous expense to the regime. Ismail also initiated numerous irrigation projects and built lavish and costly palaces. He used the increased profits from the sale of cotton, Egypt’s main cash crop, to finance his plans. Cotton prices soared when cotton from the United States became unavailable on the world markets owing to the CIVIL WAR. The khedive covered the cost



*Khedive Ismail was a progressive leader in Egypt, opposing slavery and seeking to modernize his nation.*

overruns by borrowing extensively from foreign banks, especially from the French. Once the United States reentered the market, cotton prices plummeted, and Ismail found his nation deep in debt. He was forced to sell his Suez Canal shares (44 percent of the total stock holdings) at bargain prices to Great Britain, thereby giving Britain controlling interest in the Canal.

As the debts continued to grow, France and Britain established the Caisse de la Dette in 1876 to ensure repayment. Ismail was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Tawfik, a weak and malleable ruler, in 1879. Control over Egyptian debt repayment enabled the two imperial powers gradually to take over Egyptian finances and led to the British takeover of the country by 1882.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT; CIVIL WAR, AMERICAN (1861–1865).

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Italian nationalism/unification

The FRENCH REVOLUTION and the Napoleonic Era unleashed forces that engulfed the whole of Europe. Nationalism became a potent force. Although the votaries of counterrevolution made a valiant effort to check the progressive ideas at the CONGRESS OF VIENNA, Europe was changing fast. The rise of nationalism in Italy and Germany were two major events that dominated European history after 1815. The ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity from the French Revolution appealed to the people of Italy. The reduction of the number of states into the Kingdom of Italy, Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, along with introduction of reforms by the Napoleonic regimes between 1796 and 1814 unleashed the forces of nationalism. Joachim Murat, installed by his brother-in-law, NAPOLEON I, as king of Naples and Sicily, even conceived the idea of the Union of Italy in 1815 before Napoleon's defeat. The provisions of the Congress of Vienna once again vivisected Italy. The Bourbons were restored in the south in the form of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies. The Papal States once again ruled over central Italy. Austria dominated Italy by possessing Lombardy-Venetia and having close Habsburg ties with monarchs of various Italian states. Only the northwestern part of Italy, the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, was free from foreign control. The smaller states included the Grand Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, where the ruling houses had close ties with the Habsburgs.

Italian nationalism was nurtured at first with a streak of romanticism. Italian authors, particularly Alessandro Manzoni, contributed a great deal toward fostering Italian nationalism. After 1796 the FREEMASONS advocated for a united Italy. Apart from a common hatred of the Austrians, the political and economic advantages at the time of unified administration under Napoleon contributed to the rise of nationalism among Italians.

From 1810 onward, the secret societies that had sprung up in Italy against Napoleonic rule diverted their attention toward the new regimes after the Congress of Vienna. The *carbonari* (literally, "charcoal burners") members, numbering about 50,000, pledged to revolt, signing their names in blood. They had a common goal of national independence and freedom from foreign domination. The Kingdom of Two Sicilies, ruled by King Ferdinand I, felt the onslaught of a *carbonari* army led by General Guglielmo Pepe in July 1820. Pepe, a distinguished military officer, had joined the *carbonari* revolution. A liberal constitution was created, but the following year the revolution was crushed by the Austrians.

The constitution was scrapped, and revolutionaries were arrested. Pepe went into exile for 20 years. The insurrection in Piedmont-Sardinia led by a group of army officers under the leadership of Santorre di Santarosa in March 1821 also was short-lived. King Victor Emanuel I abdicated in favor of his brother, and the new king, Charles Felix, sought Austrian help to crush the revolt. Santarosa, who had become the minister of war at the time of the uprising, went into exile in France after the failure of the revolution.

The July Revolution of 1830 that swept over France had its impact in Italy, where a series of insurrections took place. Francis IV, duke of Modena, with a plan to extend his dominion, had declared that he would not oppose the rebellions. The French monarch, Louis-Philippe, also promised that he would oppose an Austrian intervention. Encouraged by this, the *carbonari* revolutionaries began to rise in rebellion in northern and southern Italy. The duchies of Parma and Modena, along with a sizable part of the Papal States, came under their control. A program of Province Italian Unite was proclaimed. But like the earlier insurrection of 1820s, *carbonari* attempts failed due to Austrian intervention. Louis-Philippe did not come to their aid after an Austrian warning against French intervention. By the spring of 1831 the resistance movement was crushed.

The Risorgimento in Italy would be dominated by three important nationalists, who had separate ideology and strategy, but had the common goal of achieving Italian unification. GIUSEPPE MAZZINI was a political theorist; GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI was a soldier; and COUNT CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR was a politician. Mazzini joined the *carbonari* movement in 1827, but was imprisoned in Savona in 1830. After his release, he appealed to the new king, Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia, to liberate the Italian states from Austrian domination. Although he had joined the *carbonari* as it was developing awareness among Italians, Mazzini was moving away from it.

As an exile in the French city of Marseille, Mazzini set up Giovine Italia (Young Italy) in 1831 for Italian unification. He believed in the power of youth and membership was restricted to persons under the age of 40. By 1833, membership grew to 60,000 people. Mazzini was avowedly anti-royalist and was in favor of a republican form of government. Within his agenda, social reforms played an important part. His vision of a democratic and republican Italy also extended beyond the borders of Italy. The Young Italy movement spread, giving rise to Young Poland, Young

Germany, and other organizations that were merged into a revolutionary organization called Young Europe in 1834.

### RAISING AN INSURRECTION

With his political credo of liberty and equality, Mazzini believed in a mass movement to end the dominance of Austria and drive out the ruling houses from the different kingdoms of Italy. In 1832 his attempt to raise an insurrection in a Sardinian army failed, and he was awarded a death sentence in absentia. Expelled from France, he lived in Switzerland and made another abortive attempt in 1834 against Sardinia. After three years, he migrated to London and made the city his base to carry out revolutionary activities. He had become a cult figure and a prophet of European nationalism.

Apart from Mazzini's, another group, called the Neo-Guelfs, was working toward an emancipated Italy. Like the Guelfs of the Middle Ages, the Neo-Guelfs engaged the pope to free Italy from the domination of the German emperor. Their leader, Abbe Vincenzo Gioberti, published a 700-page volume entitled *Il Primato Morale e Civile Degli Italiani* in 1843, in which he outlined federated Italian states under the papacy. Executive authority would be entrusted to a group of princes. A union of Rome with Turin (the capital of Piedmont) would lead the pope to head the federation of Italian states and the army of Piedmont would defend it.

The new pope, PIUS IX, had carried out reforms, raising the hope of liberals. He was highly praised for granting freedom of speech and the press. When the February Revolution engulfed France in 1848, there was a great upsurge of revolutionary activity in Italy. In the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, King Ferdinand II was forced to grant a liberal constitution with a free press and individual liberty. Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome also had similar constitutions. In Milan and Venice, the respective capitals of Austrian Lombardy and Venetia, there were revolutionary upsurges.

The collapse of Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venetia brought about an upsurge against the Austrians. The economic exploitation of Venetia by Austria fueled the demand for independence. The desire for political change was voiced by all, including manufacturers, bankers, and intellectuals. The Republic of St. Mark was proclaimed in March 1848 under the leadership of Daniel Manin. The Milanese welcomed Mazzini, returned from exile. Mazzini was soon joined by Garibaldi in Milan.

Garibaldi, the revolutionary hero of Italian unification, had joined the Young Italy group in 1833. He shared the political philosophy of Mazzini to a large extent. He was also sentenced to death in absentia for his participation in the abortive rebellion in Piedmont in 1834. He lived as an exile on the American continent and formed the Italian Legion in 1843.

The liberation of Uruguay in 1846 made him a hero. He, along with 60 volunteers, came back to Italy to participate in the struggle for unification and offered assistance to the Milanese. Both Mazzini and Garibaldi proceeded toward Rome, where the adherents of Young Italy had rebelled in November 1848. Pope Pius IX fled to the Neapolitan zone, where a democratic republic was in place. Mazzini was at the helm of affairs and carried out the administration and social reforms with efficiency.

### TRIUMPHANT MARCH

It seemed that Italian revolutionaries were on a triumphant march everywhere, and unification was becoming a reality. But it was not to be; the Austrians led a counteroffensive. Charles Albert, the king of Piedmont-Sardinia, had agreed to a constitutional regime and annexed Lombardy along with the duchies of Parma and Modena.

He took command of the Italian forces against the Austrians, but was defeated at the Battle of Custoza in July 1845 and again at the Battle of Novara in March 1849. Albert abdicated in favor of his son VICTOR EMMANUEL II. The defeat of Albert sealed the fate of Piedmont-Sardinia, Lombardy, Venetia, and likely the whole of Italy. Besieged Venice did not withstand. General Pepe, who had returned from exile, and Manin surrendered to the Austrian army in August 1849. The Republic of St. Mark came to an end.

Meanwhile, an alarmed pope appealed to France for assistance. The new Roman republic was besieged, and Mazzini surrendered on July 3, 1849. A crestfallen Mazzini returned to London, where he attempted republican uprisings (Mantua, 1852, and Milan, 1853). They failed but kept national consciousness burning. The heroic defense of the city made Garibaldi a cult figure in the saga of Italian unification.

Italy almost returned to its pre-1948 status, divided into sovereign principalities, with Austrian domination intact. The revolutionary phase of unification was over. It was left to the cautious diplomacy of Cavour, the prime minister of Piedmont-Sardinia, to achieve the task. The kingdom took leadership, had a constitution, and elected a parliament.

Cavour began publishing the newspaper *Il Risorgimento* in 1847, and it became the mouthpiece of movement toward Italian unification. He entered parliament in 1848–49 and subsequently became the premier of Piedmont in 1852. A practitioner of *Realpolitik*, he cultivated a friendship with Britain and France. He even joined the CRIMEAN WAR against Russia on the French side.

Cavour persuaded Napoleon III to sign the Pact of Plombières in July 1858. Napoleon III wanted to change some provisions of the Congress of Vienna and desired annexation of Savoy. Piedmont-Sardinia would be enlarged into a North Italian Kingdom. Austria was defeated in the two battles of Magenta and Solferino in June 1859. Napoleon III was alarmed when Prussia threatened to help Austria. He met with FRANZ JOSEF, and the compromise formula of Villafranca in July 1859 allowed only the annexation of Lombardy but not Venetia with Piedmont.

Popular uprisings in northern and central Italy resulted in the merger of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Romagna with Piedmont after a plebiscite in March 1860. Garibaldi landed with his 1,000 Red Shirts and brought Sicily and Naples under his control. Afterward the two states voted to join Piedmont. The troops from Piedmont vanquished the Papal States, except for Rome. In March 1861 the Italian parliament proclaimed the Kingdom of Italy. Only Venice and Rome were outside the orbit of unified Italy. In the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Italy sided with Prussia and received Venice. Rome voted to merge with Italy in October 1870 after the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. The city had been abandoned by Napoleon III, and Italian troops easily marched in. It became the capital of Italy in July 1871. Thus the unification of Italy was almost complete. Italian nationalists had not regained possession of Trieste and Trent, and Italy joined World War I, mainly to obtain them.

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## Iturbide, Agustín de

(1783–1824) *Mexican emperor*

Occupying a place in Mexican national memory as an arrogant self-serving opportunist and failure, Agustín de Iturbide (EE-toor-BE-day) was instrumental in securing Mexico's independence from Spain, after which he installed himself as the new nation's first (and only Mexican-born) emperor, only to be overthrown after a brief and ineffectual reign.

His rule extended for some 16 months: from September 28, 1821, when his so-called Army of the Three Guarantees marched into Mexico City, until his overthrow in mid-February 1823 by a coalition of rebels led by JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA. His reign as emperor was even shorter—the eight months from his coronation on July 21, 1822, to his forced abdication on March 19, 1823. Unaware that the new congress had declared him a traitor and forbidden his reentry to Mexico, Iturbide returned from exile in Europe and was captured, tried, and, on July 19, 1824, in Padilla, Tamalpais, executed by firing squad.

Born in Valladolid (present-day Morelia, Michoacán), Mexico, Iturbide declined a post in the insurgency of MIGUEL HIDALGO in 1810, instead joining the Spanish royalist forces and helping to defeat the rebellion led by the renegade priest. His royalist military career was undistinguished until 1820, when in response to the liberal Riego revolt in Spain, he switched sides, allied with liberal insurgent leader Vicente Guerrero, issued the Plan de Iguala, formed the Army of the Three Guarantees, and marched into Mexico City unopposed. His politics can be characterized as archconservative, his principal concern with maintaining the status quo and glorifying his person and rule.

His reign had an almost surreal quality. Ignoring the myriad problems confronting the new nation, its economy devastated by more than a decade of revolution and war, Iturbide focused instead on the details of the protocol for his coronation, hiring French tailors to devise suitably regal accoutrements, commissioning artisans to craft appropriately splendid royal standards and emblems for his reign, establishing national holidays to honor the birthdays of himself and his children, making his rule hereditary, and stifling all dissent and criticism to his increasingly autocratic rule. Scholars generally recognize Iturbide's acumen in understanding the general importance for centralized rule and nationalist trappings and symbols in a geographically expansive, newly independent nation-state wracked by division and strife. Yet they also agree that

Iturbide's intolerance toward criticism and self-glorifying symbolism meant little in the absence of coalition-building or genuine engagement with the pressing issues of the day.

Iturbide did achieve one significant diplomatic coup in December 1822 when the U.S. Congress recognized his regime. That same month, JOSE ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA launched his revolt against the regime in his home state of Veracruz. Iturbide's last significant action as emperor came in January 1823, when he signed a decree permitting the settlement of parts of the territory of Texas by Stephen F. Austin's colony of Anglo-Americans. In 1838, 14 years after his execution, Iturbide's remains were interred in the National Cathedral in Mexico City.

To this day one would be hard pressed to find any public memorial to his rule or person anywhere in Mexico, testimony to the disgraced position Mexico's first and only homegrown emperor occupies in Mexican national memory.

See also MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF; TEXAS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE ALAMO.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER



## **Jackson, Andrew**

(1767–1845) *American president*

Although Andrew Jackson would not be elected president until 1828, the Jacksonian age can be said to have begun on January 8, 1815, when troops under Jackson's command successfully repelled a much larger British force at the Battle of New Orleans, sealing the WAR OF 1812 treaty that had been signed a month before in Ghent, Belgium. Americans greeted peace with a new optimism about the future of the nation, and that optimism helped prompt developments in the public and private sectors that would dramatically change American life. Those changes, however, created a backlash spurred by concerns that the achievements of the generation of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION were being lost. Those who feared economic changes generally cheered the ongoing political democratization that has often been associated with Jackson's name.

### **MILITARY LEADERSHIP**

Andrew Jackson was an unusual figure to be associated with a democratic movement. Born in 1767, probably in South Carolina, to a widowed mother, he participated as a young teenager in the American Revolution and spent some time as a prisoner of war. That experience, coupled with the deaths of his mother and brother from disease (deaths that Jackson blamed on the British), led Jackson to distrust the British and the idea of aristocracy. Nevertheless, Jackson made his place in the world as a lawyer, politician, and slave-

holding planter, ultimately rising to prominence in his adopted state of Tennessee.

Jackson would also assume leadership of the Tennessee militia, leading it during the War of 1812 against those among the Creek Indians who had allied with the British as part of their attempt to resist further American incursions on their lands. After the war, Jackson would be called to service to subdue other Creek and Seminole, and he entered Spanish Florida in pursuit of that goal, causing an international incident, but paving the way for Spain to cede Florida to the United States. His national fame, however, rested on his stunning victory at New Orleans, where he lost just 71 men, compared to British casualties of more than 2,000.

Even as Jackson's men were assembling in New Orleans, a third event that would profoundly shape the age of Jackson was taking place—a meeting of the Federalist Party in Hartford, Connecticut. Although calmer voices would prevail, some of the sentiments voiced during this Hartford Convention approached treason to many Americans, seeming to suggest the utter futility of resisting the British and the need for New England to secede and sue for a separate peace. The demise of the Federalist Party ensued amid public outrage.

### **EARLY POLITICAL ALIGNMENT**

As the Federalist Party faded from the political scene, a group of Democratic-Republicans with nationalist ideas similar to the former Federalists took control of the now one-party nation. These National Republicans embraced a stronger standing army, a series of internal



*Andrew Jackson, the seventh president of the United States, rose to national prominence as a hero of the War of 1812.*

improvements to aid in the movement of troops and goods, a revenue tariff with protective elements, and, most important, a **SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES** to replace the Federalist's **FIRST BANK**, which the Democratic-Republicans had gleefully allowed to die just five years previously. For a short period after the war, a sense of optimism prevailed, as the leaders of the country began to come together in a common vision of the public good.

That optimism was punctured by the panic of 1819. As the ripples from the panic made their way across America, questions arose as to its source. For many Americans, a properly working political economy would have no panics; therefore, a panic signaled a failure of that political economy, generally the result of the political system giving to some person, or group of persons, special privileges. Their eyes rested on the Second Bank of the United States, to whom many privileges of doing business, including limited liability and the issuance of money, had been given by the U.S. Congress.

The sense of many on the periphery of society that some kind of cabal was controlling the government and privileging the few at the expense of the many was reinforced by the perception that those in Congress exercised unwarranted power in the selection of the president via the congressional caucus. The caucus system would take a hit in 1824, nominating William Crawford of Georgia. Among the other candidates were **JOHN QUINCY ADAMS** and Henry Clay, obvious congressional insiders, but outsiders coalesced around Jackson's candidacy. Jackson won a plurality of both the popular and electoral votes, but since no candidate won an electoral majority, presidential selection returned to Congress's hands. Congress chose Adams as president, and Adams's selection of Clay as his secretary of state caused Jackson's supporters to suspect a "corrupt bargain." For four years, Jackson's supporters seethed, and, in 1828, elected Jackson the clear winner.

In the minds of his supporters, Jackson represented the triumph of the common man; the political races in which he ran certainly drew much greater participation in the political life of the nation. Since the American Revolution, more and more states had eliminated property qualifications for voting. Still, as late as 1824, a number of states did not even poll for the presidency but left selection of electors to their state legislatures. In states that did poll, these November elections were generally held separately from state and local campaigns, and voter turnout was often substantially lower—until the Jacksonian era, when both presidential and local elections began to attract more than 90 percent of eligible voters in some states.

### **THREE MAJOR ISSUES OF JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY**

Jackson's personal belief that he was the instrument of the people emerged from this popular support and played a significant role in shaping his positions on the three major issues that defined his presidency: Indian removal, the nullification crisis, and the Bank war. Indian removal involved the relocation of a number of Native American nations from their lands east of the Mississippi to land in Indian Territory, primarily the modern state of Oklahoma. The plan for removal far predated Jackson, as **THOMAS JEFFERSON** believed such removal would be necessary to buy time for these nations to become "civilized," when they would then be assimilated into European-American society. Rather than move farther west, many of these nations attempted to remain on their lands and resist outright assimilation efforts, even while taking on many European-American ways. Their failure to move west angered a racist electorate,

who sought their lands not as much for greed as for the belief that land secured the independence that was the birthright of white men.

When nations, particularly the Cherokee, resisted, Jackson was willing to do whatever it took to secure their removal. His approaches included political intrigue within Native American nations and defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court, all the while touting his efforts as necessary to save these nations from their demise. Despite his professions of paternalistic concern for the Native people, Jackson got their land for the many small farmers and large planters who desired it for their own livelihood.

Jackson's response to the nullification crisis also illustrates his majoritarian outlook. When South Carolina attempted to defy a federal tariff, claiming the authority to nullify any federal law, Jackson took it as a personal and national affront, even though his ideological sympathies were with South Carolina. Some of his intransigence was rooted in his personal differences with one of the leaders of South Carolina's efforts, his own vice president, John C. Calhoun. His stubbornness on this issue was also driven by his belief that South Carolina was defying the will of the American people. Jackson threatened to use federal troops to prevent South Carolina from enforcing nullification, but he would later sign off on a compromise tariff that met many of South Carolina's demands. As long as South Carolina achieved its ends through the democratic process, Jackson was willing to agree.

The fight over the Second Bank of the United States represented the melding of Jackson's commitment to the will of the people and his supporters' belief that a cabal of men had taken charge in Washington, doling out special privileges to some. Nothing loomed larger in that belief than the creation of the Second Bank of the United States, chartered in 1816 and blamed by Jackson's supporters for the panic of 1819. Jackson's own position on the bank was never clear. As the election of 1832 approached, supporters of the bank realized that if he were reelected, he would be in position to veto the rechartering of the bank that was due in 1836. Bank supporters planned to place the bank up for recharter in 1832. They believed that Jackson would agree to the bank to ensure his reelection; if he opposed the bank, he would sour the electorate, and Henry Clay would be elected and agree to a second recharter bill. Their plan was brilliant but for one false premise—the majority of the American people opposed the bank. Jackson vetoed the bank as a bastion of privileges not afforded to ordinary Americans and won reelection.

## SEEDS OF DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Jackson's supporters were deeply ambivalent about the direction that the American economy and society were heading; the increasing importance of the MARKET REVOLUTION economy drove them to support Jackson as a means to limit the market's penetration into their lives and maintain their independence. But if they were pessimistic about the emerging capitalist society and the creation of a plutocracy, they held an optimistic vision of the continued potential of a democratic nation of small producers. The democratic movement that emerged behind Jackson sought to create its vision of the good society, politically giving voice to the majority will of white men and economically resting on the continued dispossession of the lands of native peoples to provide the independent farms of those white men.

Jackson left office in 1837 and died in 1845, but the Democratic Party founded in his wake would continue on. The optimistic spirit of the Jacksonian era would soon be tested by the economic and social transformations of urbanization and industrialization that the Jacksonians proved incapable of preventing and by the great conflagration of the CIVIL WAR.

See also FINANCIAL PANICS IN NORTH AMERICA; MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND NEW ORLEANS; NATIVE AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES; WAR OF 1812.

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RICHARD F. NATION

## Jefferson, Thomas

(1743–1826) *American president and statesman*

Thomas Jefferson was born on April 13, 1743, at Shadwell in Albemarle County, Virginia. Jefferson's father created the first accurate map of the Virginia colony, and when he died in 1757, he left his son 5,000 acres of land. Jefferson studied under several tutors, and in 1760, enrolled himself in the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. He completed his studies there in 1762. Over the next five years, Jefferson studied law and, in 1767, was admitted to the bar. He practiced law for the next seven years.



In 1769 he was elected to the House of Burgesses and began construction on his home at Monticello. He was married on January 1, 1772, to Martha Wayles Skelton. They had six children, only two of whom survived to adulthood. He published *Summary View of the Rights of America* in 1774, which was his draft of instruction that he felt should be given to Virginia's delegates to the First Continental Congress, but were considered too radical. He was elected as part of Virginia's delegation to the First Continental Congress as a backup.

Jefferson was elected to the committee charged with writing a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE in addition to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JOHN ADAMS, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson drafted the initial document and although the other committee members and Congress made changes to it, most of the document was his handiwork.



The third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson is seen as the major contributor to the Declaration of Independence.

With his return to Virginia, Jefferson joined the House of Delegates on October 7, 1776. He immediately revised the laws of Virginia. Included in the changes was the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, as well as doing away with primogeniture.

Jefferson was elected governor of Virginia on June 1, 1779, by the General Assembly, serving two one-year terms. The office of governor had little power because it was overseen by a committee from the General Assembly. With the loss of the revenue from the export of tobacco and then a drought in 1779 that almost totally destroyed the wheat crop, the colony was suffering. To raise money, the assembly turned to printing money, which only made the situation worse. Jefferson was not interested in serving a third term, but before his replacement could be elected, the AMERICAN REVOLUTION began, brought to Virginia by Benedict Arnold, who had switched his allegiance to the British. Arnold attacked Richmond as well as military stores; Jefferson did not call out the militia in time to protect the city.

With the end of his governorship, Jefferson took some time to be with his family and tend to his farms. He also took time to work on *Notes on the State of Virginia*, which documented geography, productions, politics, and social life in Virginia. His wife died on September 6, 1782. In November he was appointed to the peace commission in Paris, but his services became unnecessary, and the appointment was withdrawn. He was elected to serve in Congress again in June 1783.

While serving in Congress, Jefferson put forward the idea to forbid slavery in the western territories after 1800. He also presented a report on December 20, 1783, on the procedure for negotiating commercial treaties with foreign governments. Because of this report he was appointed to assist Franklin and Adams as they negotiated commercial treaties in Europe; he joined them on August 6.

#### MINISTER TO FRANCE

Jefferson replaced Franklin as minister to France in 1785 and held the position until he returned home in October 1789, when he was offered the job of secretary of state by President GEORGE WASHINGTON, which he accepted. Jefferson became the first secretary of state in March 1790. During his time in office, he came into conflict with ALEXANDER HAMILTON over the creation of the BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, which Jefferson opposed. Jefferson and Hamilton continued to be at odds throughout

Jefferson's time in office. A point that both men agreed on was that the United States needed to stay neutral during the FRENCH REVOLUTION. Agreeing to stay in office until the end of 1793, Jefferson decided to retire again from public life and return to Monticello.

His retirement lasted only a few years. Jefferson was nominated for the presidency in 1796 but lost to political rival John Adams. During these four years, the Congress passed the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS, which Jefferson interpreted as being designed more to attack his own party than to protect the new country. Writing anonymously, Jefferson and JAMES MADISON attacked the acts with the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, declaring that the federal government could have no power that was not specifically allowed by the states. In effect, this was the first voicing of the theory of states' rights.

### THE PRESIDENCY

In 1800 Jefferson ran for president, and the election ended in a tied electoral vote between him and Aaron Burr. The tie was broken by the House of Representatives, which voted for Jefferson. He was the first president to have his inauguration in Washington, D.C., which he had helped design while secretary of state. Jefferson served two terms from 1801 to 1809. It was during Jefferson's first term that he sent James Monroe to France to purchase the town of NEW ORLEANS; Madison worked out a deal to purchase the entire LOUISIANA TERRITORY for \$15 million. The purchase doubled the size of the country. Jefferson then commissioned Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to lead an expedition into the new territory. During his first term he also sent a naval force against the Barbary pirates and against the sultan of Morocco. In the end a new treaty was negotiated with the sultan that granted the United States more favorable terms than the previous agreement.

Jefferson's second term was marked by war between France and England. The United States wanted to remain neutral and not get involved in the war. Because of the limits and restrictions placed on American merchants by both European powers, the United States found itself in a no-win situation. In an attempt to keep the United States out of war, Congress enacted an embargo on shipments to Europe to get France and Britain to negotiate better trade terms with the United States, which did not happen. On March 1, 1809, Jefferson was forced to end the embargo. Shortly afterward, his second term was over, and he was able to

turn the office and the problems of Europe over to Madison.

After leaving office Jefferson returned to Virginia, where he spent the remainder of his life. The embargo had hurt most of the planters in Virginia, and Jefferson was no exception. Taking on even more debt, he was forced in 1815 to sell his personal library to the government; the collection started the Library of Congress. He also turned over management of his lands to his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. Jefferson wanted to see a university established in western Virginia. In 1814 he got involved, as a trustee, with the Albemarle Academy, which then became Central College and eventually the University of Virginia. The General Assembly approved funding for the university in 1818, and a commission was formed, with Jefferson as a member, to find a site for the school. The final report was made, and a charter was issued in 1819 for the university, which opened its doors in 1825.

Jefferson suffered another financial setback and set about selling his land to cover his debt. He died believing that his debts would be covered, not realizing that Monticello would end up passing out of the hands of his heirs. Jefferson died on July 4, 1826.

In 1998 evidence came to light suggesting that Jefferson had fathered a number of children with his slave Sally Hemings. While such allegations were not new—as early as 1802 a Richmond newspaper reported that Jefferson lived with a slave named Sally as a concubine—DNA evidence linked Jefferson's family with that of Hemings. While inconclusive in determining the actual parentage, most experts agree that it is unlikely that any member of Jefferson's family other than Thomas Jefferson was the father of Sally Hemings's children.

This highlights Jefferson's complicated views on race and slavery. While a slaveholder himself, Jefferson spoke out against slavery; original wording in the Declaration of Independence condemned the British government for continuing the slave trade; and, as president, Jefferson abolished the slave trade in 1807. His own ownership of slaves appears to have caused him a great deal of internal conflict, and shortly before his death he freed his five most trusted slaves.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## Jiaqing (Chia-ch'ing)

(r. 1796–1820) *Qing emperor of China*

Jiaqing was the name Yongyan (Yung-yen) took as the fifth emperor of the Qing (CH'ING) or Manchu dynasty. He was the fifth son of Emperor QIANLONG (Ch'ien-lung) and was secretly designated as his heir in 1773 because of his character and diligence. The choice was not made public until 1795, when Qianlong announced his intention to abdicate. Although Qianlong abdicated on Chinese New Year's Day in 1796, he continued to hold the reins of power until his death in 1799, relegating the new emperor to ceremonial duties.

Qianlong ruled too long for the country's good, sowing seeds of decay in his declining years and allowing massive corruption to go unchecked. Jiaqing began his actual rule with the arrest and execution of Heshen (Ho-shen), his father's favorite who had abused power and looted the treasury for a quarter century. The inventory of his confiscated holdings equaled about \$1.5 billion. Heshen, however, was the symptom of decay in an empire where corruption had become pervasive. Popular revolts had broken out in several provinces, some organized by religiously inspired secret societies (for example, the WHITE LOTUS REBELLION) that the Banner army units, the once-crack army that had conquered the empire, were unable to put down. The population had doubled during the 18th century to about 300 million, putting unbearable pressure on the available land, leading to food shortages and sometimes famines. The Yellow River flooded 17 times during Jiaqing's reign; relief efforts exhausted the treasury and reduced the national income.

Jiaqing was not a dynamic leader, but he was frugal and hardworking and labored to reduce corruption and waste. For example, he reduced the expenditure of the imperial household and reduced state support for the huge numbers of his relatives and retainers, resulting in an assassination attempt by a disgruntled former recipient of imperial largess in 1813. His policies were at least partially successful, restoring peace and balancing the budget during his last years.

By Jiaqing's reign, Great Britain had become China's major trading partner, accounting for between 70

and 80 percent of all foreign trade through Guangzhou (Canton). In 1793 Great Britain had sent an embassy led by LORD MACARTNEY to obtain better trading conditions, without success. In 1816 a second British mission under Lord Amherst arrived in China to announce Britain's victory over NAPOLEON I and to reopen negotiations. It again failed, due to a mix-up over Amherst's credentials and his refusal to kowtow (prostrate) before the emperor as Chinese court protocol required. Twenty-six years later the issue would be settled by war.

Jiaqing tried to stem the decline of the Qing dynasty, with limited success. He was well educated, a conscientious ruler, and a patron of learning who sponsored the compilation and publication of many works.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Johnstown flood

The May 31, 1889, flood in western Pennsylvania that devastated the industrial town of Johnstown and nearby communities that were home to 30,000 people left more than 2,200 dead. It was one of 19th-century America's most famous disasters and arguably its worst. Human errors of poor land management, deforestation, inadequate dam maintenance, and incompetent engineering combined with record-setting rains to launch this natural disaster, as telegraphed warnings went unheeded until it was too late.

It began a day after Memorial Day when the South Fork Dam, originally built in the 1850s as part of a canal system and used in the 1880s to create a fishing and hunting resort for wealthy Pittsburgh industrialists, failed after days of heavy rainfall, sending a tsunamilike wall of water racing toward unprepared communities in the Conemaugh River valley below. Within the space of 10 minutes, the torrent, sweeping trees, train cars, houses, and human and animal remains before it, had all but obliterated Johnstown, its iron industry, and most of its homes.



After the flood: A variety of factors, including deforestation and poor land management, caused the Johnstown flood.

This staggering event and its long aftermath of identification, burial, typhoid control, clean-up, and economic recovery attracted national press attention, helping to launch the career of Philadelphia journalist Richard Harding Davis, later a successful globe-trotting author. And it was at Johnstown that Clara Barton, nurse-heroine of the CIVIL WAR, proved the capability of her eight-year-old American Red Cross to respond effectively to disasters, working tirelessly with her staff in the devastated town for five full months.

Governments, communities, and individuals across the United States donated almost \$4 million to the recovery effort, while poet Walt Whitman honored the dead in verse.

Some critics, including surviving victims of the flood, blamed the disaster on the careless selfishness of members of the South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club whose dam had given way. Members of this exclusive men's club included titans of American industry, among them Andrew Carnegie and his lieutenant, Henry Clay Frick, and members of the Mellon family. None of several lawsuits seeking damages for criminal negligence in the deaths, injuries, and monetary losses was successful. However, the Johnstown incident seemed to bolster evidence of indifference by the wealthy and powerful in America's late GILDED AGE. Combined with ongoing LABOR UNION agitation, this view compounded many Americans' sense of growing national inequality and resentment.

The city of Johnstown was soon rebuilt. In 1977, after nine hours of hard rain, a 15-foot wall of water roared through the city, washing away a significant section of Johnstown and killing 76. It was a deadly and ironic coda to one of the nation's most storied disasters.

See also TRANSCENDENTALISM.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Joseph II

(1741–1790) *Holy Roman Emperor and ruler of the Habsburg lands*

Emperor Joseph II of the Holy Roman Empire was the son of Empress MARIA THERESA of Austria and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis I. Joseph II was born in the middle of the War of the Austrian Succession on March 13, 1741. The War of the Austrian Succession began with the death of Maria Theresa's father, Emperor Charles VI, in October 1740. King FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA saw the succession of Maria Theresa as a moment of weakness and determined to attack Austria. The Salic law governing the empire had prevented a female succeeding to the throne, and Charles VI had devoted much of his reign to gaining the acceptance of the European powers to accept Maria Theresa as his successor in spite of her sex. Beset by the Prussian invasion, the youthful Joseph II may have been his mother's secret weapon in the war. Needing Hungary's help against Frederick, Maria Theresa appeared before the Hungarian magnates at Pressburg, holding the infant boy in her arms, at her coronation there on June 19, 1741. The overwhelming wave of affection for the young mother and son did more to cement Hungary's ties to Austria than any treaty.

Joseph's education was largely supervised by his mother, who saw herself as a child of the ENLIGHTENMENT and chose to rule over Austria and Hungary as an "enlightened despot," a philosopher-queen who desired to better the lives of her subjects. Joseph was therefore raised with the Enlightenment quest for toleration and just government. On the death of Emperor Francis I in 1765, Maria Theresa chose her son to rule jointly with her, which would continue until her death on November

29, 1780. In 1778, Joseph II received his first taste of war with the War of the Bavarian Succession. Two years later in 1780, upon the death of his mother, he began to make policy for the Austrian empire on his own terms. Joseph II became an activist emperor who dedicated his reign to the improvement of his subjects' lives.

With his campaign to improve the life of the peasantry, Joseph pursued a program of land reform that was far ahead of his time. His reformist views had often received resistance from his more conservative mother, and his assumption of the throne became to him a mandate for change. While Czar Alexander II of Russia has gained praise for his abolishment of serfdom in 1861 in the Russian Empire, it is less-often noted that Joseph II of Austria abolished serfdom a full 80 years earlier in 1781. The most revolutionary part of his program was Joseph's insistence that the peasantry be able to purchase land at fair prices and marry without restrictions. Joseph's internal reforms also embodied an embryonic social welfare state more than a century before German Chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK established one in the German Empire in the 19th century.

In terms of religion, Joseph II showed himself to be a child of the Enlightenment as well. While not apparently a Freemason himself, Joseph showed himself friendly to the doctrines of FREEMASONRY in the empire. Certainly Joseph II was a patron of the great Austrian composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who entered a Masonic lodge in 1784 and remained a Mason until his premature death in 1791. Joseph also carried out reforms within the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, he issued his Patent of Toleration in 1781.

While Joseph II showed himself at his best in reforming the empire internally, his foreign policy of expansionism was carried out with a recklessness that had rarely been the mark of the rulers of the House of Habsburg. He had already been instrumental in bringing about the First Partition of the Kingdom of Poland between Austria, Prussia, and Russia in 1772. He pursued various means to ally with Russia for the partition of Turkey and Venice. Throughout his reign, his policy of carrying out ruthless centralization of the empire had steadily increased opposition among the people of the empire. The population was not nearly as progressive as its ruler, and he rubbed roughly against parochial interests and traditions that had remained virtually untouched since the Middle Ages. Much of Hungary was in unrest because of his determination to use German as the official language of the army and empire. As with many reformers filled with zeal, Joseph had displayed a lack of tact.

Joseph was relatively immune to retribution so long as he appeared to rule a strong empire. However, his failures at foreign policy fueled his opponents' perception of him as a weak monarch. Resistance to his reforms, long muted, burst into the open. Throughout the empire, there was upheaval. On January 30, 1790, Joseph II was forced to capitulate on his reforms. A broken man, he died almost exactly a month later, on February 20, 1790. Since he died childless, he was succeeded as Holy Roman Emperor by his brother, who would reign as Emperor LEOPOLD II. Yet as sickness had begun to take its toll in 1789, the FRENCH REVOLUTION erupted in Paris in July. Soon, the ancient institutions of the empire, which he, perhaps sensing the future, had tried to reform, would be struck down by the revolutionary doctrine of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." The upheaval caused by the FRENCH REVOLUTION would strike the Austrian empire with the force of a tidal wave that would make the reforms of Joseph II seem light by comparison.

See also ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM IN EUROPE; POLAND, PARTITIONS OF.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Juárez, Benito

(1806–1872) *Mexican president*

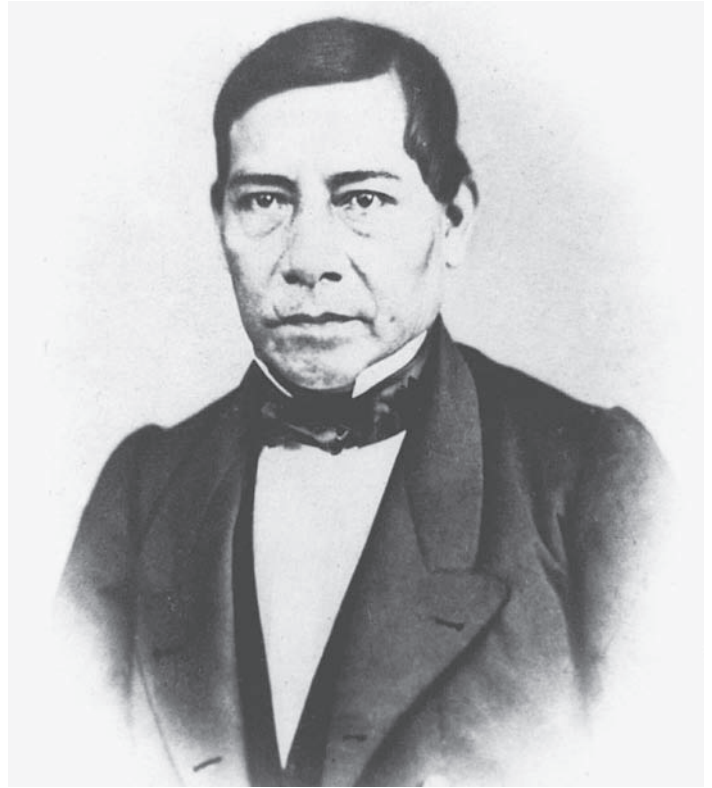
Popularly revered as Mexico's greatest and most beloved president, sometimes called Mexico's ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Benito Juárez rose from humble origins to become a towering figure of the mid-19th century. Like his contemporary Lincoln, Juárez overcame his disadvantaged youth, entered the law, became attracted to politics, and by dint of hard work and perseverance became his nation's preeminent political leader. Like Lincoln, Juárez was distinguished by his public morality, honesty, and rectitude; his solemn demeanor and simple dress (in Juárez's case, a plain dark frock coat); deep religious convictions; faith in justice and the law;

and exceptional strength of character. Like Lincoln, Juárez shepherded his nation through the horrors of civil war only to die in office at the height of his political influence. The country's only Indian president and the personification of the country's mid-19th century liberal reforms, Juárez was profoundly committed to the rule of law in a nation historically wracked by corruption, political opportunism, and personalist rule.

Born to Zapotec parents in the province of Oaxaca on March 21, 1806, Benito Pablo Juárez was orphaned at age three and taken in by his uncle, for whom he worked as a shepherd until around age 12. Speaking only rudimentary Spanish, he migrated to Oaxaca City, where he apprenticed to a bookbinder before entering Santa Cruz Seminary, Oaxaca's only secondary school. There, he studied Latin, philosophy, and moral theology in preparation for entry into the priesthood. Disenchanted with the prospect of clerical life, at age 22 he matriculated at the newly established Institute of Science and Arts, studying political economy, mathematics, and natural sciences before receiving his law degree in 1834.

It was during his law studies that Juárez developed his lifelong adherence to ENLIGHTENMENT principles of reason, secularism, individual rights, and republican government. Delving into the rough and tumble world of local politics, he was elected to Oaxaca's city council in 1831, earning a reputation as hardworking, honest, fair, and a rigorous legal thinker. In 1842 he was appointed minister of government and, in 1847, governor of Oaxaca, leaving office in unheard-of circumstances: with a surplus in the treasury. In 1843 he married Spanish-descended Margarita Maza, a union that inverted the country's historical racial-ethnic marriage conventions. After Mexico's humiliating defeat in the War of '47 (MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR), Governor Juárez declared President JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA persona non grata in Oaxaca, a slight for which Santa Ana never forgave him. Forced into exile by Santa Ana in 1853, Juárez journeyed to New Orleans, where he joined a group of discontented liberals plotting the dictator's overthrow, a plan that came to fruition in 1855 in the Revolution of Ayutla.

From 1855 until his death from a heart attack in 1872, Juárez was the leading player in his nation's political life, serving as minister of justice, minister of the interior, provisional president headquartered mostly at Veracruz during the War of the Reform, president of the republic, and leader of the national resistance movement against the French occupation. In 1867 he was elected to a third term as president, and, in 1871, to a fourth, dying in office on July 18, 1872, at the age of 66.



*In many ways, the life and political career of Mexico's Benito Juárez mirrors that of U.S. president Abraham Lincoln.*

A lifelong practicing Roman Catholic, Juárez respected the church and its historic role in Mexican society but believed more strongly in Enlightenment principles of individual rights and the secularization of law and government. Mid-19th-century Mexican liberalism ranged on a spectrum from "pure" to "moderate" (*puros* and *moderados*). More moderate than pure, Juárez envisioned a harmonious coexistence of church and state and saw no contradiction between respect for the nation's religious institutions and a secularized state and judicial system. A strong proponent of education, he oversaw the foundation of numerous schools and colleges and devoted much of his public life to educational reform. He also pursued numerous public health initiatives, consistently exhibiting an abiding concern for the material welfare of the poor and downtrodden. His personal life mirrored his public, his personal letters revealing a man deeply committed to his wife and children.

His critics maintained that during his last years in office Juárez grew increasingly authoritarian and intolerant of dissent, his reelection to a fourth term revealing a man intoxicated by political power. Others argue that his actions must be interpreted in the context of the


period, particularly the regional revolts and uprisings that rocked the restored republic, combined with the country's weak sense of national identity, which required forceful assertion of the supremacy of the central state. His liberal policies violently rejected by many Indian communities, the Zapotec president was Indian in biogenetic terms only. His thinking, indeed his whole being, was Mexican, his political career demonstrating his commitment to transforming the collective rights of Indians in communities into the individual rights of Mexican citizens, a transformation that many Indian communities fiercely resisted. Juárez

left an enduring mark on the nation's political life and, along with Lázaro Cárdenas, is widely considered the most popular president in Mexican history, especially among the poor.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

# K



## **Kader ibn Moheiddin al-Hosseini, Abdul**

(1808–1882) *Algerian leader*

Abdul Kader (Abd al-Qadir) was born into a religious family. His father was the sheikh of one of the major Sufi orders in Algeria, and he had a religious education. Abdul Kader led the armed resistance to the French occupation of the country from 1832 to 1847. The leading sheikhs pledged allegiance to Abdul Kader, who was known as Amir al-Monenin (Prince of the Faithful). Abdul Kader was able to unify the Algerian tribes based on the rule of Islam. He levied taxes, minted coins, and supported education with the advice of a council of notables.

Abdul Kader successfully employed guerrilla warfare tactics to defeat the better armed French forces. He defeated General Camille Trézel, who was subsequently replaced by General Bertrand Clauzel. Although Clauzel managed to extend French control over Algerian cities, he was defeated by Kader's forces and removed from command in 1837. The French and Abdul Kader then signed the Treaty of Tafna, whereby the Algerians controlled the territory in the hinterland and the Kabylia in the east, and the French retained control over Algiers, Oran, and Constantine.

In 1839 the French renewed the war. From 1841 to 1847 the new commander, General Thomas Bugeaud, used surprise hit-and-run tactics with superior armaments to put the Algerians on the defensive. Abdul Kader attempted to carry on the struggle from neighboring Morocco,

but the French retaliated by attacking Moroccan ports and land forces. The Moroccan ruler then pledged to limit Abdul Kader's movements. In 1847 Abdul Kader surrendered to the French. The French had developed a grudging respect for Abdul Kader, who was released after several years in prison and given a French pension. He traveled to Istanbul, where he was well received by the Ottomans, before moving to Damascus, Syria. There, he notably saved many Christian lives by granting them safe haven in his own home during the 1860 confessional riots. Abdul Kader died in Damascus in 1882.

See also ALGERIA UNDER FRENCH RULE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## **Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei)**

(1858–1927) *Chinese scholar and political reformer*

Kang Youwei (K'ang Yu-wei) came from a scholarly family in Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province in southern China. A child prodigy, he distinguished himself in classical Confucian studies. Deeply impressed with the orderliness and efficiency of the British colonial administration in Hong Kong and Shanghai, he was inspired to take up Western



studies through reading all available translations; they helped him form views on how to strengthen China against the threat of foreign encroachment.

Kang wrote two books, the *Datong Shu* (or Ta-tung Shu, The Great Commonwealth) and *Confucius as a Reformer*. A utopian and syncretic thinker, he redefined the Confucian way to include Western methods to legitimize the inclusion of Western institutions inside the Confucian framework. He also established a school to teach his unorthodox and controversial ideals.

In 1895 Kang went to Beijing (Peking) to take part in the triennial metropolitan examinations. The date coincided with China's disastrous defeat at the hands of Japan and the humiliating TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI that ended the SINO-JAPANESE WAR. In response, Kang and his student Liang Qichiao (Liang Ch'i-ch'iao) coauthored a long memorial to the throne to protest the peace treaty and to urge the Qing (Ch'ing) court to initiate institutional reforms. It was cosigned by 603 of the candidates also gathered in Beijing to take the exams. Kang passed the exams with flying colors and was appointed to a government position in Beijing.

Between 1895 and 1898 he and his friends established a number of study societies throughout China that sponsored public lectures, translated foreign books into Chinese, published newspapers and magazines, and established libraries and museums. He also continued to submit memorials (a practice he had begun in 1888) to the court with specific recommendations for reforms. Despite objections from conservative high officials, the young Emperor GUANGXU (Kuang-hsu) was impressed with his arguments and granted him an audience on January 24, 1898. Many more followed that culminated in the appointment of Kang and his allies to important positions. For 103 days, between June 11 and September 20, more than 40 decrees were promulgated that mandated thorough reforms in government administration, the military, and education. Inevitably, they aroused strong opposition from inside and outside the court and served as the pretext for the emperor's aunt, the dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi), to retake control in a coup d'état, put the emperor under permanent detention, and rescind all the reforms.

Kang escaped arrest with the help of British diplomats and continued to write, raise funds and recruit followers against Cixi during his long exile. He never wavered in his belief that a constitutional monarchy was a necessary transition stage from autocracy to democracy in China. As leader of the Constitutional Party, he opposed the 1911 republican revolution led by Sun Yat-sen and was critical of the political system it established.

He was involved in the abortive attempts to restore the monarchy in 1917 and 1923, which tarnished his reputation as a utopian and reformer. But he never abandoned his vision that China could be peacefully transformed into a model democracy by combining the best of both Western institutions and Confucian ideals.

See also HUNDRED DAYS OF REFORMS.

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JIU-FONG L CHANG

## Khayr al-Din

(1810–1889) *Tunisian and Ottoman reformer*

Khayr al-Din was one of the foremost reformers within the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. He was of Circassian Mamluk origin and had been brought to Istanbul, where he entered the service of Ahmad Bey, the de facto hereditary ruler of Tunisia.

Khayr al-Din was given a religious and secular education; he studied French as well as Arabic. He was impressed by Western technology, particularly in the fields of transportation and education, which he observed serving as an envoy in France. Like other Arabic reformers of the age, Khayr al-Din believed that Muslim society could assimilate modern technological developments while remaining true to religious tradition and practice. He also supported the earlier TANZIMAT reforms of the Ottoman Empire.

While in the service of both the bey of Tunis and the Ottoman sultan, Khayr al-Din sought to balance French, British, and Italian imperial ambitions in North Africa with the survival of the Ottoman Empire. His diplomacy demonstrated that the Ottoman Empire was not only a passive subject of the diplomatic maneuverings of the 19th century but an active participant seeking to thwart European designs to take territory and establish economic control over the empire. To prevent French incursions into Tunisia, Khayr al-Din negotiated with a reluctant sultan to affirm Tunisian autonomy under the Husaynid family, who, as in the past, would continue to pay the annual tribute to the sultan. After being rebuffed several times, Khayr al-Din's proposals regarding Tunisian autonomy were reluctantly accepted.

In 1860 Khayr al-Din was largely responsible for the promulgation of a constitution in Tunisia whereby the bey became responsible to an appointed council. This was the first constitution to be implemented anywhere in the Ottoman Empire or Southeast Asia. He served as the first president of the council. Conservatives and political enemies opposed the reforms, however, and the constitution was soon abrogated. Nonetheless, in face of mounting economic problems, Khayr al-Din was appointed prime minister in 1873.

A political pragmatist, he did not call for the return of the constitution but did succeed in implementing much-needed fiscal reforms in an attempt to avoid indebtedness to European powers. He also established the Sadiqiyya College with a Western curriculum of sciences and European languages. Many of its graduates later became the leaders of the Tunisian nationalist movement. When he thwarted their imperial designs, the French and Russians both pushed for Khayr al-Din's dismissal, and he was ousted from Tunisia. He then entered the service of the sultan in Istanbul and served as the vizier for a short period. Again, enemies within the army and among religious conservatives forced Khayr al-Din out of government service in 1879. He lived in retirement in Istanbul until his death in 1889.

A devout Muslim, Khayr al-Din wrote a memoir and long political statement, "The Road most Straight to Know the Conditions of the State," in which he discussed the importance of political accountability and the need to integrate Muslim belief and Western ideas. Like other Arab reformers, Khayr al-Din argued that the two were not incompatible.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Korea, late Yi dynasty

During the reign of Chongjo from 1776 until 1800, there were major changes in Korea, the first involving the rapid spread of Christianity. When Chongjo died, his 10-year-old son Sunjo became king. The boy's great-grandmother harbored a passionate hatred for Christianity, which was gaining many converts. She arrested many Christians, with the first ordained

Roman Catholic priest in Korea, Chou Wen-mu, giving himself up to the government to try to prevent further persecutions. He was executed, but the repression continued. In 1801 all male government slaves were freed, although slavery in Korea was not abolished until 1897.

King Hongjong (r. 1834–49) was only seven when he became king, and the regency council continued the anti-Christian persecution, executing, in 1839, the first Western resident missionary, who had lived in Seoul for several years unharmed. When Hongjong died, there was a succession crisis, and he was initially succeeded by Choljong, who was his father's second cousin. Choljong reigned until his death in 1864. As he had no male heir, there was another succession crisis. A compromise was reached, and Choljong's second cousin once removed became King Kojong, reigning from 1864 until 1907.

By this time trouble began again from traders who wanted to open up commerce with Korea. Occasionally the traders brought missionaries with them. In 1866 massive local hostility against foreign priests saw the French Catholic missionaries go into hiding or try to flee the country. Subsequently, the French sent a naval expedition to seek redress for the murder of some French priests. However, the French admiral who arrived off the coast of Korea was worried about landing his soldiers. Coinciding with the French taking control of southern Vietnam—also after attacks on missionaries—the French were not eager to spread themselves too thinly in Asia.

However, 1866 was important for Korean history for two additional reasons. The American vessel *Surprise* was wrecked off the Korean coast in that year. The American sailors on board were well treated and allowed to leave the country through Manchuria. However, in August 1866 the *General Sherman*, an American trading ship with a missionary on board, traveled down the Taedong River toward Pyongyang. Just before it reached the city, at Mongyongdae, it ran aground and some of the crew were quickly involved in a dispute with local farmers. The rest of the crew managed to rescue them, but the farmers then attacked the ship and killed everyone on board. One of the men involved in this attack was a local resident, Kim Eung Woo, who was the great-grandfather of the Korean communist leader Kim Il Sung. There is a monument on the site commemorating the role of the Koreans in this event.

In 1871 an American expedition was sent to Pyongyang to try to determine the fate of the *General Sherman* and also to rescue any prisoners who might have survived. The Korean government refused to enter into



*Yi Un, heir to the Korean throne in the early 20th century, was the last Yi emperor on the Asian peninsula.*

negotiations with the Americans, who, after destroying forts at Kianghwa, withdrew.

Soon after this the prospect of war between Korea and Japan was raised. The Japanese had sent an expeditionary force to Formosa (Taiwan) in 1872. Three years later, Japan demanded a trade treaty with Korea and also sent another delegation to China with a similar

request. On February 26, 1876, to avoid a conflict, the Koreans signed a treaty of amity and trade with Japan, granting Japan some extraterritorial rights in Korea. However, a phrase in the treaty affirmed that “Korea being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as Japan.” Japan sent a copy of the document to the new Chinese foreign ministry, which did not raise any objection to the phraseology. Although the Koreans were initially happy with the wording of the phrase, it would come back to haunt them. As Korea was essentially declared totally independent of China, it would allow Japan to interfere in Korean affairs without China being able to raise any objections.

By this time many Japanese politicians and the military were eager to take over Korea. When the British managed to get a concession at Port Hamilton, small islands off the southern coast of Korea, the Japanese prepared their plans for war with China. This broke out in 1894–95 when a rebellion led by the Tonghaks broke out in Korea. To safeguard their property and civilians in Korea, both the Chinese and the Japanese sent in troops. The Korean government quickly put down the rebellion, but neither the Chinese nor the Japanese would withdraw their soldiers. On July 20, 1894, the Japanese, in control of Seoul, seized control of the government.

They used their navy to prevent Chinese troopships from bringing in reinforcements. Both sides declared war on August 1, 1894, with the Chinese quickly building up their defenses in northern towns and cities. The Japanese acted quickly, sending their soldiers north, and on November 15, at the Battle of Pyongyang, 20,000 Japanese soldiers drove 14,000 Chinese soldiers out of the city. The Chinese then withdrew back across the Yalu River, the northern boundary of Korea. At the same time the Japanese drove the Chinese fleet out of Korean waters, and in October, Japanese soldiers crossed the Yalu River with the result that much of the rest of the fighting took place in China, especially in Manchuria and around Weihaiwei. Hostilities continued until the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, when China was forced to concede territory and also to fully recognize Korean independence, leaving Korea open to Japanese invasion.

In October 1895, Queen Min, who was believed to have led the anti-Japanese faction at the Korean court, was assassinated, and the Japanese were immediately blamed. King Kojong, fearing that he also might be in danger, fled to the Russian legation in Seoul. He made an alliance with the Russians, offering them mining and timber concessions. By this time there was agitation

among many Koreans who wanted an end to Japanese interference. A political group called the Tongnip Hyophoe (Independence Club) was formed by a nationalist called So Chae-p'il. King Kojong returned to the palace and declared himself the emperor of the Tae Han empire. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, the Koreans tried to prevent the warring parties from using Korean territory but eventually had to allow the Japanese to use bases in Korea to attack the Russians. With the end of that war at the Treaty of Portsmouth, on September 6, 1905, the Western powers accepted Japan's rights over Korea and, in November 1905, Korea was declared a Japanese protectorate.

Emperor Kojong tried to get the European powers involved by sending a secret mission to an international peace conference being held in the Netherlands. The Japanese found out and forced Kojong to abdicate in favor of his son, Sunjong, who assumed the throne in 1907. However, this was not enough for the Japanese, who faced guerrilla attacks from Korean nationalists. Japan eventually forced Sunjong to abdicate in 1910. The Korean army was then disbanded, and Korea was annexed by Japan. The Japanese then ruthlessly crushed

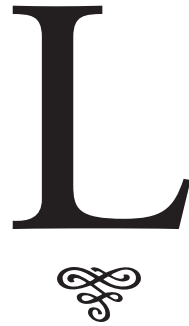
any resistance against them, controlling Korea until 1945, when the country was partitioned.

The former emperor Kojong died on January 21, 1919, and the former king Sunjong died on April 25, 1926, both in Korea. As Sunjong had no children, his half brother, Yi Un, was made heir to the throne. From 1908, when it was clear that the Japanese would take over the whole of the Korean Peninsula, many Koreans went into exile in Manchuria, Siberia, and Hawaii. One of these was a distant member of the Korean royal family, Syngman Rhee, the direct lineal descendant of the third king of the Yi dynasty. In exile, he was president of the provisional Korean Republic from 1919 to 1945. He would become president of South Korea from 1948 until 1960.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD





## labor unions and labor movements in the United States

From the encyclopedic treatment of the labor movement from the 1910s–1930s at the John R. Commons School, University of Wisconsin, to the emergence of a new labor history in the 1960s and after, scholarly inquiry into the history of labor unions and working people's movements in the United States has made up a major field of study. The new republic's founding principle of private property created a situation in which people who lacked land or other material resources to earn their subsistence were compelled to sell their labor in the marketplace and were at a comparative disadvantage with the owners of capital. In order to enhance their bargaining power vis-à-vis business owners, working people organized into various types of associations and unions, a process that went through a number of distinct phases corresponding to larger changes in industry, transport, and markets, in a national economy marked by frequent cycles of boom and bust, which comprises a major chapter in U.S. history.

### EARLY YEARS

In the early republic and antebellum periods, most manufacturing was done by artisans in small, often family-owned and -operated shops in cities, towns, and rural areas. Until the 1840s wage labor was rare. The vast majority of the nation's inhabitants made their living by the soil, while slavery, indentured servitude,

apprenticeship, household production, and other forms of bound labor predominated. Important exceptions were the shoe and textile industries in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania during the first INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION in the 1810s and 1820s, in which numerous large factories employing a permanent wage labor force first emerged in North America.

An example is the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, based on the paternalistic Waltham System, in which hundreds of mostly young farm women labored for upward of 70 hours per week under highly supervised conditions, mainly to supplement family income. Because of the small scale of most manufacturing enterprises during this period, the most successful organizing efforts by working people resulted in the formation of relatively small and localized trade and craft unions and associations, which often melded with fraternal societies and benevolent organizations.

By the late 1820s the growth of the factory system, cities, markets, and the expanding scale of many workshops prompted the formation of the nation's first labor movement. A commonly cited touchstone marking the emergence of a self-conscious working class was the establishment of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations of Philadelphia in 1827, the nation's first citywide confederation of local trade unions. In the same year in Philadelphia the Working Men's Party was founded, the nation's first political party organized specifically to defend and advance the interests of working people. Similar associations and parties were soon established in New York, Boston, and elsewhere.

The period from the late 1820s to the mid-1830s saw a flourishing of workers' associations, trade unions, and workers' political parties in major cities of the Northeast, symbolized by the formation of the General Trades' Union of New York in 1833. Inspired by 18th-century republicanism, evangelical Christianity, broader reformist impulses, and local traditions of autonomy, one of the major goals of these early organizing efforts was to establish a 10-hour workday. Most such efforts failed, as by law and custom employers enjoyed the right to dictate the terms of labor, including the length of the workday.

The issue came to a head in 1835, which saw the first general strike in U.S. history, as carpenters, millhands, stonecutters, hatters, shoemakers, horseshoers, and members of many other trades, male and female, walked off the job, set up picket lines, staged street demonstrations, and assembled in town halls and large open-air gatherings in cities and towns across the Northeast. The spate of organizing, striking, and picketing continued into 1836, a year that saw more than a dozen new unions established in major U.S. cities.

### EARLY ORGANIZATION

The surge of labor activism came to an abrupt halt with the panic of 1837, which sent the national economy into a nosedive and threw thousands out of work. The economic depression lasted seven years, severely weakening the bargaining power of workers' organizations. Meanwhile major changes were transforming the face of the nation. Waves of immigrants from Germany, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and elsewhere in Europe poured into the major cities of the eastern seaboard in the 1840s and 1850s, many heading west with the promise of ample cheap land. The transportation revolution went hand-in-hand with the market revolution, as canals, roads, and railroads made geographic mobility a characteristic feature of the young republic's burgeoning population. Ethnic, racial, and religious divisions compounded the difficulties of forging viable workers' political parties or labor unions, as did a surge in antiimmigrant (or nativist) sentiment among the American-born.

In the late 1840s, exemplifying the reformist impulse sweeping through much of the country in the preceding two decades, a resurgent labor movement coalesced under the banner of national reform, brainchild of former trade unionist George Henry Evans, who built on Jeffersonian agrarianism to envision a nation of small farmers supplied with land by the federal gov-

ernment. During the same period, industrial congresses formed in many of the nation's major cities, exemplified by the National Typographical Union, formed in 1852 and arguably the country's first national trade union. A spurt of organizing in the early 1850s created national unions of upholsterers, railroad engineers, blacksmiths, and other tradesmen. The momentum proved hard to sustain, however. Economic downturns in 1854 and 1857, combined with westward expansion and torrents of new immigrants—2 million in the 1850s alone—intensified nativist sentiments, fragmenting working people by ethnicity, religion, and politics, as well as by region. Still, these years saw major organizing efforts and several important strikes, most notably the Great Strike of 1860, sparked by shoemakers in Lynn, Massachusetts, which spread throughout much of the Northeast, in which some 20,000 workers participated and women played a major role.

The AMERICAN CIVIL WAR transformed the nation's economy in important ways and, with it, the relations among labor, capital, and the state. The state got bigger; big business got bigger; and organized labor struggled to keep up. At one level, the war created the nation's first military-industrial complex. Wartime production surged, as ever-larger factories, North and South, churned out staggering quantities of munitions, uniforms, and sundry other items consumed in the conflict. Federal government spending more than quadrupled from 1860 to 1870 (from \$72 to \$329 million), the vast bulk due to deficit spending, via bonds, to finance the war, expanding the stock market and providing a tremendous boost to the nation's banks and finance capital. Dramatically expanding the size and scope of the federal government, the war also expanded and integrated the nation's markets and its transport and communication infrastructure. In the North, full employment strengthened workers' bargaining power and heightened worker militancy, leading to a surge in labor organizing, with some 300 unions representing 61 trades founded during the war. By war's end, some 200,000 workers belonged to hundreds of trade unions, some of them national and many others aspiring to be.

### ORGANIZED LABOR

Organized labor came of age during the Second Industrial Revolution after the Civil War, which reached its height from the 1870s to the 1890s, fueled by large concentrations of finance capital, rapidly expanding markets, a host of technological innovations, and torrents of immigrants pouring in from Europe and Canada and, in the West, from Asia. The growth of major industries

in railroads, steel, and manufacturing and the expansion of consumer goods and labor markets were accompanied by the formation of thousands of local unions and numerous nationwide organizations that competed for the allegiance of the country's rapidly growing industrial labor force. The National Labor Union, founded in 1866, an umbrella organization of trade unionists, agitated for the eight-hour workday and other reforms but never fully got off the ground.

More enduring in its impact was the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, which reached the height of its influence in the mid-1880s under Terence Powderly, with a membership of around 750,000 and lodges in most every county in the nation. More inclusive than other labor associations, the Knights exalted the "nobility of toil" and dignity of labor, opening its doors to all who worked, regardless of race, gender, or social class. Championing the eight-hour day, the abolition of child labor, and the creation of a "cooperative commonwealth" that would replace "wage slavery," the organization under Powderly's idiosyncratic and autocratic rule disappeared by the early 1890s, but not before exercising an important influence on a generation of labor activists and organizers.

## UNIONS AND STRIKES

With the economic depression of 1873–79 following the panic of 1873, unemployment skyrocketed, leading to a spate of labor organizing and activism, including the Long Strike of coal miners in Pennsylvania in 1874–75. These events were to prelude one of the signal events in U.S. labor history, the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, in which thousands of railroad workers in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and Ohio put down their tools and disrupted rail traffic to protest a series of pay cuts. The protest, fueled by antimonopoly outrage among broad swaths of the populace, sparked a general strike in major industries that spread rapidly as far west as Chicago and St. Louis and at its height included more than 100,000 workers. Unplanned, unorganized, and without national leadership, the Great Strike lasted more than six weeks and was put down by federal troops at the cost of over 100 workers' lives.

The Great Railroad Strike of 1877, which made headlines across much of Europe as well as the United States, exposed the deepening divisions between working people and big business, as well as the federal government's partisan role on the side of business. In the two decades to follow, in what is commonly known as Labor's Great Upheaval, strikes, labor protests, and labor organizing mushroomed across the country and

in all major industries, especially railroads, steel, and coal mining, but also among slate quarrymen, garment workers, and hundreds of other trades and crafts. The 1880s alone saw more than 10,000 strikes and lock-outs; in 1886–87, union membership reached nearly 1 million.

## THE AFL AND THE UMWA

Emblematic of this upsurge in labor activism was the formation of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1886, led by Samuel Gompers, an outgrowth of the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, founded in 1881. An umbrella organization representing hundreds of individual trade and craft unions, the AFL was dedicated to "pure and simple unionism" among skilled tradesmen and focused mainly on "bread and butter" issues of wages, working conditions, and the length of the workday. Spearheaded by the AFL and supported by the Knights of Labor and other organizations, in 1886 upwards of 700,000 workers went on strike, most to press for reduction of the workday to eight hours from an industry average of 12.

The year 1886 also saw the infamous Haymarket affair in Chicago, in which the explosion of a bomb at a huge workers' rally in Haymarket Square killed a police officer, prompting the police to fire into the crowd, killing one protester and injuring many more and later resulting in the hanging of four labor organizers. Major industrialists and financiers, backed by the nation's major newspapers, seized on the Haymarket events to denounce organized labor as dominated by anarchists and terrorists determined to destroy the nation's social fabric. The charge had little factual foundation, although it found plausibility in the past decade's immigration from Germany, Italy, and elsewhere of many seasoned labor organizers influenced by the ideologies of socialism, communism, syndicalism, and anarchism then sweeping across much of Europe. Haymarket and its aftermath had a strong dampening effect on more radical labor organizing efforts.

Political parties devoted to advancing the cause of working people also multiplied in the post-Civil War years, most notably the Socialist Labor Party, led by Daniel De Leon, founded in the 1870s. Some workingmen's parties built their strength on appeals to white workers' racism, such as Dennis Kearney's Workingmen's Party of California, instrumental in pressuring Congress to pass the CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT of 1882. Unlike in Europe, however, the enfranchisement of white male workers made exclusively labor-oriented



political parties less salient, and workingmen's parties never offered a serious challenge to the country's dominant political parties.

In 1890 the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) was founded in Columbus, Ohio, and in the coming years spread its organizing drives throughout the coal mining districts of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, West Virginia, Illinois, Utah, Colorado, and beyond. Affiliated with the AFL and associated with such legendary labor leaders as "Mother Mary" Jones and John L. Lewis, the UMWA remained one of the nation's most influential unions well into the 20th century. The 1890s also saw two of the most storied events in modern U.S. labor history: the 1892 Homestead Strike and the 1894 Pullman Strike. Both involved entire communities in large company towns, pitched battles between strikers and company-hired armed guards, intervention of state militias and federal troops, and deaths on both sides. Both also ended in defeat for the strikers, and both created a legacy of militancy and sacrifice that became emblazoned onto the collective consciousness of organized labor.

In this mounting conflict between labor and capital, the executive branch of government, at both state and federal levels, actively and consistently sided with business. So, too, did the courts. Emblematic here was the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, a law intended to break up monopolies and trusts by barring combinations in restraint of trade. Instead of targeting business combinations, the courts used the law to weaken organized labor, essentially declaring strikes illegal if they interfered with interstate commerce, which virtually all could be interpreted to do.

#### FURTHER ORGANIZATION

By the 1890s, especially under the impact of the economic depression of 1893–98, the struggle between labor and capital as mediated by a partisan state was entering a new phase. The very concept of trade or craft unionism, criticized for many years as too narrow a basis for organizing working people, was being increasingly challenged by an emergent industrial unionism, which focused not on individual crafts but on entire industries: steel, mining, construction, transportation, manufacturing, and others. Epitomizing this industrial approach to organizing was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, or Wobblies), founded in 1905 and committed to the vision of one big union that embraced all workers everywhere.

As organized labor's tactics and strategies evolved, so too did business's. By the 1890s work was becom-

ing increasingly homogenized and standardized, the labor process itself increasingly under the control and supervision of management—a trend that has generated an extensive scholarly debate on the question of the deskilling of labor with the rise of factories and mass production. If the power of organized labor had grown substantially during the Second Industrial Revolution, the power of big capital had grown far more. Overall, organized labor remained much weaker than business, its victories small and tenuous compared to the victories of the forces arrayed against it.

As the foregoing survey makes plain, the growth of organized labor during the period examined here was neither linear nor continuous. Instead, it was marked by complex ebbs and flows, with periods of growth and advance punctuated by periods of retrenchment and decline. There is a lack of scholarly consensus on how to conceptualize the history of organized labor during these years. Still, many would agree that the period 1870–1930 comprises a coherent temporal unit that witnessed the formation of the modern U.S. labor movement.

Earlier studies of labor history focused principally on organizations and institutions, exemplified by the Commons School of the 1910s–1930s and the work of Philip S. Foner from the 1940s. Around 1960, there emerged in Britain and North America a new labor history (alongside a new social history) that looked beyond formal institutions to examine workers' struggles at the point of production and in the wider community, as well as women's labor history, including unpaid and reproductive labor, and the role of family, culture, ideology, race, gender, and sexuality. From the late 1980s labor studies emphasized languages of labor and discourses of worker protest, action, and culture. Meanwhile, empirically dense scholarship in the tradition of E. P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman has remained a mainstay of the field.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## La Pérouse, Jean-François de Galaup, comte de

(1741–1788) *French explorer and naval leader*

The story of La Pérouse is one of the great mysteries of the sea. Jean de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse, was born on August 23, 1741, near Albi in France. He signed on to the French navy and saw action against the British in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

La Pérouse signed on to the second exploration voyage of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, who had made his first exploration in 1763. Bougainville had also fought in the Seven Years' War. When his trip began in 1763, Bougainville sailed with two ships for exploration and discovery, not a naval expedition. The main purpose of Bougainville's travel was to establish the existence of the Malvinas Islands, the Falklands, off the coast of Argentina. He was successful in his mission.

Bougainville arrived back in France in 1764. The success of his trip encouraged King Louis XV to charter another mission to circumnavigate the globe. When the expedition left the port of Brest on December 6, 1766, La Pérouse sailed with Bougainville. Again Bougainville was careful to take with him both scientists and writers, so that the expedition would be carefully chronicled and any new species of flora or fauna be scientifically recorded. On March 16, 1769, Bougainville returned to France to receive the acclaim of the scientific community and the king, who received him personally at the palace at Versailles.

After his voyage with Bougainville, La Pérouse continued his career in the French navy. During the AMERICAN REVOLUTION—which many in France saw as a chance for revenge at France's loss to Britain in the Seven Years' War—La Pérouse undertook a daring attack on British forts on Hudson Bay in the north of Canada in August 1782. La Pérouse took two forts: Fort York and Fort Prince of Wales.

In 1785, after peace had been made in the Treaty of Paris in 1783, La Pérouse was chosen by King LOUIS XVI to follow in Bougainville's footsteps and lead a voyage of exploration. Sailing across the North and

South Atlantic, La Pérouse succeeded in making the tumultuous passage of Cape Horn safely, to emerge into the calmer waters of the Pacific. He stopped off in Chile, which was an ally of France due to the Bourbon family compact. Both Spain and France were ruled by different branches of the Bourbon family. Although the mission was largely exploratory, the Spanish contact showed its military side. La Pérouse then sailed northward, visiting HAWAII and Easter Island. He most likely knew that CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, sailing on HMS *Resolution*, had been killed on the Sandwich Islands in February 1779 in a skirmish with the natives, so it must be assumed that La Pérouse treated them with great caution and, as a career navy officer, was ready for any sudden attack by them.

When La Pérouse reached Alaska in late June, tragedy struck the expedition, as three boats were taken by strong currents, resulting in the loss of 21 men. After his voyage to Monterey, he made an amazing crossing to the Portuguese colony of Macao, off the coast of China. France already had an interest in this region, from the trade of the Compagnie des Indes, which had fought a battle for supremacy in India but lost against the British in the Seven Years' War. In 1787 La Pérouse continued his exploration of the Pacific coast, stopping at the island of Cheju in Korea.

La Pérouse proceeded to Sakhalin Island, where he was impressed by the inhabitants. He wanted to sail his ships between Sakhalin and the Asian mainland but instead felt it more feasible to sail through the body of water between Sakhalin and the most northern Japanese island of Hokkaido. He reached Petropavlosk in September 1787 and began the most critical part of his voyage. He had received secret missions to explore the Botany Bay colony in what is now Australia. While Botany Bay has become better known as a penal colony, it was also an excellent harbor from which the British could begin to explore and claim the islands of the South Pacific—something that the French wished to do.

His next landfall was Samoa, then known as the Navigator Islands. Tragically, his friend de Langle was killed by the Samoans. In Botany Bay, La Pérouse was greeted by the British, who unfortunately had no supplies to spare. He continued on his journey after forwarding his journals and some correspondence home via a British ship. He was headed for New Caledonia, the Solomons, and other areas along the western and southern coasts of Australia, but he was never seen again. An expedition was sent to find him but returned to France without answers. Historians note that for

the French government to utilize resources during the FRENCH REVOLUTION to find La Pérouse, he was clearly an important man.

In 1826 English captain Peter Dillon purchased some swords in Santa Cruz that he thought might have belonged to La Pérouse. Locals told him about the wreckage of two ships nearby, and when Dillon investigated, he found what was left of the ships. He returned some identifiable remains of the ships, and the last surviving member of the original expedition was able to identify them as having come from one of La Pérouse's ships. The story was reconstructed, and historians now believe that the two ships were wrecked on the coral reefs, and some of the men aboard were killed by natives. The others built a small boat in an attempt to find safety, but their boat wrecked probably near the Solomons.

Another theory holds that the two ships were struck by a tropical cyclone, but that the survivors had indeed managed to sail to the Solomon Islands. While archaeological findings are suggestive, they were not definite proof that the ships had belonged to La Pérouse. Thus, like Amelia Earhart after him, the ultimate fate of La Pérouse will most likely remain one of the enduring mysteries of the South Pacific.

See also BOURBON RESTORATION.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Latin America, Bourbon reforms in

By the late 17th century, the Spanish state had grown ossified, its grip on its overseas empire enfeebled. Trade and production in its American colonies had stagnated, Spain's debts had mounted, and its imperial rivals had grown greatly in power—especially the English, Dutch, and French. Following the death of the heirless Charles II, the last Habsburg ruler of Spain in 1700, the War of the Spanish Succession, and the resulting Peace of Utrecht, the French Bourbon dynasty assumed control of the Spanish Crown. There followed under Bourbon rule a series of reforms intended to reinvigorate the state and empire. The Bourbon assumption of the Spanish throne from 1713 heralded the onset of a host

of changes in law and policy, domestically and overseas—changes that fall under the general heading of the Bourbon reforms.

The overarching goals of the Bourbon reforms in the Americas were to strengthen Spain's dominion and control of its colonial holdings and thus reenergize the empire. These goals were to be achieved by centralizing state power through a series of administrative reforms; increasing production and trade within the colonies; augmenting the revenues flowing into the Spanish treasury; and undermining the power of the Crown's opponents and rivals. Ironically, these shifts in law and policy, intended to bring the colonies more closely under Spain's control—and occurring just as the ENLIGHTENMENT was profoundly transforming the face of the Atlantic world (indeed, the ideological impulse inspiring the Bourbon reforms has been called the Catholic Enlightenment)—ended up having the opposite effect: alienating the colonies' Creole (American-born Spanish) population, intensifying their sense of American nationalism, and laying the groundwork for the wars of independence in the first quarter of the 19th century.

For purposes of analysis, the reforms instituted can be divided by the Bourbon monarchs Philip V, Ferdinand VI, Charles III, and Charles IV into the following categories: economic, political and administrative, military, and religious. The most intensive period of reform began in the 1760s under Charles III. To understand the origins and impact of these reforms, it is necessary to situate them in the context of the major events of the 18th century, especially the SEVEN YEARS' WAR/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR in North America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere, and the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1789—the republicanism and tumult of the latter horrifying monarchs across Europe, especially in Spain, and effectively ending the period of the Bourbon reforms in Spain's American colonies.

### ECONOMIC REFORMS

Some of the principal goals of the Bourbon reforms were to increase production of primary export products in the colonies and trade within the colonies and between the colonies and Spain. Of greatest concern to the Crown was mining, which provided the bulk of the revenues flowing into the Spanish treasury. In an effort to stimulate silver production, in 1736 the Crown slashed its tax (the royal fifth) in half. It also helped to ensure a lower price for mercury, funded technical schools and credit banks, dispensed titles of nobility to prosperous mine owners, and facilitated the formation

of mining guilds. Similar measures were adopted to increase gold production, especially in New Granada, the Crown's major source of gold.

From 1717 the Crown also created state monopolies on tobacco production and trade. In keeping with the precepts of mercantilism, one of the major concerns of the Bourbon monarchs was to prevent the colonies from producing manufactured goods that would compete with goods exported from Spain. The resulting royal restrictions on industry and manufacturing in the colonies severely dampened colonial entrepreneurial activity, with the exceptions of the export-oriented mining, ranching, and agricultural sectors. A related mercantilist concern was to restrict trade with foreigners, especially the British, and thus ensure that all colonial trade was directed solely to Spain. A long series of laws and decrees were intended to achieve this result, most notably the compendious legal code of 1778, "Regulations and Royal Tariffs for Free Trade between Spain and the Indies."

Many elite Creoles bridled at these and related restrictions, heightening their sense of alienation from the Crown. Similarly, measures to increase production in mining and agriculture generally meant more onerous production and labor regimes for workers and slaves. Overall, the Bourbon economic reforms succeeded in their aim of increasing production, trade, and royal revenues, while at the same time undermining both elite and subordinate groups' sense of loyalty and allegiance to the Crown.

#### POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Accompanying the economic reforms were a host of political and administrative measures intended, again, to increase royal control of the colonies. One set of administrative reforms was to carve two new viceroyalties out of the Viceroyalty of Peru: the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717 and 1739; a subjurisdiction of New Granada, created in 1777, was the Captaincy-General of Venezuela) and the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (in 1776). Following a series of inspections (*visitas generales*) from 1765–71, the Crown endeavored to weaken the power of the Creoles, whose influence, in the view of some, had grown too large.

In pursuit of this aim, *audiencias* were enlarged and their membership restricted to exclude most Creoles. The most substantial administrative reform came in the 1760s and 1770s, with the creation of a new layer of bureaucracy, a kind of regional governorship called the intendancy, which was to report directly to the minister of the Indies. The intendancy system, which threatened

the authority of viceroys and other high administrators, largely failed in its goal of centralizing state control, mainly in consequence of the institutional inertia that had developed over the preceding two centuries and administrators' resistance to relinquishing their authority. To the extent that the cumbersome bureaucratic apparatus was streamlined and rationalized, it was overwhelmingly in favor of peninsular Spaniards (those born in Spain) and to the detriment of Creole Spaniards—again, heightening many Creoles' general feelings of disenchantment with royal authority.

#### MILITARY REFORMS

Especially in the wake of the British capture of Manila and Havana in 1762 (both returned to Spanish control in the Treaty of Paris of 1763), the Spanish Crown sought to enhance its military power throughout the empire. Efforts to strengthen the military were also rooted in the growing specter of violence from below, most visibly manifest in the ANDEAN REVOLTS from the 1740s to the 1780s. The Crown's response to these crises was to increase the number of troops under arms and the number of commissioned officers. Most such commissions went to Creoles. From 1740 to 1769 Creoles made up about one-third of the officer corps. By 1810 the proportion approached two-thirds.

Elite Creoles could and often did purchase such commissions—a shortsighted policy that augmented both royal revenues and the power of American-born notables. On the other hand, given the extreme race-class divisions throughout the colonies, the Crown was reluctant to arm members of the lower classes. Overall, the military reforms failed in the goal of strengthening the ties between Spain and the colonies by creating a large body of Creole officers who would later prove instrumental in the wars of independence.

#### RELIGIOUS REFORMS

The alliance and intermingling of Crown and church is one of the major themes of Spanish-American colonial history. In 1753, as part of the broader effort to reassert royal supremacy, the Crown negotiated a concordat with Rome stipulating greater royal authority in the nomination and appointment of ecclesiastical authorities. But the most consequential Bourbon reform in the religious realm was the expulsion of the Jesuits from all of Spanish America (and from Spain) in 1767. By the 1760s the Society of Jesus had become one of the most powerful institutions in the colonies—economically, politically, religiously, and in the realm of education by virtue of its extensive

system of schools and colleges. The 1767 expulsion of some 2,200 Jesuits from Spanish America reverberated throughout the empire, as many Creoles, either educated in Jesuit colleges or sympathetic to the order's progressive outlook, found the expulsion deeply troubling. In subsequent decades, the Crown auctioned off the estates and properties accumulated by the Jesuits and pocketed the proceeds. The Jesuits' expulsion was a crucial source of disenchantment among many elite Creoles, driving yet another wedge between the Crown and those whose support it would most need to perpetuate its American empire.

All of these Bourbon reforms—economic, administrative and political, military, and religious—had multiple and contradictory effects, at some levels drawing the colonies closer to Spain and at other levels deepening divisions. Part of a broader trend in the 18th-century Atlantic world toward more modern and interventionist state forms, the reforms on the whole failed to achieve their intended results, mainly by generating diverse elite Creole grievances against royal authority—an accumulation of grievances that, in this age of rising nationalist sentiments in Europe and the Americas, facilitated the formation of a distinctly American identity and thus laid the groundwork for the wars of independence after the Napoleonic invasion of Iberia in 1807–08.

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## Latin America, economic and political liberalism in

In the wake of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the FRENCH REVOLUTION in the late 18th century, ENLIGHTENMENT ideologies of republicanism, political equality, secular government, private property, and the rights of citizenship spread across the Western Hemisphere, from Mexico and the Caribbean to Central and South America. Over the next several generations, these Enlightenment-inspired ideas were appropriated by diverse groups of actors, combined with existing ideologies, and adapted to suit local circumstances.

This constellation of ideas and beliefs can be divided into two broad categories: political liberalism and economic liberalism. In general terms, economic liberalism can be defined as adherence to the principles of private property and free trade, essentially to the principles underlying capitalism. Political liberalism can be defined as placing the individual rights of citizens before the state and the equality of citizens before the law and variously includes the rights of free speech, assembly, religion, and voting. (The U.S. Bill of Rights can be taken as a good guide to the general principles of political liberalism.) Both dimensions of liberalism constituted the *individual* as their primary subject, in contradistinction to the state, thus creating a contractual basis of government centered on a compact between state and citizen.

This liberal, or republican, ideology stood in sharp contrast to pre-Enlightenment notions of sovereign and subject—a notion in that the sovereign ruled by divine right, and society was divided into various orders or corporate entities that exercised collective rights (church, hereditary nobility, merchant guilds, craft guilds, military orders, and others). In this pre-Enlightenment worldview, subjects enjoyed only those rights granted by the sovereign, or those established through long-standing custom, a set of ideas that formed the basis for Spanish and Portuguese rule throughout the long colonial period.

In Latin America, beginning in the late 18th century and accelerating through the 19th, the colonial-era principles of *collective* political rights and *collective* rights in property came under increasing assault by republican notions of *individual* political rights and *individual* rights in property. Predictably, those collective entities, long accustomed to exercising corporate rights, often fiercely resisted being shorn of those rights. The most important collective entities in colonial Latin America were the Roman Catholic Church, military orders, and Indian communities. For the church and the military, collective rights were most tangibly expressed in the *fueros*, or special privileges, which included taxation, property and inheritance laws, and others but were especially manifest in the judicial system. Clergy and military officers enjoyed a long history of immunity from prosecution in civil courts, instead being subject to special ecclesiastical or military tribunals constituted and operated by their respective corporations. For Indian communities, collective rights were most tangibly represented in various types of corporate land ownership. By law and custom, Indian communities owned land in common. These collective

rights in land were of diverse types and varied widely across the Americas. The essential point here concerns the *collective* nature of Indian communities' rights to land and property.

Liberalism, with its emphasis on the individual, represented a direct assault on the collective rights exercised by the church, the military, and Indian communities. In order to create equality before the law, liberal ideology required the replacement of these corporate rights by individual rights. Resistance to this transformation often was fierce. Epitomizing such conflicts was the War of the Reforms in Mexico after the promulgation of the liberal constitution of 1857. Rallying to the cry of "Religion and *fueros!*," conservatives mounted a massive rebellion to overturn the constitution. Many Indian communities also rebelled against liberal efforts to eradicate their collective rights. From 1819 to 1900 Mexico saw the eruption of more than 100 revolts, uprisings, and rebellions by Indian communities. Of the 54 cases for which data is available, disputes over land were identified as the principal precipitating factor in 40 instances, the remainder rooted principally in disputes over taxation and other factors. Similar processes unfolded in Peru and Bolivia, where the liberal land reforms of the 1880s and 1890s sparked massive Indian resistance that persisted into the 20th century.

As liberal ideology took hold in the second half of the 19th century, and in response to widespread resistance to liberal reforms undermining collective rights, many liberal states relaxed their efforts to transform corporate subjects into individual citizens, suppressing individual rights while aggressively promoting capitalist development. Here the distinction between political and economic liberalism becomes salient. In 19th-century Latin America it was common for ruling regimes to squelch political liberalism while engaging in highly interventionist policies designed to promote economic liberalism. Perennially strapped for cash, many ruling regimes found promotion of capitalist development, especially via production for export, essential for the fiscal health of the state. Among the best examples of this trend is the regime of PORFIRIO DÍAZ in Mexico, which under the positivist banner of "Order and Progress" aggressively stifled individual liberties while actively encouraging foreign investment, free trade, private property, and capitalist development. In the name of "order" (political stability), the Díaz regime severely circumscribed individual rights of speech, assembly, and voting, while in the name of "progress" (capitalist development), individual rights to trade,

invest, and buy and sell land, labor, and other commodities flourished.

In the late 19th century, a growing disjuncture emerged in many parts of the Americas between a suppressed political liberalism and a burgeoning economic liberalism. In Brazil, slavery and other forms of bound and indentured servitude coexisted for many years with the explosive growth of the coffee economy. Foreign investment poured into the country, public lands were privatized, and labor transformed into a saleable commodity, while the rights of assembly, speech, and voting remained severely limited. In the Andean republics of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Colombia, liberal legislation privatizing land and encouraging foreign investment and free trade were frequently accompanied by violent suppression of the political rights of both rural and urban dwellers.

Modern history demonstrates innumerable instances in which states have effectively separated the political and economic dimensions of liberalism. A useful contemporary analogy can be made with China following the reforms of Deng Xiaopeng from the 1980s. In this case, the ruling communist regime made no pretense of granting political rights to individual citizens while actively encouraging the growth of markets, industry, and other core features of capitalist development. Beginning with the consolidation of liberal states in the second half of the 19th century, Latin America abounds with instances in which capitalist development and the flourishing of markets, private property, foreign investment, free trade, and a secular state proved entirely compatible with a repressive state apparatus, the absence of democratic institutions, sham elections, and the systematic suppression of citizens' rights.

See also COFFEE REVOLUTION; LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES; SOCIALISM.

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## Latin America, export economies in

In the 1950s there emerged in Latin America an influential scholarly paradigm, later dubbed the “dependency school,” or *dependistas*, that emphasized Latin America’s historic insertion into the expanding global capitalist economy as a subordinate producer of primary export products for the dominant industrial economies of Europe and North America. In contrast to the dominant neoclassical, or modernization, school of the period, which assumed a direct correlation between economic growth and national development, the dependency school emphasized the development of underdevelopment as an active process, pointing especially to Latin America’s historic export orientation as the prime motor of its progressive and continuing impoverishment.

Since that time, scholars have examined diverse aspects of the historic formation of Latin American export economies from the colonial period through the 20th century. Special attention has been paid to the emergence of new export products in response to rising demand in the industrial world; the strategies pursued by emergent states to encourage production for export, especially taxation and tariff policies; the extent to which growing export production fueled the growth of states’ administrative and fiscal capacities and spawned economic growth in nonexport sectors; the deleterious consequences of export dependency in a boom-and-bust global market; and the formation of new social classes and related social dynamics set in motion by rising production for export. Scholars broadly agree about the historic export orientation of Latin American economies and cluster into varied and often conflicting interpretive schools regarding what that export orientation has meant historically.

In the late colonial period, the BOURBON REFORMS imposed by the Spanish state were intended, in large part, to reinvigorate traditional export economies, particularly silver mining, but also including gold, sugar, indigo, cacao, and tobacco. With independence of most of Latin America by the 1820s, chronic fiscal insolvency was one of the principal problems confronting the newly independent states. In response to perennially empty treasuries and populaces with few taxable resources, states devised a range of strategies intended to enhance their revenue streams, particularly the promotion of production for export. These strategies promoting exports dovetailed with the desire of foreign investors and national elites for profits, and with sharply rising demands for industrial commodi-

ties and tropical agricultural products in consequence of the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION and urbanization in the United States and Europe. The result across large parts of Latin America was an intensification of the export-led model of national development.

### THE COFFEE REVOLUTION

The COFFEE REVOLUTION in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and elsewhere from the 1830s to the 1880s is often taken as emblematic of this emergent export-led model. Especially after the 1850s, skyrocketing coffee exports provided these and other states with a valuable taxable resource, enhancing their fiscal and administrative capacities and permitting the further expansion of export-oriented physical infrastructure, especially roads, railroads, and port facilities. In Peru, guano played a similar role, as did copper and nitrates in Chile; wheat and beef products in Argentina; tin, lead, and zinc in Bolivia and Mexico; bananas in the Caribbean Basin; and many other export commodities in the region’s nation-states.

### PERU AND CHILE

The guano boom in Peru offers a paradigmatic example of these processes. Over the millennia, the many islands off the Peruvian Pacific coast had accumulated massive deposits of bird droppings. Rich in ammonia, phosphates, and nitrogen, in the 1840s guano began to be mined and exported by a consortium of British, French, and Peruvian mining and shipping interests and marketed as a fertilizer in Europe and North America. The age of guano lasted until the 1880s, after which guano deposits were largely depleted. The estimated 20 million tons of Peruvian guano mined during this period netted an estimated \$2 billion on the world market. The guano boom provided a ready source of taxable revenue for the Peruvian state while accelerating the formation of a new commercial class in Lima and beyond. Much of the profit went into conspicuous consumption among the guano elite and interest on government debt to European banking houses; the guano crash in the 1870s generated a fiscal crisis for the Peruvian state.

Similar in both its overseas markets and domestic effects was the nitrate boom in Peru and Chile from the 1830s to the 1930s. Used in fertilizers, explosives, and in various industrial processes, nitrates accumulated by natural processes in huge deposits in present-day Chile’s northern coastal Atacama Desert provinces of Tarapacá and Antofagasta. In 1843 an estimated 16 thousand tons was mined and exported. By the height

of World War I, in response to the huge demand for military applications, production reached around 3 million tons annually.

The nitrate boom not only provided an important source of revenue for the Peruvian and Chilean states but, along with guano, sparked a major war, the WAR OF THE PACIFIC, between Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. In the war, Chile wrested from Bolivia its sole coastal province of Antofagasta—making Bolivia landlocked, as it remains to this day—and from Peru its province of Tarapacá. From the 1880s to the 1930s Chile was the world's largest nitrate producer; by 1913 the mineral accounted for more than 70 percent of Chile's total exports. Copper began to be mined on a large scale in the 1840s and 1850s. By 1870 Chile supplied about one-quarter of the world's copper, a commodity that saw sharply rising U.S. and European demand following the invention of the telegraph in the 1840s and electric light and power in the 1870s. After a sharp decline in the 1880s and 1890s, copper production surged again in the early 20th century, comprising only 7 percent of the country's exports by 1913 but over 80 percent by the early 1970s.

The effects on the Chilean state and society were complex. From the 1840s to the 1930s, with revenues earned from nitrates in particular, the state invested substantially in public infrastructure, education, and other government services, while periodic global economic downturns wreaked havoc with state finances and sparked a string of political crises and episodes of civil unrest. Sprawling open-air nitrate and deep-shaft copper mining operations and their associated processing and refining facilities, owned mainly by U.S. and British capital, attracted a large wage labor force whose organized struggles compose a major chapter in modern Chilean history.

## ARGENTINA

In Argentina, the explosive growth of the meat and cereal industries in the second half of the 19th century enhanced the power of Buenos Aires vis-à-vis the interior provinces, facilitating the consolidation of the national state dominated by the port city while deepening dependence on European investment capital and markets. Argentina went through several stages in the development of its export economy, from an earlier emphasis on sheep, mutton, and wool from the 1840s to the 1880s to the rapid expansion of the cattle and wheat industries after 1880, oriented overwhelmingly toward Europe. British banks and investors were key in providing the capital needed to build a network of

roads and railroads connecting the interior provinces to Buenos Aires.

The invention of refrigerated steamships in the 1880s permitted vast quantities of Argentine beef to reach European markets. At the same time, wheat production soared. From 1872 to 1895 wheat production on the vast open grasslands, or pampas, increased fifteenfold; by 1895 nearly 10 million acres had gone under the plow, with annual exports exceeding 1 million tons and making Argentina one of the world's leading wheat exporters. In the 1890s the surging growth of the beef and wheat industries attracted an average of 50,000 mostly Italian and Spanish migrants annually, swelling the port city's working class and generating a major transformation in the country's class structure. Most of the interior lands came to be owned by a small number of wealthy landowners, or *estancieros*, further sharpening class divisions. In the late 1880s this breakneck growth was accompanied by rising government debt, precipitating a major political crisis in 1889–90. Overall, Argentina's export orientation generated a national economy dominated by Buenos Aires and highly dependent on European investors and markets, a highly skewed landowning structure, and a vast and politically disfranchised urban working class that would play a key role in the country's 20th-century history.

## ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA

In the late 19th century, the skyrocketing European and North American demand for industrial minerals such as copper, lead, zinc, and tin generated similar processes in Bolivia, northern Mexico, Chile, and elsewhere. In Bolivia, the expansion of tin mining after 1890 came to be dominated by a handful of oligarchic families, while the mostly indigenous tin miners earned the equivalent of pennies per day while working in exceedingly dangerous conditions, many dying prematurely from silicosis and other debilitating pulmonary diseases. By 1913 tin composed more than 70 percent of Bolivian exports. The vast bulk of the proceeds from tin exports went into lavish consumption by the political elite and very little into education, public health, or other government services, while the country's indigenous majority remained mired in abject poverty. In northern Mexico, the years preceding the Mexican Revolution saw the rapid development of silver, lead, copper, gold, zinc, and tin mines owned by German, French, and U.S. investors, including the Guggenheim family, which had extensive investments in mining across large parts of northern Mexico (as well as Chile and elsewhere), and U.S. Colonel William Green,



owner of the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company and the so-called “copper king of Sonora.” The mining boom sparked the formation of an economically exploited and politically oppressed working class in northern Mexico that would fill the ranks of rebel chieftain Pancho Villa’s revolutionary armies and play a key role in the Mexican Revolution.

The banana boom along the Atlantic littorals of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, and elsewhere in the Caribbean from the late 1890s generated similar processes. Like Peru’s guano, Chile’s nitrates and copper, and Mexico’s silver and lead, the Caribbean banana industry formed economic enclaves within various national economies, oriented almost exclusively toward overseas markets and generating weak economic linkages to the national economies of host countries. As elsewhere, domestic industry faltered as national economies became geared overwhelmingly toward production for export.

In the 20th century, this historic dependence on exports continued to play a major role in economic, political, social, and cultural life across the southern parts of the hemisphere. Over the past decades, scholarly investigations into Latin America’s export orientation, and the varied effects of export economies in specific instances, have spawned a vast literature. Debates continue to rage regarding whether this export orientation has generated genuine economic development, or, conversely, has actively helped to create the region’s poverty and underdevelopment.

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## Latin America, independence in

The period from the 1770s to the 1820s has been aptly called the Age of Revolution. In North America and

Europe, the successful independence struggle of the United States in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION was quickly followed by the FRENCH REVOLUTION and, soon after, the Napoleonic Wars, transforming the political map of Europe. The American and French Revolutions also reverberated across the southern part of the Western Hemisphere, first in Saint-Domingue (Haiti), where slave and free mulatto rebels seized on the French revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity to launch the only successful large-scale slave rebellion in the history of the Americas. The events of the HAITIAN REVOLUTION, in turn, reverberated back across the Americas and Europe. Subsequent events unfolded in rapid succession, such that by the mid-1820s all but a handful of American colonies had gained their independence from Spain and Portugal.

The long- and medium-term origins of Latin American independence movements can be traced to ENLIGHTENMENT notions of republicanism and the contractual basis of government; the unintended consequences of the BOURBON REFORMS, which sparked a growing sense of Creole nationalism; the examples of the United States and France (in contrast to the Haitian Revolution, which horrified elites across the Americas, especially slave owners, and served as a cautionary tale in unleashing the tiger of popular discontent); and related factors. Their short-term trigger was the Napoleonic invasion of Iberia in 1807–08. The forced abdication of King FERDINAND VII created a crisis of authority in Spain, which in turn generated a crisis of authority in Spain’s American colonies. In the absence of royal authority, who would exercise and wield it? From whence would the authority to govern derive?

### CREOLE MOVES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

These were the questions that prompted the formation of *cabildos abiertos*, or open town councils, from 1810 in Spanish America’s largest cities: Caracas, Buenos Aires, Cartagena, Cali, Bogotá, Santiago, Mexico City, and elsewhere. While each followed a distinct trajectory, in essence these *cabildos abiertos* represented Creoles’ seizure of political authority from, or in the name of, the deposed king.

In most such *cabildos*, opposing camps quickly emerged: conservatives, who favored continued obedience to royal authority, and autonomists, who favored moving toward independence. If middling positions, factions, and ambiguities abounded, the major tendencies, like the overall direction of change, were clear. Most Creole elites understood that independence ultimately would be achieved. The more

pressing questions were when would independence be achieved, and how would the Creole population go about attaining it.

Creole elites desirous of independence soon found themselves walking a tightrope: The struggle for independence must not undermine existing relations of privilege and power *within* the Americas. The lessons of Haiti, and of local traditions of popular discontent and rebellion, resounded loudly throughout the halls of the *cabildos abiertos* and beyond. Soon, opponents of moving quickly toward independence could invoke another powerful object lesson: the massive uprising led by the Creole priest MIGUEL HIDALGO in Mexico, beginning in September 1810. The specter of Hidalgo's ragtag army of upwards of 100,000 dirt farmers and unemployed mestizos and Indians looting granaries, slaughtering Spaniards, and standing on the outskirts of Mexico City before dispersing and its remnants being crushed by the Spanish army, sent shock waves throughout the colonies, much as the Haitian Revolution had done.

Creole revolutionaries would thus seek to achieve a *political* revolution from above—formal independence—without sparking a *social* revolution from below. Knowing that war is a powerful solvent of existing social hierarchies, Creole rebel leaders strove to prevent long-standing relations of power and privilege from dissolving in the cauldron of armed conflict. On the whole they succeeded.

Another major influence on the course of events was the profound regionalism in Spanish and Portuguese South America—a consequence of the continent's historical development as producer of primary export products, the coastal orientation of major population centers, a rudimentary transport and communications infrastructure, and major geographic barriers (especially the Andes and the Amazon Basin). Independence movements thus assumed very different characters in different parts of the empire.

### SEVERING LINKS TO EUROPE

The first region to sever the link with Spain was Río de la Plata, the youngest viceroyalty and furthest removed geographically from the metropole. Creole elites in Buenos Aires and Montevideo actually began their fight for national self-determination in 1806, two years before Ferdinand VII's abdication, in their battle against a British invasion of Buenos Aires. The Creoles' resounding defeat of the British expeditionary force in 1807 demonstrated to them the weakness of Spain's defenses and their own power to influence events. Peninsular

Spaniards tried to put the genie of independence back into the bottle, but events had overtaken them. "The great victory of Buenos Aires," wrote the Argentine statesman BARTOLOMÉ MITRE years later, gave Creoles "a new sense of nationality."

In what was later called the May Revolution, on May 25, 1810, a Creole-dominated *cabildo* effectively assumed political control of the province of Buenos Aires. There followed a complex series of struggles and intrigues among Creole factions, and between the interior provinces and Buenos Aires, which lasted through the 1810s and after. In the process, Río de la Plata lost control of Upper Peru (Bolivia), a major source of income by virtue of the silver trade. While the political entity called the Republic of Argentina did not come into existence until 1862, the upshot was clear: The Río de la Plata region was the first to gain independence from Spain. It was quickly followed by Paraguay in May 1811, under the leadership of JOSÉ GASPAR RODRÍGUEZ DE FRANCIA, who ruled the country as an autocrat until his death in 1840.

### INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

To briefly summarize the complex sequence of events that followed, from this point the independence movements in South America basically developed from two main centers and under two principal leaders: from northern South America under SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, and from Chile under José de San Martín—the latter a Creole from Corrientes in the north of present-day Argentina, educated in Spain, who returned to Buenos Aires in 1812 to join the fray. The overall course of their military campaigns can be conceived as a kind of giant pincer movement, with Bolívar first liberating the region of Venezuela-Colombia in the years 1810–1821 before moving southwest to Peru, and with San Martín first crossing the Andes and liberating Chile in 1814–1818 before moving north, with the help of the British Lord Cochrane and linking up with Bolívar in Peru. The final battles took place in Peru in 1824, with Bolívar's able commander General ANTONIO JOSÉ DE SUCRE delivering the final blow against the remaining Spanish forces in the Battle of Ayacucho on December 9, 1824. Henceforth, all of Spanish South America was independent.

In subsequent years, patriotic narratives about the liberation leaders' courage and heroism became the stuff of myth and legend, as in Bolívar's epic crossing of the Andes in May–August 1819, or San Martín's fabled January–February 1817 march across the Andes into Chile, where he joined forces with the Chilean patriot BERNARDO O'HIGGINS. Similarly lauded were

the exploits of the illiterate *llanero* (plainsman) José Antonio Páez on the *llanos* of Venezuela, who outfoxed the Spaniards time and again and went on to become Bolívar's ally, the first president of the republic of Venezuela in 1830, and one of the country's wealthiest landowners. These and other events have spawned a vast literature. An especially memorable moment came in the storied meeting between the two giants of liberation, Bolívar and San Martín, in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in July 1822. No one knows what was said at these meetings, only that two months later San Martín resigned his position as protector of Peru, withdrew from the struggle, and, a year later, departed from South America, never to return, leaving Bolívar the uncontested title of liberator of the continent.

#### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LEGACIES

The legacies of the independence movements were no less complex. If political independence had been achieved without sparking a major conflagration from below, one consequence was the persistence of profoundly unequal relations of power and privilege: between the propertied and unpropertied, lettered and unlettered, light-skinned and dark-skinned, male and female. Social mobility increased by degrees, as mestizos gained in power and came to rule most of the emergent nation-states. The institution of African slavery came through the independence period intact, if weakened by virtue of slaves' participation in the liberation armies. In Venezuela, for instance, the slave population diminished by about one-third.

The structural subordination of Indians and Indian communities persisted throughout the period of independence. The Catholic Church largely retained its economic, political, and much of its moral power, becoming a bastion of conservatism after the dust of war had settled. The patriarchal family, patriarchy, and ideologies of honor and shame came through the struggles wholly intact. The endurance of preindependence social hierarchies bequeathed a legacy of inequality and racism that would continue to bedevil the continent into the 20th century and beyond.

The economic destruction wrought in the independence struggles was immense. Many regions took decades to regain their preindependence levels of production and commerce. The legacy of militarism was also profound, as the *CAUDILLO* (political-military strongman), of which Venezuela's Páez is emblematic, became the key locus of political power in the newly independent nation-states. Liberal democracy remained for many a foreign concept, in a place that for near-

ly 300 years had seen the formation of no substantial democratic institutions or traditions of power sharing. In these and other ways, the political independence of Latin America was both a revolutionary break with the past and a profoundly conservative process; with the reins of power switching hands, new nation-states created, and the nexus between Europe and the Americas growing denser, the vast majority remained as poor and as disempowered as under Spanish rule. Yet if continuities with the past were many, much had changed as well, as the reality of independence and the integration of the Atlantic world created the possibility of broader social, political, and economic transformation.

#### BRAZIL'S PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

In Brazil, in contrast, independence came not with war but with the solemn cry "Independence or Death!" of Prince Dom Pedro, the son of Portuguese King João VI, as he drew his sword while striding along the banks of the Ipiranga River on September 7, 1822. This famed Cry of Ipiranga, a popular mythology of Brazilian independence, obscures a far more complex sequence of events.

In brief, as Napoleon's armies approached Lisbon in November 1807, Prince Regent João, his wife Princess Carlota, his mother Queen Maria I, his sons Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel, and the entire royal family and court—some 10,000 to 15,000 people all told—climbed aboard the ships of a combined Portuguese-British convoy and set sail for Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived in March 1808, after a brief stop in Bahia, and reestablished the Portuguese government. Portugal's largest and most important colony, in essence, suddenly became its own metropole; the exile of the House of Braganza in Brazil from 1807 to 1821 is the only instance in which European monarchs ruled an empire from a colony.

The arrival of the royal family and court transformed Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. Mercantilist commercial restrictions were lifted, leading to a boom in commerce and trade, mostly with Great Britain. Manufacturing restrictions were abolished; a royal bank was established; Brazil's first printing press and first newspaper began operation in 1808; and soon after libraries, schools, military academies, medical colleges, and cultural institutes were founded. With the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the clamor mounted in Portugal for the royal family's return. Rather than hasten back to Portugal, on December 16, 1815, João VI proclaimed Brazil a kingdom on equal footing with the metropole, the "United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves." João finally did return to Portugal,

in April 1821, in response to a major revolt, leaving his son Prince Pedro behind. Impetuous and romantic, Dom Pedro soon found himself at loggerheads with the Côrtes in Portugal, which sought to return Brazil to subordinate colonial status. It was his receipt of an order from the Côrtes to return that prompted Dom Pedro's famous "Fico" ("I will stay") on January 9, 1822, and in September of that year, his Cry of Ipiranga.

Brazil's peaceful path to independence has been interpreted as a prudent strategy on the part of the colony's dominant groups, especially its slave-owning planter class. It was a way to gain political independence without risking the tumult and disorder of war.

Brazil had the largest slave population in the Americas, with nearly 2 million in 1820, a white population of around 1 million, and total population of less than 4 million. The lessons of Haiti were still fresh on the minds of slave owners, not only in Brazil but in other slaveholding colonies, especially Cuba. Brazil's elites chose a path to independence that left existing relations of power and privilege intact. Cuba's elites, in contrast, opted to remain under Spanish dominion rather than risk unleashing the wrath of the enslaved.

In these and other ways, the specter of violence from below profoundly shaped the timing and nature of independence struggles in Latin America. The extent to which these Latin American revolutions were truly revolutionary remains a matter of debate, though the broad consensus is that continuity, not change, was the predominant tendency, at least in the short term. Perhaps the major interpretive challenge confronting scholars of this period lies precisely in disentangling these changes and continuities, while at the same time situating the Latin American historical experience within the broader framework of the entwined social, political, economic, and cultural transformations that marked the birth of modernity and the Age of Revolution in the Atlantic world and beyond.

See also ANDEAN REVOLTS.

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## Latin America, machismo and *marianismo* in

Gender construction in Latin America has often been cited as being significantly influenced by Spanish colonization. Dominant conceptions of masculinity and femininity, referred to as machismo and *marianismo* respectively, are rooted in the Spanish conquest and influence the sociocultural conditions of Latin America. There is debate as to the relationship, relevance, changes, and influences of the extremes of machismo and marianismo.

### MACHISMO DEFINED

Machismo is a form of masculinity that asserts the dominance and superiority of males in society. The term is traced to the Spanish word *macho*, which means "male" or "manly." It could also refer to being courageous, valorous, and having gender pride. Although these may be positive connotations, the term *machismo* is used negatively referring to extreme masculinity encouraged by structures in society. Male dominance and superiority are further legitimized by cultural values and norms.

Machismo is characterized by hypervirility or aggressive masculine behavior expected of males in Latin societies. The machos embody physical strength, courage, self-confidence, heightened sexual power, and bold advances toward women.

Machos believe in the superiority of men over women and also adhere to conservative gender roles. The men, for example, can seek extramarital affairs while the women are expected to be faithful. Women do not have the right to participate in traditionally male positions in society. Men occupy the public sphere—the arena of politics, economy, or military—and women occupy the private sphere. Women are expected to stay at home and attend to the needs of their husband and children, to take care of the housework, and to oversee other domestic needs. The main roles of women are to be mothers and wives.

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The origins of machismo in Latin societies come from Spanish traditions. Patriarchy emphasizes nobility, chivalry, swordsmanship, horsemanship, and formal education. Ties with nobles and crusaders are also given great importance.

In Mexico, the origins of machismo are also associated with the Spanish conquest and the conquistadores' exploitation of natives. This is the period in Mexican

history when Hernán Cortés and the conquistadores set out to convert indigenous populations. The image of the conquistador, who courageously conquered despite being outnumbered, is retained as the prototype of the modern macho male.

Likewise, the colonial economic system inculcated a dichotomized sexual division of labor. Men and women existed in separate social spheres.

### ARCHETYPES OF MACHISMO

Author and researcher R. A. Andrade summarizes the four archetypes of machismo that can be found in scholarly and popular literature: the conqueror macho, the playboy macho, the masked macho, and the authentic macho. The conqueror macho exemplifies invincibility and extreme bravery in facing dangerous situations. Exaggerated sexual potency is one of the characteristics of this archetype. Examples of conqueror machos are gunslingers, or *pistoleros*. Conqueror machos are generally ruthless and bloodthirsty, and they demand power and break laws. They are the negative sides of this archetype.

The playboy macho illustrates males who are permitted to act in a sexually aggressive manner toward females. Sexual, physical, and mental abuses of females are accepted. This chauvinistic archetype is based on the idea of man's biological, social, and intellectual superiority over females. Men are thus allowed to engage in pleasures such as chasing women and adultery.

The masked macho is the third and less common archetype of machismo. A masked macho exemplifies a man who uses a mask of deceit to hide his real intentions. A masked macho often fights for the oppressed. The legendary Pancho Villa is an example.

The last archetype is the authentic macho, a man who is a responsible husband and father. The authentic macho is seen as a more balanced individual who adheres to honor, respect, strength, dignity, and protection of the family. Focused on earning the respect of family and community, this type is not popularized in literature, legends, or movies.

### MARIANISMO: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

*Machismo* and *marianismo* are terms that are linked to the culture in Latin America. *Marianismo* is the female equivalent of machismo and considered to be the embodiment of the feminine. It is characterized by hyperfeminine behavior.

Similar to machismo, *marianismo* is traced back to the time of the Spanish conquest and may have been a

reaction to machismo. The roots of *marianismo* also reside in Roman Catholic theology. It is related to all the elements of Marian devotion seen in various cultural patterns in Latin America.

Marian devotion has a long history in colonial New Spain and the independent nation of Mexico. In 1519 Hernán Cortés arrived in Veracruz under the protection of the Roman Catholic Church and the Virgin Mary. In 1531 Juan Diego had a vision of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac, to the northeast of Mexico City. The Virgin of Guadalupe became the key symbol of Mexican identity in the mid-17th century. Our Lady of Guadalupe was further proclaimed by the church as patroness of Mexico in 1754 and in 1900 proclaimed the patroness of the Americas.

Although historical controversies exist in these accounts, the Virgin Mary played an important role in the Catholic religion and Mexican culture. After almost five centuries of Marian devotion, pilgrimages continue to be important to Mexican culture. Marian devotion is evident in the frequency with which girls are named in honor of the Virgin. In fact, María (with or without an additional name) is the most common baptismal name for women in Mexico, and even men may be called José María.

### MARIANISMO AND THE VIRGIN MARY

The *marianismo* ideal is modeled after the image of the Virgin Mary and connotes saintliness and submissiveness. Given the title Mother of God, the Virgin Mary is venerated and admired for being spiritually immaculate and eternally giving. This eventually created a conception of femininity in Mexico and in other Latin American countries—a combination of both a good and a bad woman. This is reflected in the dichotomy of the virgin and the whore.

The basis of the *marianismo* ideal is Mary's acceptance of God's will and her purity (virginity). In Mexico, where *marianismo* is strong, the Virgin Mary symbolizes the good mother in contrast to the bad woman Malinche, who was Cortés's lover.

*Marianismo* expects women to model themselves after Mary and to accept their roles as mothers and wives. Women should be pure, humble, emotional, kind, compliant, vulnerable, unassertive, and enduring of suffering. Women live in the shadow of their husbands and children and should support them continuously. This kind of attitude involves the expectation that women should tolerate certain behavior of men such as their aggressiveness, sexual infidelity, arrogance, stubbornness, and callousness. The expectations that a

woman should be an ideal wife and mother require her to be spiritually superior.

### MARIANISMO AS A STRATEGY

Evelyn Stevens is credited for coining the term *marianismo*. Stevens turned *marianismo* into a strategy whereby women benefit from the ideal of women as semidivine, morally superior, and spiritually stronger than men. The women's movement led to the evolution of *marianismo* into a cult of feminine superiority. The power in *marianismo* comes from women's ability to produce life. By tolerating the husband's behavior and wickedness, women receive validation from society and from God. Men's wickedness, therefore, is the necessary precondition of woman's superior status. This means that to uphold their semidivine status, women should not attempt to avoid suffering and self-sacrifice. Instead, women make this suffering known and thus gain esteem and admiration from society.

On the other hand, *marianismo* as a strategy is criticized by Tracy Ehlers, who criticized Stevens's position on four grounds. First she criticized the idea that *marianismo* is a companion and complement to machismo. Second, she disagrees with the assumption that women are content with domesticity and the feminine power at home. Third, she points out that the *marianismo* ideal blames women for a man's bad behavior because the women need that behavior to attain their status as wife and mother. Fourth, she argues that the *marianismo* ideal creates a universal model that encompasses all Latin American women.

### CHANGES IN THE MARIANISMO IDEAL

The socialist revolution in Cuba led to changes in the *marianismo* ideals. The Virgin Mary was replaced by the ideal of the equal and working woman.

The Caribbean island of Cuba was a Spanish colony until 1898, but after winning its independence, it became, in practice, a U.S. colony. The Cuban revolution began on January 1, 1959, when the revolutionary leader Fidel Castro forced the former dictator to leave the country. A few years later, Cuba proclaimed itself a socialist country, accompanying an economic blockade from the United States.

These political changes involve the creation of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) in the early years of the revolution. The organization aimed to fulfill women's rights in line with the revolutionary ideals. Today Cuba is the only country in Latin America with legalized abortion and free contracep-

tives. The Family Code in 1975 also established by law that men and women have equal responsibility in household work.

The political changes in Cuba regarding gender are still juxtaposed with the traditional gender roles and the prevailing norms of heterosexuality and the nuclear family. The traditional values of women's roles as mothers and wives as concerned with love, marriage, and the family are still present in Cuban socialist society. Women are still responsible for not getting pregnant. This implies that the mixture of machismo culture and radical changes toward socialism and equal rights continue to exist in the Cuban society.

See also BAROQUE CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA; CUBAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

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AMPARO PAMELA FABE

## Latin America, positivism in

Based on the writings of French philosopher and social reformer Auguste Comte, positivist doctrine swept large parts of urban Latin America in the late 19th century, from Mexico City to Buenos Aires, profoundly influencing intellectual currents, economic and political trends, state ideologies, forms of state organization, urban planning, immigration policies, literary styles, and related developments. Comte's philosophy of positivism, an elaborate, opaque, and in some respects bizarre body of thought, built on the rationalism of the scientific revolution and ENLIGHTENMENT to posit three stages in intellectual history: theological, metaphysical, and positive. The third stage, which in Comte's view humanity was on the cusp of achieving, was characterized by direct empirical observation, scientific experimentation, and purely rational thought.

In Latin America, positivism was appropriated by ruling liberal regimes to promote modernization

through government by intellectually enlightened elites. In practice this meant the promotion of economic liberalism, which meant free trade, privatization of church and Indian lands, foreign investment, export-led growth, European immigration, and the adoption of modern technologies. It also meant the suppression of political liberalism in the forms of free speech, freedom of assembly, and other rights of citizenship. Positivist doctrine also dovetailed with the SOCIAL DARWINISM of Herbert Spencer and others, which divided humanity into racial hierarchies, with some races more suited to survival than others. In practice, this meant the promotion of racist ideologies positing white superiority and Indian, black, and “mixed-race” inferiority. Since positivism posited women’s irrationality and intellectual inferiority, it also reinforced gender inequalities.

Emblematic here was the regime of PORFIRIO DÍAZ in Mexico, which adopted positivist doctrine under the banner of “Order and Progress,” a doctrine pursued via the policy prescriptions of his circle of advisers known as *los científicos* (loosely, “the scientific ones”). As leading Mexican científico Justo Sierra famously remarked, the path to national development might require “a little tyranny” along the way. In Brazil, positivism translated into active opposition to the reigning monarchy and to slavery, both of which were interpreted as primitive, antiquated, decidedly nonmodern institutions, especially by members of the military whose power was enhanced as a result of the PARAGUAYAN WAR. The army’s overthrow of the monarchy in 1889 was followed by a string of military-supported technocratic governments deeply influenced by positivist thought. Positivism in Brazil also translated into active support of coffee cultivation and other forms of export production, emulation of things French, and state policies intended to promote European immigration in order to “whiten” the population.

In Argentina, positivist doctrine found tangible expression in the revamping of the capital city of Buenos Aires in the 1890s to evoke the broad boulevards, parks, plazas, and stately buildings of Paris, prompting city boosters to dub their capital “the Paris of South America.” Similar facelifts transformed other South American capitals in the Parisian model, including Caracas (Venezuela), Santiago (Chile), and Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).

Across much of Central and South America, elites actively promoted European immigration to improve their nations’ “racial stock,” strengthen links with

Europe (especially France), and promote national modernization. These elite-led modernization efforts, in the name of “progress,” were accompanied by press censorship, rigged elections, political cronyism, and the suppression of political dissent, in the name of “order.” Positivism remained highly influential throughout much of Latin America until the ascendancy of populist politics in the 1910s and 1920s, though many transmuted vestiges and variants endured well into the 20th century.

See also LATIN AMERICA, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN; LATIN AMERICA, URBANISM IN.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Latin America, urbanism in

At independence in the 1820s, the vast majority of the inhabitants of Latin America and the Caribbean, probably more than 95 percent, lived in rural areas. From the early colonial period, cities, clustered mainly along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, had been considered by Spanish and Portuguese colonizers and the Creole (American-born) elite as the prime locus of civilization and culture. As the crisis of political authority sparked by the 1807–08 Napoleonic invasion of Iberia intensified, the requirement of the liberal Spanish constitution of 1812 that concentrations of 1,000 persons or more establish town councils led to a dramatic rise in the number of officially incorporated towns and cities.

By fragmenting political authority, the process of independence augmented the political and economic power of urban centers. Subnational regions developed principally in relation to primary and secondary cities. Examples can be seen in southeastern South America, with Buenos Aires and Montevideo dominating the coast, and Córdoba, Tucumán, and other cities dominating the interior. In 1820 Mexico City was Latin America’s largest city, with some 120,000 people, followed by Lima (Peru) at 53,000, Buenos Aires (Río de la Plata, later Argentina) at 40,000, and Bogotá (Colombia) at 30,000.

By mid-century, with populations rising and rural-urban migration intensifying, many large cities became increasingly unattractive, congested, and unhealthy. Sanitary conditions were often abysmal, with open sewers, lack of potable water, unpaved streets that often turned to muddy quagmires, chronic poverty, and disease emerging as major problems for both national and municipal governments. Most urban cores, which were by colonial era design a central plaza surrounded by a church, government buildings, and elite residences, had become less livable and less desirable, prompting many wealthy residents to relocate to urban fringes. The deteriorating material conditions of most cities conflicted with an increasingly influential elite discourse that portrayed cities as the seat of civilization, modernity, and national progress, as opposed to the barbarism and backwardness of the countryside. Such a situation is exemplified in the writings of the Argentine intellectual and statesman DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO.

Especially from around 1870 this urban squalor and elite discourse on modernization and national progress combined with rising European immigration and expanding export production to prompt national and municipal governments to begin the process of urban renewal, setting in motion new programs to that effect. As a result of these economic, political, demographic, and cultural pressures, in the late 19th century virtually every large city in Latin America underwent a major rebuilding effort. Emblematic were the urban revitalization programs in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Valparaíso, Mexico City, and Bogotá. Paris in particular became the model for what a city ought to be. In Buenos Aires, for instance, the city center was razed, and in its stead were built broad tree-lined boulevards, parks, plazas, stately buildings, and cultural centers like theaters and opera houses. Electric streetlights replaced gas lamps; underground sewage and water systems were installed; paved avenues replaced dirt streets and alleys; automobiles and electric trolleys displaced horses and bullocks. By the turn of the century, city boosters were touting Buenos Aires as the “Paris of South America.” Similar efforts were undertaken in cities across the continent.

These and other cities grew rapidly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1880 Buenos Aires was home to around 300,000 people; on the eve of World War I, that figure reached 1.5 million. In 1890 the population of São Paulo stood at 64,000; a decade later it surpassed 240,000. In 1880 Santiago was inhabited by around 160,000 people; by 1910 the number had

increased to 400,000. Mexico City’s population rose from 200,000 in 1874 to nearly 500,000 in 1910.

By 1900 Montevideo housed around one-third of Uruguay’s population of 900,000, making it the world’s largest national capital city relative to population. Similarly rapid growth marked Rio de Janeiro, Valparaíso, Lima, Quito, Guayaquil, Caracas, Bogotá, Havana, and other national capitals and port cities. Notably, by 1900, all but a handful of Latin America’s largest urban centers lay on the coast, reflecting the region’s historic and growing reliance on export production.

The last decades of the 19th century also saw many smaller cities grow rapidly, from Monterrey (Mexico), Guatemala City (Guatemala), Managua (Nicaragua), Tegucigalpa (Honduras), Medellín, Barranquilla, and Cartagena (Colombia), to Córdoba, Mendoza, and Salta (Argentina). By the dawn of the 20th century, between 10 and 20 percent of Latin America’s population of some 60 million resided in cities, a percentage that would grow dramatically in the coming decades; by the end of the century, around three-quarters of Latin America’s population of 520 million was urban.

See also LATIN AMERICA, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN; LATIN AMERICA, EXPORT ECONOMIES IN; LATIN AMERICA, POSITIVISM IN.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## League of Three Emperors

After the German chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK united Germany in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, he desired peace in which the new unified Germany could mature and prosper. With France effectively neutralized by the war and the PARIS COMMUNE uprising in 1871 that followed, Bismarck set to make peace with Germany’s two traditional rivals in central Europe, Austria-Hungary and Russia. It had only been in 1866 that Bismarck’s Prussia had defeated Austria-Hungary for leadership of



the German peoples, and Bismarck was anxious that hostilities not be renewed. Bismarck's solution to this problem was the League of the Three Emperors, or the Dreikaiserbund. The emperors were Wilhelm I of Germany, Franz Josef of Austria, and Czar Alexander II of Russia.

All three empires desired stability for diplomatic and domestic reasons. Anarchist and communist groups, inspired by the Paris Commune, were becoming internal security problems for all three empires, which needed to focus their energies at home. Despite these efforts, Czar Alexander II was still killed by anarchists in Russia in 1881. Bismarck's plans were helped by foreign ministers Julius Andrassy of Austria and Prince Alexander Gorchakov of Russia.

Bismarck realized that France was seething in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War. Thus for Bismarck, the paramount reason for soliciting the League of Three Emperors was that, should Germany become involved in another war with France, it would not have to fear either Russia or Austria joining in an alliance with France against the Germans.

In addition, all three empires were concerned about the continuing disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Since both Austria and Russia had ambitions in the Balkans, both were concerned that their desire to profit from Turkish misfortune did not lead to a clash between them. The League of Three Emperors, ratified by the three parties in 1873, was essentially a secret agreement, and none of the three signatories were in any way anxious for the other Great Powers in Europe to learn about it.

In 1875 the new league had its first major test when the Christians of the Balkans rebelled against their Turkish overlords. When the rebellion began in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sultan ABDUL HAMID II reacted with a savagery that resulted in the deaths of thousands of Christians. The atrocities caused the rebellion to spread throughout the Balkans. In addition to having designs on the Balkans, Russia also embraced the philosophy of Pan-Slavism, which held that all Slavs were mystically united as a brotherhood. Furthermore, they all professed the same Christian Orthodox faith. Hence it was that Russia saw it as its duty to intervene to save the Slavs in the Balkans, and in April 1877 Czar Alexander II declared war on the Ottoman Empire.

Although British prime minister WILLIAM GLADSTONE condemned the Turkish atrocities, he was keenly aware of the change in the European balance of power should the Russians win the war. Gladstone

offered naval support to the Turks, as well as a British squadron anchored near Constantinople in February 1878. For a while, war between England and Russia seemed imminent.

Wanting the war to end before British intervention, the Russians forced a victor's peace on the Turks at San Stefano on March 3, 1878. Austro-Hungarian foreign minister Count Andrassy felt the settlement was adverse to future Austrian designs on the Balkans, and a potential Russo-Austrian crisis loomed. Bismarck could see his League of Three Emperors quickly dissolving into a possible Russo-Austrian War and hurriedly called for all parties to meet at Berlin.

The CONGRESS OF BERLIN, which met from June to July 1878, managed to avoid a European war, but profoundly soured Russia because it was forced to disgorge much of the territory it had won from the Turks at San Stefano. Consequently, Russia withdrew from the League of Three Emperors.

Concerned now of possible hostilities with Russia, Bismarck signed an alliance with Austria in 1879, which became known as the Dual Alliance. Both countries realized the need to lure Russia back into an alliance. This took place in 1881, with what could be called the Second League of Three Emperors. The terms of the treaty were specific and took into account the changing European situation since the first league of 1873.

Although the three empires intended at the time that the treaty would be permanent, the continuing changes in the European situation were continually changing their alliance. In 1890 Bismarck was replaced as German chancellor by the new German emperor Wilhelm II. From there the terrible slide toward World War I began. However, when seen in retrospect, the efforts of Bismarck, Andrassy, and Gorchakov in creating the first league of Three Emperors in 1873, and the league's rebirth in 1881, did secure almost 20 years of peace in which, without foreign wars or domestic insurrections, the countries emerged into what ever after would be referred to as the "Age of Progress." To accomplish this was no mean feat for any diplomats to achieve.

See also AFGHAN WARS, FIRST AND SECOND; ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY; FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE TREATY OF FRANKFURT.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Leo XIII

(1810–1903) *Roman Catholic pope*

Pope Leo XIII was born Gioacchino Vincenzo Raffaele Luigi on March 2, 1810, in Carpineto and died on July 20, 1903, in Rome. Young Raffaele was sent at age eight to study at the Jesuit school at Viterbo, where he attained a doctorate of theology in 1832 and was ordained a priest on December 31, 1837.

In January 1843 he was appointed papal nuncio (diplomat) to Brussels, Belgium, and elevated to archbishop of Damiatina, Belgium, on February 19, 1843. He worked with the Belgium royalty to establish Catholic schools in Belgium, a controversial move for both parties.

Later, Raffaele was made bishop of Perugia. He was made a cardinal by Pope Pius IX, appointed *camerlengo* (head of the papal household) in August 1877, and then elected pope in 1878. As pope, he was active in diplomatic circles by courting relationships with France, Germany, Russia, the United States, and the nations of South America.

Pope Leo XIII strained relations between the Holy See and Great Britain by restoring the Scottish hierarchy of the church, declaring all Anglican ordinations invalid, and elevating JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, a convert from Anglicanism, to the cardinalate. Within the church, he resolved the schism with the Armenian Church and strengthened the Ruthenian Church. He established national colleges within Vatican City, expanded the holdings and services of the Vatican library and secret archives, and built the Vatican Observatory. He wrote encyclicals against Americanism, Freemasonry, and socialism, and for devotions to the rosary and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His landmark encyclical *Rerum novarum* set out Catholic principles on the economic relationship between labor and capital.

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*Leo XIII was active in diplomatic circles, courting relationships with western Europe, Russia, and the United States.*

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JAMES RUSSELL

## Leopold II

(1835–1909) *king of Belgium*

Upon his accession in 1865, Leopold decided Belgium should be beautiful, rich, secure, and more powerful.

Accordingly, he transformed Brussels and Ostend, built monuments and public works, backed Belgian enterprises abroad, gained fortifications, and, on his deathbed, signed an army reform. Additionally, since the idea of European expansion was impossible, Leopold determined that Belgium should seek colonial expansion elsewhere.

Leopold created allegedly humanitarian associations and sent H. M. Stanley to establish stations on the Congo River. These efforts helped Belgium gain influence in the Congo. Additionally, since no great power wished another to gain the vast Congo basin, Leopold used the apparent weakness of Belgium to become the sole proprietor of his CONGO FREE STATE after the 1884–85 Congress of Berlin. Leopold as king-sovereign enlarged it, gaining Orientale Province (Haut-Zaïre), effective control of mineral-rich Katanga (Shaba), and eastern regions, eliminating East African slavers. However, Britain blocked Leopold's drive to the Nile, preventing further expansion.

Leopold never visited the Congo and did not envision Africans as real. For a decade, he was chronically short of funds to administer the state and its army. Tenacious, clever, and unscrupulous, he extorted a great deal from Belgium. He built a railway around cataracts to render the Congo River navigable to the sea but otherwise avoided development. In 1891 he declared all "vacant land" (including fallow fields and hunting grounds) state property. In 1892 he created state lands that included about half the Congo. There, aside from two concessions, profits went solely to the state's expenses. As world demand for rubber rose, the Congo became profitable, and greed overtook Leopold's concern for Belgium. In 1896 he created large Crown lands in the Congo, whose profits accrued directly to him rather than to the state. Demands for more rubber led to abuses, including mutilation and murder of the indigenous population. Criticism mounted in English-speaking countries. Ultimately, the outcry became so intense and the abuses so well-documented that in 1908, Belgium, to end abuses, reluctantly took the Congo away from Leopold.

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SALLY MARKS



*A clever and unscrupulous ruler, Leopold II of Belgium used the resources of the Congo to increase his own wealth.*

## Lewis and Clark Expedition

When THOMAS JEFFERSON became president of the United States, he was determined to fulfill one of his most cherished dreams: obtaining accurate knowledge of the Far West. In his message to Congress of January 18, 1803, nine months before the United States acquired the LOUISIANA PURCHASE from France, Jefferson requested funds to outfit an expedition for the purposes of gathering scientific and geographic information about the trans-Mississippi West and for establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with the Indians of the region. Jefferson, like other Americans of his era, was also interested in determining whether or not there was a viable water route across the continent that connected with the Pacific Ocean.

With the approval of Congress in hand, Jefferson secured the services of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Both men were experienced army veterans and seasoned frontiersmen. They assembled a well-trained Corps of Discovery, one of whom was Clark's African-American slave, York. With wilderness gear, boats, and scientific equipment, they began their jour-

ney by ascending the Missouri River from the vicinity of St. Louis on May 14, 1804.

The party wintered with the Mandan Indians in proximity to the Knife and Missouri Rivers in what is now the state of North Dakota. There, Lewis and Clark obtained the services of Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian trapper, and Sacagawea, his young Shoshone wife. Since both spoke Shoshone and had some knowledge of the Hidatsa language, they were invaluable as interpreters and intermediaries between the Corps and the Indians.

By the following spring, the expedition had reached the three forks of the Missouri, which they named the Jefferson, the Gallatin, and the Madison. After a perilous trek across the Rocky Mountains, they descended the Snake and Columbia Rivers and reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean in November 1805. The expedition erected Fort Clatsop and remained there until spring.

Returning over much of their original route, they arrived at St. Louis on September 23, 1806. The party had traversed some 8,000 miles and had journeyed for well over two years. The hardships they had endured were largely due to the nature of the terrain they traversed, weather conditions, physical and mental fatigue, encounters with wild animals, and accidents. With the exception of the Blackfeet and the Sioux, their relations with Indians were relatively peaceful and beneficial. They returned with a wealth of information about the Indians and the topography of the Far West. The knowledge they gathered about the flora and fauna of the region proved to be invaluable for the traders, trappers, and settlers who followed. Their explorations also helped to affirm the right of the United States to Oregon Country.

The journals of Lewis and Clark have been published in many editions. They offer vivid descriptions of the explorers's encounters with the unexpected and relate their struggles with their day-to-day routines. The journals constitute an American saga.

See also NATIVE AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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LOUIS B. GIMELLI

## Liberian colonization

After the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, many Americans, black and white, anguished over the continuing existence of slavery in the new republic of liberty. One proposed solution—colonization—attracted supporters at the highest levels. The American Colonization Society (ACS) played a key role in slavery politics before, during, and even after the CIVIL WAR. Its successes, although limited, forever changed the United States and West Africa.

The ACS was founded in 1816 by leading politicians, including Kentucky slaveholder Henry Clay and Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster. Over the years, other prominent Americans, including Francis Scott Key, author of the “Star-Spangled Banner,” and several presidents supported the cause. The ACS’s main idea was this: “Slavery is a brutal and inefficient labor system. To end it, while protecting the interests of slaveholders and free white workers, we need to remove freed black people who would likely become a burden on American society.” In fact, states that abolished slavery often made it very difficult for freedmen and -women to stay in their communities as free people,

Although some proponents of colonization envisioned setting aside colonies for former slaves in North America, the ACS quickly focused on “returning” to Africa people who had been kidnapped into slavery there, years or even centuries earlier, and by now were mostly Christian English-speaking African Americans. In 1821 the ACS sent naval officer Robert Stockton to a region of West Africa already occupied by 16 tribal groups. There he “negotiated with a pen in one hand, and a drawn pistol in the other.” The new colony was named Liberia, for liberty, and its capital became Monrovia, named in honor of President James Monroe, who provided federal funds for the ACS venture.

As slavery politics grew more divisive, especially after Virginian Nat Turner’s abortive slave revolt in 1831, the ACS project was attacked from many sides. Abolitionists viewed Liberian relocation as deportation—a racist way to deal with slavery and race problems. Said abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison, a former colonizationist, “I was then blind; I now see.” Deep South slaveholders suspected colonization was a trick designed to end slavery entirely.

Few African Americans were attracted to Liberia, despite hopes for genuine independence. Liberia’s deadly malaria killed thousands. Unfamiliar plants and animals made farming difficult. American interlopers faced hostility from indigenous residents. Yet, threatening events

like Turner's rebellion and the Fugitive Slave Act and Dred Scott decision of the chaotic 1850s led to surges in emigration. Even black abolitionist leader FREDERICK DOUGLASS softened his opposition. By 1860, almost 11,000 African Americans had emigrated. More would do so when post-Civil War promises remained unfulfilled.

Liberia's earliest settlers were mainly freed blacks from the Upper South who had already gained literacy and work skills. These founding families would become an enduring ruling class who dominated Liberian politics and its economy, especially after Liberia declared itself independent in 1847 under an American-style constitution. Later, an influx of new African-American settlers, many who had gained freedom only when their masters died, became a social second tier, while African natives were relegated to the lowest social rung. Into the 21st century, lingering class and color antagonisms have destabilized Liberia, sparking civil conflict in the nation and its region.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE AMERICAS.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang)

(1823–1901) *Chinese statesman and diplomat*

Li Hongzhang came from Anhui Province, received the highest academic degree in 1847, and joined the government. When the army of the Taiping rebels reached Anhui in 1853, Li and his father returned home and organized a militia, serving well under various local officials. In 1858 he joined his patron and teacher ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan), the most successful civilian of the Qing (Ch'ing) government, in fighting the TAIPING REBELLION. In 1860 Zeng sent Li to his home province to organize a large militia called the Huai Army (Huai being another name for Anhui). In 1862 this army was ordered to Shanghai where Li found an ad hoc force trained and led by Westerners defending the city against the rebels. This unit, known as the Ever-Victorious Army, was later led by

an Englishman named CHARLES GORDON, called Chinese Gordon due to his involvement in China.

Between 1862 and 1864 Li's Huai Army, stiffened by the Ever-Victorious Army, cleared Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province of the rebels. In coordination with the Hunan or Xiang (Hsiang) Army of his mentor Zeng, the Zhejiang (Chekiang) Army of ZHO ZONGTANG (Tso Tsung-t'ang) and other units finished off the Taiping Rebellion that had devastated southern and central China for over a decade. Zeng was next appointed to deal with the NIAN (Nien) REBELLION that still raged along the Huai River valley, but age and other factors made him ineffective, and it was Li, as imperial commissioner, who finished them off in 1868.

Li served as governor or governor-general of many provinces between the 1860s and the 1890s, when he and like-minded colleagues forged policies that rebuilt and revitalized a ruined economy, fostered Western learning, and adopted new techniques to strengthen China. These decades became known as the era of the TONGZHI RESTORATION (after the name of the emperor) and the measures were called the SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT. Although they gave the Qing dynasty a new lease on life, they proved inadequate in the end because they were piecemeal due to the lack of central government direction under the evil and corrupt dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi).

Li also served concurrently in many other positions, notably as diplomat dealing with Western nations. He was repeatedly called on to deal with disputes involving Christian missionaries and their activities and on international trade issues. These responsibilities made him acutely aware of China's weakness and vulnerability and, therefore, its need to modernize. He also realized the need to make concessions in dealing with European powers and Japan. Such policies made him unpopular with the conservatives, who, oblivious of international affairs, advocated tough and unsustainable stands. Cixi's ignorant and vacillating policies got China involved in repeated disasters, namely the SINO-FRENCH WAR, SINO-JAPANESE WAR, and the Boxer Rebellion. Each time Li had the no-win task of damage control to salvage what he could. Li Hongzhang's half-century of public service made him the last survivor among the leaders of late Qing China.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Lincoln, Abraham

(1809–1865) *American president*

Abraham Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809, in a log cabin on Nolin Creek in Hardin (now Larue) County, Kentucky. His father was a carpenter and farmer who owned three farms in Kentucky. His family moved to Indiana in December 1816, in part because his parents did not approve of slavery, which was legal in Kentucky but not in Indiana. His family moved again in 1830, this time to Illinois. In 1831 Lincoln left home and moved to New Salem, Illinois.

In 1832 he ran unsuccessfully for election to the Illinois General Assembly. With the outbreak of the Black Hawk War, he volunteered for military service and was elected captain of his rifle company, but he saw no fighting. Lincoln ran for office again in 1834 and was elected, serving four terms in the General Assembly as a member of the Whig Party. During this time, Lincoln also studied law and in 1836 was licensed to practice. He moved to Springfield, Illinois, in 1837 and started practicing law with John Todd Stuart. He married Mary Todd from Kentucky in 1842, and they had four sons, only one of whom survived to adulthood.

Lincoln was elected to the U.S. Congress and served from 1847 to 1849. While in Congress, he opposed the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR because he felt that President James Polk had violated the Constitution. He also supported the Wilmot Proviso, which would have prohibited slavery in territory gained from the war. Once his term was completed, he returned to his law practice in Springfield.

Lincoln opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act that allowed for the possibility of slavery spreading to the new territories in the Union. The act was sponsored by Democratic senator Stephen Douglas. Lincoln joined the Republican Party in 1856 and in 1858 ran against Douglas for the Senate. The two conducted a series of debates covering a number of issues, including slavery. The debates gained Lincoln national exposure, but he lost the election to Douglas.

Lincoln's exposure made him a leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860. The primary Republican candidate was William H. Seward,

but Seward was unacceptable to several key states. Lincoln was the second most popular candidate and more acceptable than Seward, facts which ultimately won Lincoln the nomination. With a split in the Democratic Party, Lincoln won the election and took office in March 1861. Lincoln wanted to keep the Union together, and in his inaugural speech talked of conciliation, but it was too late. Seven states had already seceded from the Union, and when Lincoln ordered a ship to take supplies to the federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, the government of South Carolina ordered the fort to be attacked. This action, on April 12, 1861, officially started the American CIVIL WAR.

With the Union defeat at Bull Run on July 21, 1861, the war looked to continue for years, and Lincoln's inability to find a capable general exacerbated the Union's problems. One of Lincoln's major concerns was the involvement of Europe, particularly Britain and France, in the war. Britain saw the war as a chance to check the growth of the United States, but was unwilling to commit men or material without reassurance that the Confederacy would win.

Initially, Lincoln's position had been the preservation of the Union. However, as the war progressed, the issue of slavery became more and more important. Lincoln believed that while the Constitution protected slavery during peace, in war it was a different matter. As such, he drafted the Emancipation Proclamation. However, he was concerned that issuing the proclamation would be seen as a sign of desperation if he did so following the continuing losses suffered by the Union army.

It was not until the Union victory at Antietam in Maryland on September 17, 1862, that Lincoln got his chance. While not a decisive victory, the battle did force General Robert E. Lee to retreat to Virginia, and Lincoln took the opportunity to release the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22. With this, Britain determined that it would be best served by staying out of the conflict.

The Emancipation Proclamation only freed slaves in states in rebellion; it was not until the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution that slavery was fully abolished. The Amendment was ratified on December 18, 1865. The Emancipation Proclamation was worded specifically to exclude border states (such as Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri) that were still loyal to the Union but where slavery was still legal. While Lincoln could be careful not to alienate certain groups, he was also willing to do what he felt was necessary to defend the Union. To that end, he suspended the writ of habeas corpus on April 27, 1861, in limited areas and then on September



*The last reception at the White House before the president's assassination: Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd Lincoln greet Union generals, cabinet members, and other guests.*

24, 1862, throughout the nation. It is believed that his administration made as many as 13,000 arrests without cause. He endured harsh criticism from other politicians and newspapers, including being called a tyrant.

It was not until 1864 that the war finally turned in favor of the Union when Lincoln brought General ULYSSES S. GRANT to Washington from the Western Theater to command all the armies of the Union. Grant proved a capable general and was able to push the Union army forward against the Confederacy. With the election of 1864, the Democratic Party decided to run former general George B. McClellan against Lincoln. The only issues that the Democrats could use against Lincoln were his supposed tyrannical policies and the fact that the war was progressing very slowly and weariness was setting in around the country. With Grant's campaign to take Richmond, followed by General William T. Sherman's capture of Atlanta,

Georgia, on September 2, 1864, and then General Philip Sheridan's destruction of part of Lee's army in the Shenandoah Valley, the war was obviously nearing its conclusion, and Lincoln won reelection in November 1864. With the war nearing its end, Lincoln began to look toward what would happen after the war. In his second inaugural address, Lincoln expressed a desire to reform the Union, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." But whatever plan he might have had for the restoration of the South and the reformation of the American Union died with him on April 14, 1865, when he was assassinated at Ford's Theatre by John Wilkes Booth, just five days after Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House.

See also RECONSTRUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

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DALLACE W. UNGER, JR.

## Lin Zexu (Lin Tse-hsu)

(1785–1850) *Chinese statesman*

Lin Zexu, the son of a teacher from Fujian (Fukien) Province, received the *jinsshi* (*chin-shih*) degree, the highest in the Chinese educational system, in 1811 and entered government service. He served with distinction and gained the popular accolade “Lin, Clear as the Heavens” for being just and incorruptible. He became governor-general of Hunan and Hubei (Hupei) Provinces in 1837, where he had notable success in implementing anti-opium laws and also took steps to cure addicts of their habits.

Opium had been imported to China since the late seventh century as a medicine. It became a recreational drug after the 17th century, and as addiction spread, the government became concerned. The law that banned opium smoking was issued in 1729; another law in 1796 totally banned its importation and cultivation, but neither had any effect, and increasing amounts were smuggled into China, mostly by British traders. By the early 19th century, the opium problem had caused an economic, public health, and moral crisis for China, but its cultivation and sale under the British in Bengal (India) had become a lucrative source of revenue for the British treasury.

In 1838 Emperor Daoguang (Tao-kuang) ordered a full-scale debate on methods to deal with the opium problem. One school favored legalization, taxing, and controlling its access. Another group advocated strict prohibition; Lin was among them, and because of his exemplary record, he was summoned to Beijing (Peking) for consultation.

He was then appointed Imperial Commissioner, with plenipotentiary powers to proceed to Canton to stamp out the evil. Arriving in Canton in early 1839, where 30,000 chests of the drug were imported annually and where opium shops were as numerous as gin

shops in contemporary London, Lin first dealt with the Chinese. He arrested corrupt officials who had not enforced the laws; confiscated smoking paraphernalia; closed opium shops; and made students, teachers, merchants, and civic leaders sign bonds to obey the law.

Next, Lin ordered foreign merchants to hand over their stocks of opium and sign bonds not to trade in it in the future. Those who did would be allowed to trade in legitimate merchandise, while those who refused had their places of trade embargoed.

He wrote a letter to Queen VICTORIA of Great Britain exhorting her to rein in evil merchants from her country whose greed inflicted such harm on the Chinese. Realizing his implacable resolve, British Superintendent of Trade Charles Elliot handed over 20,283 chests of opium (however, he refused to sign a bond for future non-importation), which Lin publicly destroyed. Trade with Britain resumed in May 1839. Lin was at the peak of his power. But diplomatic, legal, and commercial problems between China and Britain remained unresolved.

The spark that began the first ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WAR occurred in early 1840 over the death of a Chinese citizen in a brawl with some Englishmen and Elliot's subsequent refusal to hand over the murderer for trial. Lin then ordered stoppage of trade with Britain. British victories led to Lin's dismissal. He was sent to Ili in Xinjiang (Sinkiang) in northwestern China, where he served with distinction, opening up over 500,000 acres of land for cultivation between 1842 and 1845.

He later served as governor-general of Shaanxi (Shensi) and Gansu (Kansu) Provinces in 1846 and of Yunnan and Guizhou (Kweichow) Provinces from 1847 to 1848. Lin was among the first Chinese officials to become interested in Western sciences, weaponry, and maritime defenses and began programs to translate Western books into Chinese.

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## literature (1750–1900)

During the period 1750–1900, a large increase in literacy and reduced costs in printing and publishing led to large numbers of books being published. This in turn resulted in the establishment of public and private libraries around the world, which led to even more people having access to these books. The introduction of better house lighting, leading up to electric lights, also created a very favorable environment for reading.

In Britain the literary style was changing from the Augustan age, which had been seen through the works of Joseph Addison, Daniel Defoe, Sir Richard Steele, and Jonathan Swift. Henry Fielding (1707–54) wrote his last novel, *Amelia* (1751), shortly before going to Lisbon, Portugal, where he died. With the Augustan representing what was seen as the golden age of Rome, it was the period when the Grand Tour started. This idea encouraged wealthy young Britons to travel around Europe seeing the famous sites. With the emergence of Britain as a world power after the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–63), British dominance of North America and the Caribbean was assured, and France seemed unlikely to pose a challenge to the British for some time to come. The emergence of the British Empire in Africa and India was also leading to increased wealth and the encouragement of the expeditions that took place in the latter decades of the 18th century. Within the reading public there was a great demand for travel literature, with the books by CAPTAIN JAMES COOK (1728–79) and Admiral William Bligh (1754–1817), among others, selling well in Britain. Books by French, German, and other explorers and travelers were also translated into numbers of languages, further fueling the curiosity of readers.

By the time Bligh's account of the MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY was on sale, the euphoria from the Seven Years' War had died down, Britain having lost many of the American colonies with its defeat in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Important writers during this period include the philosopher David Hume (1711–76), novelist Laurence Sterne (1713–68), and Horace Walpole (1717–97). The economist ADAM SMITH (1723–90) was author of the best-seller *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), with philosophical works by John Stuart Mill (1806–73) also being popular. Mention must also be made of Scotland's national poet, Robert Burns (1759–96), and Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–84) and his biographer James Boswell (1740–95).

The 1780s and 1790s became known as the romantic period, with the emergence of the Lake Poets.

William Wordsworth (1770–1850), composer of *The Prelude*; Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834); and poet and writer Robert Southey (1774–1843) brought with them both the views of the European ENLIGHTENMENT, along with a reaction against the industrial revolution and urbanism. Wordsworth also explored nature, and in 1798 the first nature writer in the modern tradition, Gilbert White, published his *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*. The late 1790s and early 1800s were largely a period of isolation and introspection for British literature, with Britons not able to embark on their Grand Tour anymore, owing to the Napoleonic Wars, although some did manage brief visits in the period just after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. Two other authors who sold many copies of their books include THOMAS PAINE (1737–1809), author of *The Rights of Man* (1791–92), and his great adversary, Edmund Burke (1729–97), author of *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790), which was read all over Europe.

Many of the other writers of the period, such as Jane Austen (1775–1817), author of *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), set all their work in England. Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), author of *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), *Ivanhoe* (1819), and *The Talisman* (1825), wrote a very large number of works of fiction, poetry, history, drama, and essays. His Waverley novels were usually set around Scottish historical and folkloric themes, and this vast output essentially represented the introduction of the historical novel to a large reading public. This was followed by hugely popular but now largely forgotten historical novelist W. H. Ainsworth (1805–82).

Toward the end of the Napoleonic Wars, there was a second generation of romantic poets that included Lord Byron (1788–1824); Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), author of *Prometheus Unbound* (1818–19); and John Keats (1795–1821). All heavily influenced by Wordsworth and the other Lake Poets, Byron's poetry was clearly influenced by his time in Europe, which would have been impossible a decade earlier. Indeed *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, one of Byron's most famous poems, was about a young man's adventures on the European continent.

Having to flee England after allegations surfaced of his incestuous affair with his half sister Augusta Leigh, Byron met Shelley and his wife, Mary Shelley, at Geneva, Switzerland. They collaborated, and there are certainly some similarities between the poetry of Byron and Shelley, two free thinkers whose lives had scandalized many

in Britain. Byron was later to take up the cause of Greek independence, which resulted in his death in 1824.

The next great breakthrough in English literature is the Victorian era, when the British Empire and its power and influence dominated much of the world, developing much of the new technology and initiating social reforms. This brought forth an avalanche of literary talent, the work of Charles Dickens (1812–70) being perhaps the most memorable. Famous British writers of the period include Anne, Charlotte, and Emily Brontë; Samuel Butler (1835–1902), author of *The Way of All Flesh*, published posthumously in 1903; Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), author of *The French Revolution* (1837) and *Sartor Resartus* (1833–34); Wilkie Collins (1824–89), author of *The Woman in White* (1860) and *The Moonstone* (1868), which T. S. Eliot called “the first, the longest and the best of modern English detective novels”; Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930), creator of Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson; Joseph Conrad (born Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski, 1857–1924), author of *Lord Jim* (1900); Charles Dickens (1812–70), author of *Oliver Twist* (1837–39), *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838–39), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840–41), *David Copperfield* (1849–50), *Bleak House* (1852–53), *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), and *Great Expectations* (1860–61); George Eliot (pseudonym for Mary Ann Evans, 1819–80), author of *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and *Middlemarch* (1871–72); Thomas Hardy (1840–1928), author of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886) and *Jude the Obscure* (1896); Thomas Hughes (1822–96), author of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (1856); Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), author of *Barrack Room Ballads* (1892), *The Seven Seas* (1896), and the two *Jungle Books* (1894–95); Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94), author of *Treasure Island* (1883) and *Kidnapped* (1886); William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63), author of *Henry Esmond* (1852); and Anthony Trollope (1815–82), author of *Barchester Towers* (1857) and many other works.

Several other popular Victorian writers include poet and engraver William Blake (1757–1827), Elizabeth Browning (1806–61) and Robert Browning (1812–89), playwright John Drinkwater (1882–1937), best-selling boys’ adventure writer and journalist G. A. Henty (1832–1902), poet and craftsman William Morris (1834–96), poet Alexander Pope (1677–1744), and Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–92).

There were also an increasing number of books about foreign countries and lands. Thomas Stamford

Raffles (1781–1826) wrote of his time in Java, and books on Africa by explorers such as Dr. David Livingstone (1813–73) and H. M. Stanley (1841–1904) interested many people in central Africa. Quite a number of these books sold within days of their release, with *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859), by CHARLES DARWIN (1809–82), selling out on its first day.

Following the creation of the United States, there was the emergence of a new literary trend, also written in English but firmly with its own accent and eye. Again, like this period in Britain, there was a rich mix of fiction, drama, adventure, history, and science.

Important American writers included Stephen Crane (1871–1900), author of the CIVIL WAR story *The Red Badge of Courage* (1893); philosopher and statesman BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706–90); Joel Chandler Harris (1848–1908), creator of Brer Rabbit and author of *Uncle Remus*; Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64); Herman Melville (1819–91), author of *Moby-Dick* (1851); novelist Francis Parkman (1823–93), author of *The Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life* (1849); Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–96), author of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852); essayist and poet Henry David Thoreau (1817–62); and poet Walt Whitman (1819–92). Historian William H. Prescott (1796–1859) produced America’s first “scientific histories,” being the author of *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843) and *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847).

Australia, despite its size, had a small population. Because of its unique history, it developed a different literary tradition, with important Australian writers including Marcus Clarke (1846–81), author of *His Natural Life* (1874, subsequently reissued as *For the term of your natural life*); Rolf Boldrewood (pseudonym for Thomas Alexander Browne, 1826–1915), author of *The Squatter’s Dream* (1875) and *Robbery Under Arms* (1888); and W. H. Fitchett (1841–1928), author of many books on the British Empire.

In other languages, again with the increase of literacy levels, new printing techniques, and the availability of cheap paper and newspapers, there was a vast output of literature. France enjoyed one of its greatest periods of cultural progress. The early work from the 1750s was heavily influenced by the Enlightenment. The major French work of this period was the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean d’Alembert, published between 1751 and 1765. Many French writers

of this period were heavily influenced by French historical themes, especially the Napoleonic Wars and earlier conflicts. Alexandre Dumas (1803–70) set his *The Man in the Iron Mask* during the reign of Louis XIV, and his *The Count of Monte Cristo* covered events that followed a brief visit a ship made to the island of Elba. Victor Hugo (1802–85) became famous for his *Les Misérables* (1862), still known around the world by its French title. Hugo became interested in the history of Notre-Dame Cathedral, and his *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* (1831) raised much awareness of the cathedral's medieval history.

Other French writers of the period include Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), author of *Father Goriot*, among many others; Charles Baudelaire (1821–67); Gustave Flaubert (1821–80), author of *Madame Bovary* (1857); George Sand (pseudonym of Armandine-Aurore-Lucile Dudevant, 1804–76); Stendhal (pseudonym for Marie-Henri Beyle, 1783–1842) author of *The Red and the Black* (1831) and *The Charterhouse of Parma* (1839); Hippolyte Taine (1828–93), who wrote *The Origins of Contemporary France* (1875–1894), an attack on the French revolutionaries; Jules Verne (1828–1905), author of *Journey to the Center of the World* (1864) and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873); and Emile Zola (1840–1902), author of *Germinal* (1885). There were also important philosophical works by VOLTAIRE (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778) and Montesquieu (1689–1755).

Germany was, in some ways, very different, largely owing to the legacy of the Napoleonic Wars, and its fragmentation until 1871. The importance of German literature was assured by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–32), author of *Faust* (1808–32), who introduced the world to a mind and talent that remains unique. There was also a particularly important contribution to the world of philosophy, politics, drama, and poetry. Important writers of the period include poet and essayist Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), and Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860). Mention should also be made of KARL MARX (1818–83), who moved from Germany to England and was author of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *Das Kapital* (1867–94) and the founder of communism.

This was also one of the major eras in Russian literature, with famous writers of this period including playwright and short story writer Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), author of *The Seagull* (1896); Fyodor

Dostoyevsky (1821–81), author of *Crime and Punishment* (1866) and the *Brothers Karamazov* (1879–80); Nikolay Gogol (1809–52, author of *The Inspector General* (1836); Maxim Gorky (pseudonym for Alexey Peshkov, 1868–1936); Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin (1799–1837); and Count Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), author of *War and Peace* (1865–69), and *Anna Karenina* (1873–77). From Scandinavia during this period came the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) and the Swedish dramatist August Strindberg (1849–1912).

Outside Europe and the Americas, there were significant changes in literary traditions. The spread of European languages by way of travelers, missionaries, occupying armies, and the arrival of commercial organizations furthered the familiarity with English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Some gifted students, talented individuals, and the well-to-do found their way to London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, and Rome—and then returned to their homelands hugely influenced, not always sympathetically, by their experiences. Those who were to make literature their life's work often wrote in their native tongue, but, for the most part, adopting styles that their sojourns had introduced them to.

In India some prominent names are C. Subrahmanya Bharati (1882–1921), the outstanding Tamil poet; B. C. Chatterji (1838–94), a Bengali novelist described as the “first master of the true novel in India” with *Rajmohan's wife* (1864); Toru Dutt (1856–77), poet, essayist, and musician. In the Malay world the literary tradition involved *hikayats*, sagas recited by wise men, sometimes recorded. The first of these published in the West was the *Hikayat Abdullah* of Abdullah Munshi bin Abdul Kadir, secretary to Raffles, and which includes an account, albeit secondhand, of the founding of Singapore; with another important one being the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, which was begun in 1865 but not published until 1932 when an edition was published in Singapore.

In Vietnam the greatest writer of the period was Nguyen Du (1765–1820), the creator of *Kim Van Kieu*, a verse novel, that has come to be regarded as Vietnam's national poem. Writing in Tagalog, the language of central Luzon in the Philippines, Francisco Balagtas (1788–1862) was regarded as the “prince of Tagalog poets”—Tagalog literature had already been highly developed.

Japan saw a flourishing of literature with writers such as the novelist Ichiyo Higuchi (1872–96) and Futabatei Shimei (1864–1909). China had a tradition

of literature stretching back 2,000 years and was easily able to adapt to include novels, a genre known in the country since the 14th century, with Liu E (1857–1909) writing the *Travels of Lao Ts'an* (c. 1904–07), and Chou Shu-jen (Lu Hsun) (1881–1936) who became regarded by many as the most important literary figure in modern China. Also in China, teams of historians under the Manchu QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY compiled vast histories, collecting and collating earlier works and historical traditions. In fact it was also a period, during the 1750s, when the Manchu script was gaining wider acceptance. There are also court chronicles in most Asian countries, with those in Mughal India, Cambodia, Korea, Thailand (from the 1780s), and Vietnam still surviving. The arrival of Europeans in many parts of the world led to some of these works being bought and taken to European and American libraries, where translations of extracts were published, along with the recording and publishing of many literary works that had been told orally.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Lobanov-Yamagata Agreement (1896)

The Lobanov-Yamagata Agreement was a pact between Russia and Japan concerning their respective interests in Korea, signed in 1896. During the early 1890s, Russian and Japanese involvement in Northeast Asia in general and in Korea in particular intensified. In 1891 Russia announced the laying of the Trans-Siberian Railway from St. Petersburg to the Pacific coast, a distance of about 5,700 miles. Although this project had political and economic ends it was also defined as a

cultural mission to bring civilization and Christianity to the peoples of Asia. Three years later in 1894 the Japanese and Chinese struggle for hegemony over the weak kingdom of Korea led to the outbreak of the first SINO-JAPANESE WAR. After the Chinese defeat, Russia became Japan's main rival because of its pressure, together with Germany and France, to force Japan to relinquish its gains in south Manchuria (the "Three Power Intervention"), but also by reason of its expansionist ambitions in East Asia.

Japan was concerned about the repercussions of the Trans-Siberian Railway, but the main focus of Russo-Japanese rivalry was on Korea, whose king viewed the Russians as his saviors from Japan. Russia filled the political vacuum left by the defeated China in Korea and challenged Japanese ambitions to control the kingdom. Together with the United States, Russia induced the other powers to demand Korean concessions in the peninsula, such as a franchise for mining and for railway tracks.

Japan's position began to deteriorate in the summer of 1895 as its agents attempted to turn the country into a Japanese protectorate. In October 1895 members of the Japanese legation in Seoul entered the palace and stabbed Queen Min, the most vehement opponent of Japanese presence in Korea, to death.

In February 1896 Japanese troops landed near Seoul to assist in a revolt but King Kojong found sanctuary in the Russian legation in Seoul. Many Koreans interpreted the internal exile of their monarch as an uprising against the Japanese presence and began to act accordingly. Japanese advisors were expelled, collaborators were executed, and the new cabinet was constituted of persons deemed pro-Russian.

In this manner, a year after the First Sino-Japan War had ended, Russian involvement in Korea was greater than before, while Japan suffered setbacks. Prominent figures in Tokyo such as army minister Yamagata Aritomo argued that Japan had to come to terms with Russian hegemony in Korea for the time being and thus avoid having to confront all the Western nations on this issue.

Consequently, in May 1896, the representatives of Russia and Japan signed a memorandum in which the latter recognized the new Korean cabinet. A month later Yamagata visited Russia for the coronation of Czar Nicholas II, and on June 9, 1896, ratified the memorandum together with Russian foreign minister Aleksei Lobanov-Rostovskii. The resulting Lobanov-Yamagata Agreement contained slight amendments to

the original memorandum. Facing unfavorable conditions in Korea, Japan made considerable concessions in this agreement, which had two secret provisions. First, the two countries agreed to send additional troops to Korea in the event of major disturbances. Second, they might station the same number of troops in Korea until the emergence of a trained Korean force. When Yamagata offered Lobanov the draft of the agreement he was unaware that a few days earlier the Russians had signed with China's Li-Lobanov Agreement.

The Russians had invited to the czar's coronation ceremony the Chinese statesman LI HONGZHANG, who was bribed to sign the Li-Lobanov Agreement. The core of the agreement, whose content was revealed only in 1922, was mutual aid in the event of Japanese aggression. One clause in the agreement was implemented at once—Li's consent to grant Russia the concession to build a significant shortcut for the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria, which led immediately to a substantial increase in Russian involvement in the region. Because of the changing circumstances, the Yamagata-Lobanov Agreement was replaced two years later by the Nishi-Rosen Agreement. The new accord specified that both sides would refrain from political intervention in Korea and would seek each other's approval in providing military or financial advisors as requested by the Korean government. Russia also explicitly acknowledged Japan's special position in Korea, allowing it free commercial and industrial activity in the area in return for implicit Japanese acknowledgment of Russian influence in Manchuria.

These two Russo-Japanese agreements did not prevent the struggle between the two nations over Korea. Japan increasingly regarded Russian involvement in Korea as a threat to its vital interests, especially as Russian involvement in neighboring Manchuria intensified and the Trans-Siberian Railway project was about to be completed. After 1901 Japan insisted on the formula of Manchuria-Korea exchange, namely that Manchuria would go to Russia and Korea to Japan. Failing to persuade Russia to relinquish Korea, Japan began to attack Russian bases in Korea and Manchuria on February 8, 1904, opening a 19-month campaign that would become known as the Russo-Japanese War.

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ROTEM KOWNER

## Louis XVI

(1754–1793) *French monarch*

Born in August 1754, the ill-fated Louis XVI became king of France in 1774, on the death of his father, Louis XV. In 1770 he had married Marie Antoinette of Austria, the daughter of Francis I and MARIA THERESA. It was a dynastic marriage, intended to cement the alliance of France and Austria-Hungary, the heart of the Holy Roman Empire. The alliance, known as the DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION of 1756, had completely altered the balance of power in Europe, by allying Bourbon France with the Habsburgs of Austria-Hungary, who had been at odds for centuries. The alliance had been one of the major causes of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR of 1756–63. When Louis XVI ascended the throne, France was enjoying one of its rare periods of peace in the 18th century.

The time was ripe for a serious reconstruction of the economy. The extreme expenses incurred by the wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV weighed heavily on the depleted treasury, and there was the threat of bankruptcy.

However, events would prove that Louis XVI, unlike Louis XIV, lacked the determination or ruthlessness to carry out the reforms needed to rescue his kingdom. Although given a choice of some of the most astute ministers to ever serve the French monarchy, Louis XVI simply lacked the will to support them against the entrenched opposition that contested their attempts at renewal for France.

Louis's first financial adviser, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, had already had substantial experience at the provincial level in France as an economist. Turgot's attempts at reforms almost immediately made enemies among the entrenched interests of France, including the nobility and the bourgeoisie of the provinces. In 1776 Turgot went ahead with six edicts to radically modernize both France's economy and society. But he seemed unable to gauge the impact of what he did and brought about negative unintended results. Finally, he made the mistake of refusing favors for those in

Queen Marie Antoinette's immediate circle. Turgot was dismissed in 1776.

The next minister to attempt to salvage the monarchy was Jacques Necker, who had been born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1732, and had been a clerk in a Swiss bank by the age of 15. Necker, keen not to earn the unpopularity of Turgot, pursued a policy of raising money by borrowing instead of increasing taxes. It was popular with the people, but only increased the indebtedness of the monarchy at a time when Louis XVI was spending large sums of money to support the infant United States in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION against France's ancient enemy, England. Necker's downfall was his inability to implement effective reforms, after having taken the country further into debt and put almost no caps on spending. Necker was dismissed from duty, only to be brought back in 1788.

When Louis XVI summoned the Estates General to meet in Paris in May 1789, it was the first time this body had convened since 1614, following the assassination of King Henry IV in 1610. In the years since the last convocation of the Estates General, the bourgeoisie had emerged, ironically in large part due to the need to finance and provide for the wars of the monarchy, as financially the most powerful of the three estates in France. The members of this Third Estate had come to Paris determined to gain the say in French government that they felt they had now earned.

Neither the king nor the two dominant estates, the clergy and the nobility, had any intention of listening to the demands of the bourgeoisie; theirs was a society where those who worked and made money were considered the social inferiors of those who wore the court sword of the nobility. To the surprise of Louis XVI and the two elevated estates, the Third Estate proved obstinate in asserting its rights. On June 17, 1789, the Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly, asserting its belief that it alone spoke for the people of France, not the king or the entrenched members of the clergy or nobility. Gradually, progressive members of the other two estates swelled the ranks of the National Assembly. It was here that Louis XVI displayed the characteristic indecision which would ultimately cost him his life. He had two clear choices.

The first option was that Jacques Necker had created a plan that would involve compromise with the National Assembly on some key issues, while retaining the king's royal prerogative on others. The second choice, more brutal, was simply marching with loyal troops to where the National Assembly met and dismissing it and arresting or shooting those who resisted the royal decree.

When faced with his two options, Louis XVI simply issued an order closing the hall where the Third Estate met. The Third Estate replied with the declaration that they would not depart until France had a constitution. (The U.S. CONSTITUTION was ratified in 1787.) Even when Louis XVI met with the National Assembly on June 23, with troops assembled outside, he did nothing to assert his royal will, where Louis XIV would have likely used a bayonet charge to clear out the intransigent assembly.

### LOSING CONTROL

Louis XVI rapidly lost control of events. On July 9, the National Assembly reconvened as the National Constituent Assembly, with the clear intent of creating a constitution under which all Frenchmen, including the king, would be subject. On July 11 Louis XVI banished Necker, who still had the confidence of the National Constituent Assembly and the people.

Three days later, the Parisians, along with the king's own French Guards regiment, stormed the symbol of royal power in Paris, the Bastille, and killed its constable, the marquis Bernard de Launay, and placed his head upon a pike. Some order was maintained when the marquis de Lafayette was placed in command of the French National Guard, which had been created as a rival to the royal army. Yet Lafayette showed none of the decisiveness that had characterized his role in the American Revolution.

The royal family was forcibly removed from the Palace of Versailles to the Tuileries Palace in Paris where the people and the National Guard could better control them. Louis XVI still commanded the allegiance of most of the people and could at this stage most likely have avoided the worst of what was to come by graciously becoming a constitutional monarch in France. Instead, Louis began to play a dangerous game. While pretending to go along with the Assembly, he entered into correspondence with the kings of Europe and with émigrés, French nobles who had already fled France and were determined to bring down the revolution. On June 21, 1791, Louis XVI abandoned all pretext of supporting the French Revolution with an attempt to escape to the Austrian Netherlands, today's Belgium, which was ruled by Marie Antoinette's brother, Emperor JOSEPH II. The disguised royal family got as far as Varennes, where they were discovered and returned under guard.

On July 25, 1792, the First Coalition of the European monarchs issued a manifesto warning the French assembly to avoid harming the French royal family. This had the effect of uniting the French people against

the coalition forming against them—and against the king. On August 10, while Louis XVI was sitting with the Legislative Assembly, the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries. After serious fighting, the National Guard and the Swiss Guard succeeded in repelling a heavy assault. The commander of the Swiss Guard felt that a final charge by his professional soldiers would break up the mob completely—and perhaps cause the entire revolutionary movement to collapse like a house of cards. Instead, Louis XVI hesitated and told the Swiss Guards to stand down. The Paris mob, encouraged by the Swiss failure to act, charged them and virtually massacred them in the cause of a king who did not deserve their loyalty.

### THE FINAL ACT

Following the debacle of the Tuileries, the final act began for Louis XVI. Three days after the taking of the Tuileries, on August 13, 1792, Louis XVI was arrested for treason. His secret correspondence with the kings of Europe and the émigrés had been found. On September 20, 1792, the defeat of the regular Prussian army by the French revolutionary forces at Valmy removed any hope of foreign help. The next day the National Convention met and formally abolished the monarchy. Louis XVI was put on trial on the charge of treason on December 11, 1792.

With the radicals in charge, the outcome of his trial was a foregone conclusion. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI went to the guillotine, meeting his death with rare dignity. Marie Antoinette would go to the guillotine on October 16, 1793. Their son, who might have reigned as Louis XVII, died in prison, most likely in 1795.

See also FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Louisiana Purchase

NAPOLÉON I's decision to cede the Louisiana territory to the United States in 1803 was a boon for the fledgling American republic. The purchase of approximately 830,000 square miles of the trans-Mississippi west doubled the size of the United States and facilitated its expansion westward.

France had been in possession of the territory since its exploration by La Salle in 1682, but ceded it to Spain at the end of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Under Spanish rule, citizens of the United States living in the trans-Appalachian West were allowed free use of the Mississippi River and access to the port of New Orleans for transshipment of their goods to oceangoing vessels. Expansionist-minded Americans accepted this arrangement because they were confident that America's growing population would eventually end the nominal rule of Spain in Louisiana.

The situation changed drastically when Spain ceded Louisiana to France by a secret treaty in 1800 that was reaffirmed in 1801. It was widely assumed that Napoleon planned to use Louisiana for the establishment of an empire in the Americas and that he would negate America's right of deposit at New Orleans. For President THOMAS JEFFERSON, "this affair of Louisiana" was troublesome. He was faced with the possibility of a French barrier to American expansion, the militancy of western Americans who chafed at the news of the cession, and personal attacks by members of the Federalist Party. Jefferson decided on a pragmatic approach to the situation. He reinforced American security in the West and coupled it with shrewd diplomacy. Via his French friend Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, he sent an open letter to the American minister in France, Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson hinted at the possibility of an alliance between the United States and England. He also instructed Livingston to negotiate for the purchase of the port of New Orleans and dispatched James Monroe to Paris to help.

By the time Monroe arrived in Paris on April 12, 1803, Napoleon's fortunes had changed. His plans for a New World empire were foiled by the inability of his troops to quell an uprising in Saint-Domingue, and he was faced with an impending war with England. TALLEYRAND, the French foreign minister, informed the Americans that France was willing to sell all Louisiana. The Americans, without presidential authorization, accepted Talleyrand's offer and signed the Louisiana

Purchase Treaty on May 2, 1803. The negotiated price was \$15,000,000 of which \$3,750,000 was used to settle the claims of American citizens against France.

Upon receipt of the treaty, Jefferson hesitated. Preferring a constitutional amendment that would sanction territorial acquisition, but faced with a favorable fait accompli, Jefferson set aside his narrow constructionist view of the CONSTITUTION and accepted the treaty. The Senate ratified the Louisiana Purchase Treaty on October 20, 1803.

See also LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION; MANIFEST DESTINY; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES; MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND NEW ORLEANS.

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LOUIS B. GIMELLI







## Macartney mission to China

China's foreign relations with other peoples and states was shaped by centuries of tradition. Called the tribute system, the tributary or vassal state sent tribute to the Chinese court, and its representative performed the kowtow, or prostration before the emperor, according to Chinese ritual, which assumed cultural and material superiority to other nations. In return he was bestowed with the seal of recognition and gifts. The system implied acceptance of Chinese superiority, regulated and maintained diplomatic relations, and sanctioned trade. It was initially land oriented, but, with the expansion of Chinese naval power under the Ming dynasty, also included many states of Southeast Asia. When the Portuguese came to China by sea in the 16th century, they, too, were enrolled in the tributary system.

The QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY inherited the tributary system from its predecessor, the Ming, and expanded it to include other European nations that had begun to trade with China. It opened the major port of Canton to ships of all Western nations and in 1720 organized and regulated the important merchant firms of Canton into a guild called the *co-hong* and gave them the monopoly in trading with the Western nations. Periodically, Portuguese and Dutch representatives had gone to the Chinese capital Beijing (Peking) and performed the prescribed rituals for tributary states.

By the late 18th century Great Britain had become China's largest trading partner, underscored by the fact that of 86 foreign ships that came to Canton in

1789, 61 were British. Dissatisfied with China's restrictive and humiliating conditions for trade, Britain sent an experienced diplomat, George, Lord Macartney, as ambassador to China in 1792 to negotiate new terms and establish diplomatic relations. Because his arrival in Beijing coincided with Chinese emperor QIANLONG's (CH'IEN-LUNG) 80th birthday when many tributary ambassadors were congregated in the capital to offer congratulations, the Chinese government assumed that Macartney was doing the same for Great Britain. Macartney and his staff were entertained with great pomp, and he was exempted from performing the kowtow when he presented his credentials. However, China rejected all Britain's requests—for more ports and other facilities to expand trade, and new tariff and transit schedules. Macartney was sent home with a condescending letter addressed to his sovereign, King George III, that commended him for his respectful behavior. It stated that permanent diplomatic representatives in China were out of the question and reminded him that China did not need British goods and had granted trade with Britain as a favor. Although the mission was a total failure, Macartney's report saw through the facade of Chinese power and predicted its impending collapse when Qianlong's experienced guidance was gone. British involvement with the FRENCH REVOLUTION and Napoleonic Wars would postpone the formal establishment of relations between the two countries until the 1830s. Due mainly to China's disinterest in the outside world, it lost an opportunity to establish normal diplomatic relations with Great Britain.

See also CANTON SYSTEM.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Macdonald, John Alexander

(1815–1891) *Canadian prime minister*

John A. Macdonald, the Scots-born Ontario lawyer who became the CANADIAN CONFEDERATION's first (and third) prime minister, was in many ways modern Canada's founding father. He helped draft the British North America Act that established the Confederation in 1867 (for which he was knighted by Queen VICTORIA) and forged a close and fruitful political relationship with George-Étienne Cartier, leader of Québec's French-Canadians.

Macdonald began his long political career in 1843 as an alderman in Kingston, his home town. As a founder of Canada's Conservative Party, heir to the outdated Tories, Macdonald had the inspired idea to

call himself and his supporters Liberal-Conservatives in what would be, for a time, a successful attempt to corner the Canadian political landscape. Macdonald's party would lead Canada for all but four years between 1867 and 1896.

Quick-witted, humorous, and hardworking, despite an occasional drinking problem, Macdonald first came to public attention by taking on high-profile criminal cases before finding a somewhat more lucrative niche in banking and real estate law. In 1854 he was named Upper Canada's attorney general. During the 1860s Macdonald took on the duties of the newly created post of minister of militia affairs, and served in that capacity during FENIAN RAIDS on Ontario.

Although historians argue about how much credit Macdonald deserves for working out the details of confederation, his selection as Canada's first prime minister was widely acclaimed. Macdonald believed that Canada's new federal government should eventually dominate individual provinces, but realized the limits of his power to make that happen. He worked hard to gain many provinces's reluctant assent to the new dominion and deftly used political patronage to cement new relationships among Canada's diverse regions.

Politically tougher was the 1871 Treaty of Washington, involving Britain, the United States, and Canada. Macdonald managed his country's negotiations, visiting the United States for the first time in 20 years. Important issues of Canadian fishing rights, Fenian attack reparations, and trade reciprocity hung in the balance. (Canada and its leader were treated by the other powers as somewhat of a third wheel.)

Criticism directed at Macdonald's treaty-making was mild compared to the events that ended his first prime ministry. At issue was Canada's long-anticipated transcontinental railroad. Huge sums were at stake; competing groups of American and Canadian businessmen vied for the most favorable terms. Macdonald's close Québec ally Cartier spearheaded demands for unusually large political contributions in return for favorable government action, but Macdonald's hands were not entirely clean. His government was forced to resign in November 1873.

By 1878 he and his party had regained power. His second period of leadership saw the successful completion, at last, of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a syndicate of Canadian, American, and European investors. Less happily, in the same year of 1885, the aging prime minister faced the ordeal of LOUIS RIEL's Northwest Rebellion resulting in the French-Indian



*Humorous and hardworking, John Alexander Macdonald came to public attention by taking on high-profile criminal cases.*

rebel's execution. Since Cartier's death in 1873, Macdonald could no longer depend on a strong French voice to maintain harmony between French and English Canadians.

Shortly after a difficult 1891 reelection, Macdonald suffered a stroke and died a week later. Thousands attended his state funeral in Ottawa. His body was taken by train to Kingston where Canada's first national leader was buried in a family plot in Cataract Cemetery.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADA; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

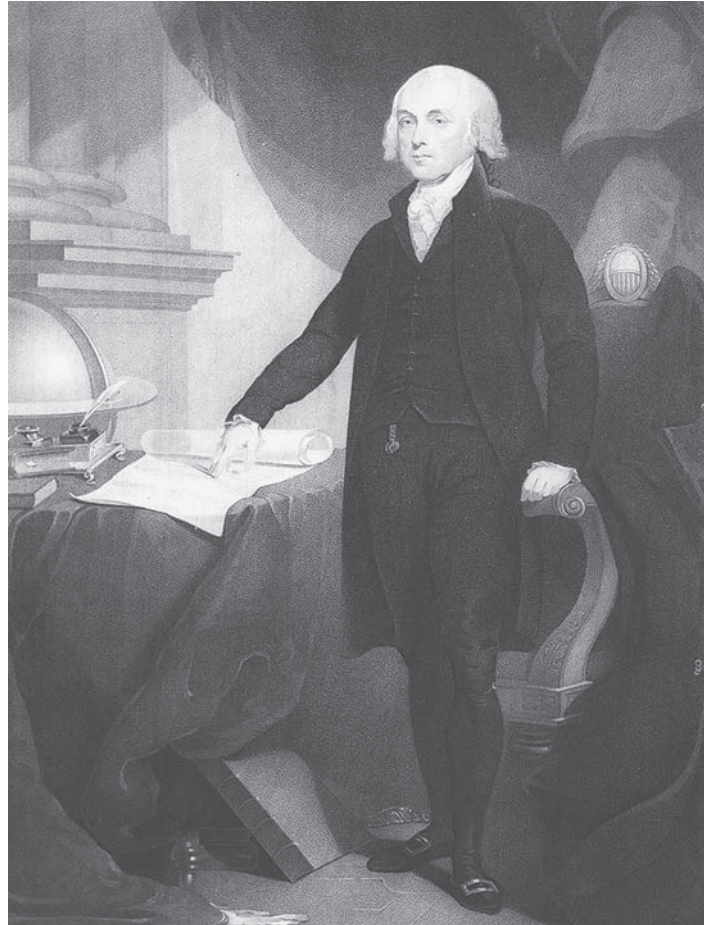
## Madison, James

(1751–1836) *statesman and American president*

James Madison was born in Port Conway, Virginia, to James Madison, Sr., and Eleanor Rose Conway. They owned a prosperous tobacco plantation, run by slaves, at the Montpelier estates in Orange County. The eldest of 12 siblings, Madison was sickly as a child, but excelled in school and entered the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1769 and graduated in 1771.

Madison returned to Virginia where he engaged in local politics. He was too frail for military service himself during the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, but in 1774 was appointed to the Orange County, Virginia, Committee of Safety—a local wartime provisional government—and was heavily engaged in fundraising for the county militia. In 1776 he was elected to the Virginia Convention and worked on the state constitution. In the same year Madison entered the Virginia House of Delegates, where he met THOMAS JEFFERSON.

From 1777 to 1780 he was a member of the Governor's Council before being elected to the Continental Congress in 1779. There he became a spokesman for stronger central government. Under the Articles of Confederation each state remained sovereign, while the weak central government could not even raise enough revenue to pay the expenses generated by the American Revolution. Another major deficiency of the Articles of Confederation, in Madison's eyes, was



James Madison was elected the fourth president of the United States in 1808, beating Federalist candidate Charles Pinckney.

that it tied states, not individual citizens, to the federal government. Further, any amendment was impossible, since it required the unanimous consent of the states.

In 1783 three years after the British surrender, the Treaty of Paris was signed and Madison left the Continental Congress. Back in Virginia, he studied law and entered into real estate and served in the Virginia House of Delegates again, from 1784 to 1786, where he drafted Virginia's declaration on religious freedom.

In 1786 Madison was Virginia's delegate to the Annapolis Convention on interstate trade, where he decided to work for a revision of the U.S. Constitution and a stronger federal government, expressed in his Virginia Plan. Again a member of the Continental Congress from 1787 to 1788, he joined forces with ALEXANDER HAMILTON and Jon Jay. Together they wrote the *Federalist Papers*, published in newspapers

and booklets, to prepare the citizens of New York for the Convention and proposals for a stronger federal government. Madison's contributions are an important source of political philosophy.

When the Constitutional Convention was convened in Philadelphia, Madison's Virginia Plan became the cornerstone of the ensuing work. This and his contribution during the Convention earned him the title of father of the U.S. Constitution.

Checks and balances, modeled on the theories of the French philosopher Charles Montesquieu, between the legislature, the courts, and the executive, were put in place to safeguard against abuse of power. Still the Constitution did cause alarm during the process of ratification. As a member of the House of Representatives, Madison sponsored the Bill of Rights, the first 10 amendments that protect basic individual rights against violations from the federal government.

The Federalists desired an ever-stronger central government. Madison denied any aristocratic preference once the act of founding was complete. He also had a more fundamentalist view of the role assigned to the Constitution. Together with Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe he formed the Republican Party (later known as the Democratic-Republican Party) in 1791. Madison married Dolley Payne Todd, a widow from Philadelphia, in 1794. In 1797 Madison left Congress. In the Virginia Resolutions, he condemned the centralist policies of the Federalists, especially the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS. Their drive toward stronger central government produced a resentment that led to the election of Thomas Jefferson as president in 1800 and the downfall of the Federalists. After serving in the Virginia legislature between 1799 and 1800, Madison became Thomas Jefferson's secretary of state, a post he held until 1809. As secretary of state he negotiated the LOUISIANA PURCHASE from France in 1803.

Madison was elected the fourth president of the United States in 1808, beating Federalist candidate Charles Pinckney 122 to 47 electoral votes. George Clinton, one of his sworn opponents, became vice president. The tension between Britain and the United States mounted and, after much pressure from both Federalists and Republicans alike, Madison declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812. Britain offered negotiations that were unsatisfactory and Madison refused to end hostilities. The United States also experienced trade disputes with France and territorial quarrels with Spain along the gulf coast.

Despite American surrender of the Michigan and Detroit territory to the British, Madison was reelected for his second term in 1812, with Elbridge Gerry as vice president. In 1813 U.S. forces fared a little better, capturing York (modern-day Toronto). A British invasion was not regarded as very likely and it was a great shock when British troops landed and captured Washington in 1814, burning the Capitol and the White House. Peace negotiations concluded with the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814. The Rush-Bagot Agreement on demilitarization of the U.S.-Canadian border, negotiated by Madison but ratified after he left office, substantiated this fragile peace.

Madison had let the mandate of the First Bank of the United States expire in 1811. The unsuccessful war with Britain led Madison to propose the charter of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES in 1815, calling for the establishment of a standing army and navy, a protective tariff, and direct internal taxation. Federal funds for the Cumberland Road, linking Maryland with the Ohio Valley, and other road and canal works were also proposed. All went through Congress virtually unopposed since these issues had long been on the agenda of the Federalists.

James Monroe became president in 1817, and Madison retired to Montpelier to run the family plantation. Madison retained his slaves but also cofounded the American Colonization Society, of which he became president in 1833 sponsoring the repatriation of free blacks to Africa. He was also elected president of the Agricultural Society of Albemarle, but only his savings and selling off land kept his own plantation afloat through times of bad harvests and low prices.

Together with Jefferson and other prominent Virginians, Madison sponsored the establishment of the University of Virginia, which opened in 1825. He also held the post of rector from 1826 to 1834. In 1829 Madison performed his last public service as a member of the Virginia constitutional convention. In 1834, he wrote "Advice to My Country" and planned to publish his memories of the 1787 Constitutional Convention, but died before he finished.

See also NAPOLEON I; WAR OF 1812.

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## Malay states, Treaty of Federation and the (1895)

The first British base in Southeast Asia was Bencoolen (now Bengkulu) in Sumatra in 1685, and this was followed by Penang Island, off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in 1786 (this grew to include part of the nearby coastline in 1800). Both were established by the English East India Company. During the Napoleonic Wars, Britain also conquered the Netherlands East Indies, but it was returned to the Dutch in 1815 at the end of the war. In 1819, the British also purchased Singapore at the southern tip of Malaya. This gave the British the ports of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, through which went much of the commerce from the Malay Peninsula. Exports of pepper and gambier (used in the treatment of leather), rice, coconuts, and spices ensured the prosperity of the region.

The Malay Peninsula consisted of a number of sultanates, most of which entered into treaties with the British authorities. Initially, the northern ones had been subjects of the King of Siam (Thailand), but the larger southern states of Johore, Pahang, Perak, and Selangor, as well as many minor states such as Jelebu and Sungei Ujong all signed treaties with the British.

In the late 19th century tin was found in Malaya, especially in Perak. In addition, the successful introduction of the rubber plantation made it extremely wealthy. The growth in the economy led to a massive influx of Chinese, which later created political problems for the indigenous Malay rulers. The British Colonial Office gradually moved the whole of Malaya under British rule.

Britain proposed the creation of the Federated Malay States (F.M.S.), with its capital at Kuala Lumpur (in Selangor), to consist of Pahang, Perak, Selangor, and nine small states. Johore retained separate privileges and did not join the F.M.S. The northern states of Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Trengganu did not join and were called the Unfederated Malay States.

Many British civil servants who had worked in the Malay States favored a federation to standardize the rules between the states and to allow greater efficiency in administration and in business. In July 1895 the Federation Treaty was signed by the sultans of Pahang, Perak, Selangor, and Negri Sembilan, and the Federation of the Malay States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang formally came into existence.

The Federation Treaty consisted of six articles. The first confirmed all previous treaties between the British and the Malay sultans who had “severally placed

themselves and their States under the protection of the British Government.” In other articles, the states agreed that they were entering into a federation “to be known as the Protected Malay States to be administered under the advice of the British Government,” and restricted the authority of each ruler to his own state and to acceptance of British authority. The rulers also accepted the advice of the residents-general on all matters of administration except those relating to Islam. Another article mandated economic and military cooperation between the states.

This new agreement established the position of resident-general, who was responsible to the governor of the Straits Settlements (Malacca, Singapore, and Penang), based in Singapore. The Federation Treaty also allowed for the establishment of the Malayan civil service, with members serving throughout the Malay Peninsula (including the Unfederated Malay States and the Straits Settlements). It also helped with the coordination of communications through unified railway and postal services.

### NATURAL EXTENSION

For most of its existence the F.M.S. was extremely successful. The first resident-general was Frank Swettenham. A conference of rulers was held in 1897, and it was agreed that future conferences would take place on a regular basis. Swettenham remained in office until 1901. During World War I, the F.M.S. took an active part in the war effort with hundreds of Britons from Malaya enlisting, along with some Malays who served in Aden. Rubber and tin production also helped the British war effort.

In post-World War I decades, prosperity came from rubber, tin, palm oil, coconuts, and fruit exports. Many towns built civic amenities like swimming pools, dance halls, cinemas, private schools, and clubs. With the depression starting in 1929, the price of rubber fell as demand crashed. A number of plantation businesses collapsed and managers lost their jobs.

The F.M.S. continued until the Japanese invasion of December 1941. The British, unable to hold back the Japanese, were forced to withdraw to Singapore where they surrendered on February 15, 1942. In response to a Thai request, the Unfederated Malay States became part of Thailand, with the other states and the Straits Settlements run by the Japanese for the duration of World War II. During the Japanese occupation, the British government drew up the Malayan Union plan which would formally end the F.M.S. once the Japanese were defeated. It envisaged the uniting of the

F.M.S., the Unfederated Malay States, Johore, and the Straits Settlements into one political entity. When the British returned in December 1945, they put extreme pressure on the Malay Sultans to sign the Malayan Union Treaty, which formally ended the F.M.S. in 1946. In 1957 the Federation of Malaya gained full self-government from Britain, but remained a member of the Commonwealth.

See also BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Manifest Destiny

Manifest Destiny was a popular slogan in the United States in the 1840s. It was designed to signify that the fledgling American republic was fated to become a nation of continental magnitude. It was heavily influenced by the exuberant nationalism and the religious fervor of the decade and provided a rationale for the annexation of Texas, the acquisition of California, and the American claim to the Oregon country. The slogan was in vogue in Democratic Party circles throughout the country but was especially popular in the Mid-Atlantic States and in the states of the Old Northwest. Presidents Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan were influenced by its messianic message.

The term *Manifest Destiny* was promoted by the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* and by the *New York Morning News*, both edited by John L. O' Sullivan, a Democrat, ardent expansionist, and fervent believer in American democracy. The slogan first appeared in print in the summer of 1845 in an unsigned editorial in the *Democratic Review* that justified the American annexation of Texas. The editorial dismissed the suspected interference of England and France in the negotiations between the Republic of Texas and the United States as attempts to frustrate “the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free devel-

opment of our yearly multiplying millions.” The editorial prophesied that Mexican California would become a part of the United States and noted “the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it . . .”

An editorial in the *Morning News* of December 1845 repeated the phrase in its discussion of the dispute between England and the United States concerning the disposition of the Oregon Country. It dismissed England's title to Oregon by right of discovery and exploration, and justified the claim of the United States to all of Oregon “by right of our manifest destiny. . . .” The sentiments expressed by these periodicals were echoed in the halls of Congress, by political and literary voices, and by newspapers across the country. While the Whig Party did not reject the continentalism the term suggested, it was never as zealous for expansion as was the Democratic Party. Indeed, some Whigs ridiculed Manifest Destiny and its accompanying Anglo-Saxonism.

Manifest Destiny was never a coherent set of beliefs, but an umbrella phrase that included a number of disparate ideas, ranging from idealism to self-serving nationalism, incorporating themes that had been present since the colonial era, tailored to meet the conditions of the 1840s. Advocates of Manifest Destiny asserted that Americans were a chosen people whose political and religious institutions were sanctioned by God. Some adopted the pseudoscientific racism of the era to promote the belief that the American people were a superior branch of the Anglo-Saxon race. Enthusiasts proclaimed that Americans had been singled out by Providence to spread across the continent, carrying their democratic institutions and their Christian religion with them, not merely for themselves, but to regenerate the less fortunate occupants of the continent, mainly Mexicans and Indians. White southerners adopted Manifest Destiny as a slogan to justify the acquisition of territory for the spread of slavery. Other Americans endorsed the idea because they feared the presence of European powers on the continent would inhibit the growth of democracy and threaten American security. Some believed that extending America's boundaries to the Pacific would enhance commerce with Asia.

When Manifest Destiny was first conceived, its advocates did not envision armed intervention as a means for expanding America's boundaries and its democratic and religious institutions. However, during the course of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, a shift occurred. Force was accepted, and Manifest Destiny was used as a rationale in the unsuccessful movement to annex all of Mexico. By the 1850s, the views of some advocates turned from

justifications of continentalism to militant advocacy of intervention beyond the borders of North America to the Caribbean and Central America. Under the guise of Manifest Destiny, American filibusters supported or engaged in revolutionary movements in Nicaragua and Cuba. "Young America," a political and literary group affiliated with the Democratic Party, advocated armed intervention in the Caribbean and urged American support of revolutionary uprisings in GIUSEPPE MAZZINI'S Italy and in the Hungary of Louis Kossuth.

Beginning in 1885 a new Manifest Destiny arose, popularized by John Fiske, the historian-philosopher and Darwinian evolutionist. Fiske extolled the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race and looked forward to the time when its institutions would be diffused around the world. Congregational clergyman Josiah Strong embraced Manifest Destiny in the same year when he linked "a pure Christianity," "civil liberty," Anglo-Saxonism, and Darwinism, and declared that the Anglo-Saxon was "divinely commissioned to be... his brother's keeper." He predicted a "competition of races" in which Anglo-Saxons would prevail. In the 1890s, the Republican Party endorsed Manifest Destiny and identified itself with intervention and insular imperialism in the Caribbean and the Pacific. President William McKinley endorsed the idealism expressed by Manifest Destiny when he justified his decision to retain the Philippine Islands at the end of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. Other Republicans spoke of America's mission to regenerate and extend the blessings of civilization to less fortunate peoples around the world.

Although the phrase Manifest Destiny fell into disuse in the 20th century, the sentiments expressed by the slogan have continued. Its idealism can be found in modern American foreign policy statements that link U.S. operations overseas with an American mission to spread liberty, freedom, and democracy.

See also DARWIN, CHARLES; LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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LOUIS B. GIMELLI

## Maori wars

The Maori wars, also known as the New Zealand Land Wars, stretched from 1843 to 1872. These continued periods of conflict occurred because of the British colonization of New Zealand, a process that began in the late 18th century. In 1840 the British officially annexed New Zealand as a colony with the signing of the WAITANGI TREATY, which formally allowed the British to colonize certain parts of the archipelago and provided for the Maori to retain many of their territorial homelands. But the Waitangi Treaty held the British government to contradictory positions of protecting the Maori people while at the same time allowing European immigrants to colonize parts of the islands. Since there was only so much land available within the archipelago, land and cultural clashes inevitably occurred between British settlers and the native Maori.

After the Waitangi Treaty, there was a continued influx of British settlers, driven by the New Zealand Company, which promoted emigration from the British Isles to New Zealand. As the British settlers increasingly sought land, they began to try to purchase land from the Maori. This was a problem for the Maori, however, because there was not a concept of individual property ownership within their society. Property was held not by the individual, as in the British tradition, but by the group as a whole. Also, the Maori who signed the Waitangi Treaty provided for the use, not necessarily the sale, of land. Because the Maori did not individually own property there were a number of battles fought between different Maori groups when a small leader sold land to settlers.

The Wairau Affray, otherwise known to the settlers as the Wairau Massacre, was the first bloody conflict in New Zealand. A neighboring Maori group killed 22 settlers from Nelson, a city created by the New Zealand Company, when the colonizers tried to use a dubious treaty to expand into the neighboring Wairau Valley. This was soon followed by the Flagstaff War or Heke's Rebellion, a war in Northern New Zealand where Hene Heke and other Maori leaders battled against the British, who were aligned with Tamati Waka Nene's Maori group. Eventually the British and the "loyalist" Maori broke the *pa*, an earthen fort, defense of the Maori in late 1846, but only after a long siege campaign employed by the new governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey. Grey gave clemency to Heke and the losing Maori groups, thus ending the Flagstaff War.

After a peaceful decade in the 1850s, the tension between the Maori and the settlers began to climax





Six Maori men, posing in traditional clothing, doing the haka dance (war dance). The Maori fought several wars against British colonists, most over issues of land ownership and the loss of traditional Maori lands to the British settlers.

into battle again. By the late 1850s the British settler population was nearly equal in number to the Maori population. The growing British population, as well as memories of the attempted Wairau expansion by the colonizers, helped to propel the King Movement, a Maori movement that promoted political unity of the Maori and placed a special emphasis on the communal ownership of land. In the Tarankai Province on the North Island, Te Atiawa tried to sell community Maori land directly to the British without gaining permission from group's leader, Wiermu Kingi. Thomas Browne, the governor of New Zealand, decided to send troops onto the disputed land until the Maori and the settlers could litigate the land issue. Atiawa defended his land against the New Zealand militia; this proved to be the starting point of the First Tarankai War. After a year's worth of fighting with no clear victor, the colonial New Zealand government and the Maori agreed to end the fighting in March 1861.

But this truce did not end the fighting between the Maori and the settlers. British settlers in New Zealand became angry with the King Movement, which prevented the sale of land on North Island. Governor George Grey argued that the colonial New Zealanders required the intervention of British troops from overseas on the premise that the Maori near Auckland and other Northern Island cities were a military threat. In 1863 the Waikato War began with the invasion of Waikato. George Grey formally expelled the Maori off much of the land south of Auckland and sent General Duncan Cameron to fight against the Maori.

The campaign, like the others before, involved fighting between the British troops and the Maori in their defensive *pa*. As the campaign continued against the Maori, the popular British press and the British Colonial Office, the governmental agency that handled colonial affairs, began to turn decidedly against the

offensive. While the invasion began under the pretense of protection of Auckland and other colonial settlements, it was soon portrayed as a greedy attempt to expand the boundaries of colonial New Zealand at the expense of the native Maori. The colonial government successfully achieved their mission: they annexed and controlled large parts of the Northern Island.

Though the Waikato War was the major war of the Maori wars, there were three major conflicts in the following years in addition to a major legal blow to the Maori. The Tarankai War in the mid-1860s grew out of the Hau Hau Movement, a religious movement that became increasingly antisetler, as well as the disgust of losing many of their traditional lands. During this time the Maori also lost the advantage of group ownership of land with the passing of the Native Lands Acts in 1862 and 1865, which led to the creation of the Maori Land Court that made land ownership individual instead of community. Titokowaru's War and Te Kooti's War were the final wars between the colonial government and the British. At the end of the wars, the Maori were resigned to live under British law in smaller areas than they had previously lived in, especially in North Island.

See also AUSTRALIA: EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT; AUSTRALIA: SELF-GOVERNMENT TO FEDERATION.

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BRETT BENNETT

## Maria Theresa

(1717–1780) *empress of Austria*

The ruler of the Austrian Habsburg dominions, Maria Theresa was the only female ruler (1740–80) of the Habsburg dynasty in its 650-year history. She inherited the Austrian throne when her father, Charles VI, died in 1740 without male heirs to succeed him. A capable monarch, she was admired by friend and foe alike. Even her archenemy FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA called her “a credit to her throne and her sex.”

Maria Theresa's reign was marred by three conflicts, the War of Austrian Succession (1740–48), which began almost immediately upon her ascent to the throne; the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–64); and the War

of the Bavarian Succession (1778–79). Her experience in prosecuting these wars prompted her to undertake a sweeping modernization of her armies.

On the domestic scene, Maria restructured the tax system, started a universal school system that was separate from the church, and provided some relief to the beleaguered peasant class. A devout Catholic, she suppressed the Jesuits and was intolerant in her policies toward Jews.

Maria Theresa was the mother of 16 children, the most famous of whom were Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor from 1765 to 1790, and Marie-Antoinette, the queen of France who fell victim with her husband, LOUIS XVI, to the FRENCH REVOLUTION. Maria Theresa died in Vienna on November 29, 1780.

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## market revolution in the United States

*Market revolution* is a term many American historians use to describe the intensive growth in trade between the end of the WAR OF 1812 and the beginning of the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. While no definitive or complete data are available for the whole range of the economy—exports alone increased sixfold between 1820 and 1860—the number of American households involved in the market economy clearly rose dramatically in those years, and their dependence upon the marketplace for a wider range of goods also increased.

The market revolution has been characterized as a shift from an economy in which most Americans organized their economic activity around their household (household economy) to one in which they organized their economic activity around markets. In the household economy the primary purpose of work is to produce goods to be consumed by the household itself. Two goals, one immediate and one long-term, characterize the household economy. The first is to achieve a basic level of comfort for the household, a level generally considerably above mere subsistence. The second goal is to accumulate sufficient property to establish the children in their own household economies. Surpluses are traded locally for other necessities and on national and international marketplaces for those small luxuries

that provided basic comfort and for the cash necessary to accumulate property. Such an economy is focused mainly on farmers, who made up the vast majority of independent householders in the early American republic, but historians generally lump most artisan households into the category of the household economy as well, because they were primarily involved in localized economies: Few artisans sold their wares beyond their local community.

### GOODS FOR SALE

In the market economy, the primary aim of work is to produce goods for sale, generally on national and international markets, and to use the proceeds of those sales to purchase necessities and luxuries. Market economies are generally characterized by specialization and large-scale production, and prices vary little from community to community; there are no localized economies.

The market economy existed alongside the household economy from the beginning of European settlement in North America. Indeed, the household economy requires an active market economy to meet its two goals of basic comfort and property for the children. From the early Virginia tobacco plantations forward, a small percentage of American colonists had looked to the international market to secure their economic well-being, but most Americans placed their trust in their own production and that of their neighbors. By the mid-18th century, Great Britain's INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION had begun to entice Americans with a new array of affordable luxuries. The boycotts of the 1760s and 1770s, the subsequent embargoes of war, followed by the celebration of American simplicity, all worked to limit American purchases of British manufactured goods. With the end of the War of 1812, however, two key developments—the transportation revolution and the cotton boom—would play a significant role in easing many Americans toward greater involvement in the market economy.

The term *transportation revolution* is used to describe dramatic innovations in transportation methods and increased public and private investment in transportation systems in this same period. Steamboats, canals, and eventually railroads would significantly reduce the costs of transportation, thus encouraging trade. For the household economy, a raft on a river was enough: moving surpluses into the marketplace was primarily a one-way venture, with money and small luxuries the only items needing to make the return trip. But the steamboat and subsequent innovations permitted a

vast array of necessities and luxuries to be brought into the interior of the nation.

Most notable among these goods were cotton textiles. The cotton boom that occurred in the wake of the development of the cotton gin also played a key role in the market revolution. The spread of short-staple cotton production throughout the South drew some southerners directly into market production, and cotton itself became the economy's most important commodity, creating market economy jobs in shipping, finance, and manufacturing. Moreover, cheap and durable cotton textiles, both imported and domestic, had vast appeal in the marketplace, drawing large numbers of Americans, especially in the North, more clearly into dependence on distant markets for necessities.

### COTTON TEXTILES

The production of cotton textiles was the first major element in the Industrial Revolution in the United States. High labor costs forced American manufacturers to depend on machinery, leading to a first-rate machine tool industry, which by late in the market revolution was able to supply Americans with an increasing array of luxuries, now priced as consumer goods. Americans' notions of what basic comfort entailed grew to include a larger and larger basket of consumer goods. Farmers in the northeast began to concentrate on producing perishable farm items for growing urban centers to provide cash to buy both necessities and luxuries, while midwestern farmers depended on the fertility of their soil to provide dependable surpluses whose sale would provide luxuries.

Many farm women in the north would seek income, often through butter and eggs, so they could purchase cotton cloth rather than manufacture textiles themselves. All were brought into the market economy, together with growing numbers of men employed in the emerging white-collar jobs of the market economy and with the men and women, often immigrants, who worked in the new manufacturing concerns. Rural southerners were less likely to make the transition, though clearly most slaveholders were by definition involved in the market economy.

While the full transition to a market economy would not be complete until the household economy was dealt twin blows by the Great Depression and the New Deal, the period of the most dramatic change occurred between 1815 and 1860.

See also AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775–83); RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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RICHARD F. NATION

## Marshall, John

(1755–1835) *U.S. Supreme Court justice*

John Marshall, one of the most influential members of the Supreme Court in its earliest years, was born in Germantown, Virginia, in 1755 to Thomas and Mary Isham Keith Marshall. At 18 Marshall began studying law, but temporarily abandoned it when his state joined the rebellion against Great Britain. After enlisting he saw action in numerous battles, but returned to the study of law when his term of enlistment ended in 1780, and he entered private practice the next year.

Marshall's political career was filled with nominations and resignations, as he repeatedly tried to reject appointments or resign to return to his legal practice. He was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1782, but resigned in 1784. In 1788, he was part of the Virginia convention that was debating ratification of the U.S. CONSTITUTION, where he argued strenuously for acceptance on the basis that the states needed a stronger national government to survive. After the convention, he returned to his legal practice.

In 1795 President GEORGE WASHINGTON tried to convince Marshall to become attorney general and the next year ambassador to France, but Marshall declined both times. President JOHN ADAMS was able to convince Marshall to serve as one of the ambassadors to France in 1797 where he became embroiled in what was later called the XYZ affair. However, Adams was unable to secure Marshall's agreement to accept the position of associate justice on the Supreme Court in 1798. Patrick Henry convinced Marshall to run for a federal office, and he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1799. The next year President Adams wanted to nominate Marshall as secretary of war, but Marshall had little interest; when Adams later asked him to serve as secretary of state, however, Marshall accepted.

When Adams lost his bid for reelection to the presidency in 1800, he sought ways to ensure that a strong Federalist presence would remain, especially in the judiciary. With this in mind, he nominated Mar-

shall as chief justice of the Supreme Court on January 20, 1801. Marshall continued serving as secretary of state and oversaw other of Adams's midnight appointments that so enraged Jefferson and his Republicans. It was these appointments that brought the first major case before Marshall during his tenure on the Supreme Court.

In 1803 *Marbury v. Madison* gave Marshall his first opportunity to flex his judicial muscles. The case centered on the appointment of certain judges and other positions by President Adams, approved by Congress, signed and sealed by the president, but left undelivered. The conflict became whether or not the appointments were official. Marbury claimed that since his appointment as justice of the peace in the District of Columbia had been made, it was a valid appointment whether or not it had been delivered to him officially. Incoming president THOMAS JEFFERSON, however, believed that since such appointments only became official upon delivery, those that had remained undelivered were void. Thus, attempting to block as many of these last-minute appointments as he could, he instructed new secretary of state JAMES MADISON to leave the appointments undelivered. It was in this case that Marshall first elaborated the idea of judicial review.

In the Court's decision, Marshall argued that Marbury was legally deserving of his appointment but the remedy was based on the Judiciary Act of 1789, which the Court had declared unconstitutional. Technically Marbury won the case, but the Court had no constitutional power yet to enforce this decision by coercing Madison to comply. While the idea of judicial review would be used sparingly in the 19th century, it would become crucial to the legal battles of the 20th century.

Marshall found himself embroiled in politics once more in 1807 during Aaron Burr's trial for treason. Marshall served as the judge for the trial, and, interpreting the Constitution's definition of treason very narrowly, limited the trial in such a way that the jury found Burr innocent. The public was furious, but Marshall had once again shown the independence and potential power of the judiciary.

Other important issues decided during Marshall's tenure included the sanctity of property rights, even if they conflicted with a state's actions (*Fletcher v. Peck*, 1810); that state governments could not attempt to control federal institutions through taxation (*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 1819); and the power of Congress to control interstate commerce and trade (*Gibbons v. Ogden*, 1825). Each case stressed the

primacy of the national judiciary to decide federal issues. Marshall's Court was also heavily involved in Indian removal.

Marshall's extended years of service on the Supreme Court played an important role in the success of the fledgling United States by providing it with a more powerful and adaptive national government than was possible under the Articles of Confederation. His close working relationship with the other justices inspired goodwill and respect, even among the justices who chose to dissent from his majority decisions. Even more important, his opinions became valuable tools for the later judicial activity of the Supreme Court. Marshall served on the Court until his death on July 6, 1835.

See also AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775–83); NATIVE AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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JASON A. MEAD

## Martí, José

(1853–1895) *Cuban patriot*

Brilliant and indefatigable scholar, poet, journalist, activist, organizer, and patriot, often called the “Apostle of Cuban Liberty,” José Martí is widely recognized among Cubans as the most admired figure in their nation's history and is commonly ranked among the most important Latin American heroes of the modern era. Martí's signal contribution was to forge a coherent nationalist, anti-imperialist ideology of Cuba Libre (Free Cuba), which forcefully rejected annexation to the United States, demanded independence, and transcended the island's historic divisions of social race and class to provide Cubans from all walks of life with a compelling and inclusive vision of national dignity, social justice, and political equality, regardless of race, class, or sex.

This achievement was all the more remarkable in light of the explicitly racist ideologies across the Atlantic World in the late 19th century. Swimming against a powerful tide and despite crushing hardships in his personal life that included imprisonment, illness, and many

years' exile, Martí crafted a profoundly optimistic and progressive nationalist discourse that found very receptive ears among his compatriots and that in the decades after his martyrdom continued to find deep resonance in Cuba, across the Americas, and beyond.

### EXILE

Born in Havana, Cuba, on January 28, 1853, to Spanish parents (his father a soldier from Valencia, his mother from Tenerife in the Canary Islands), José Julián Martí y Pérez was the eldest brother of seven younger sisters. His teacher, Rafael María Mendive, a romantic poet and advocate of Cuban independence, exercised a strong influence on his formative years.

In January 1869 a few months after the outbreak of the TEN YEARS' WAR IN CUBA, the 16-year-old Martí founded his first newspaper, *Patria Libre* (Free Homeland), to advocate for independence. Sentenced to six years' hard labor on trumped-up charges, he was imprisoned for two years before being exiled to Spain on the condition he not return to Cuba.

In Madrid he studied law, wrote prolifically, and integrated into the lively intellectual atmosphere of the city and university. Earning his law degree from the University of Saragossa in 1874, the next year he traveled via Paris to Mexico, where he lived for several years. After a brief clandestine return to Cuba in 1877, he moved to Guatemala; soon after, in Mexico, he married Carmen Zayas Bazán, daughter of a rich Cuban sugar planter.

Returning to Cuba under a general amnesty in 1878, he joined a conspiracy against the government, only to be exiled to Spain again. Leaving his wife behind, he traveled from Madrid to Paris before heading to New York City, where, aside from a few brief stints in Central America and Venezuela, he lived for the next 14 years until 1895.

By this time, he had earned a wide reputation as a gifted writer, profound thinker, and the leading voice for Cuban independence. Through most of the 1880s, he worked mainly as a journalist based in New York, introducing to his Latin American audience the culture and history of their powerful northern neighbor, while also working with Cuban immigrants and exiles to organize the Cuban community in the United States. He became deeply ambivalent toward his host country, which he admired for its freedoms and vitality, denounced for its racial and class injustices, but mostly feared for its power and covetousness toward Cuba. “To change masters,” he repeatedly warned, “is not to be free.”

In 1890 he founded *La Liga de Instrucción* (Instructional League) in New York as a kind of educational collective for Cuban exiles in preparation for the impending struggle. In 1891 he served as consul of Argentina and Paraguay in New York and as Uruguay's representative to the first Inter-American money conference in Washington, testament to his growing hemispheric stature. Meanwhile he intensified his organizing efforts among Cuban expatriate communities in New York, Tampa, Florida, and elsewhere.

In 1892 Martí founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC), the leading organizational force in the CUBAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE that began in early 1895. Secretly landing with a small force in eastern Cuba in April 1895, he was killed on May 19, at age 42, in a skirmish with Spanish forces a few kilometers east of Bayamo in Oriente province. His martyrdom soon became a rallying cry for revolutionary forces. Six decades later, Fidel Castro would don the hero's mantle to legitimate his struggle against the U.S.-supported Batista regime.

By this time, Martí's face and figure had become a ubiquitous symbol of Cubans' struggle for social justice and freedom from foreign domination, as he remains today.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Marxism, Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895)

Karl Marx first met Friedrich Engels in 1842 in the office of a leftist Cologne newspaper, *Rheinische Zeitung*. They were both students, analysts, and critics of their respective environments, Marx in Cologne and Paris and Engels in various parts of England. In 1844 they met again in Paris; this meeting evolved into a lifelong collaboration, resulting in some of Europe's, perhaps the world's, most profoundly influential political philosophy. The ideology contained within their collective writings is called Marxism; it was and is a revolutionary way of thinking that nuanced the already prevalent ideas of socialism and communism. Marxist thought intensely influenced the socialist movements in several

parts of Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries; these ideas were to spread to almost all other parts of the world. The most renowned pamphlet of this movement is the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* (*Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*). Marxist thought is explained at length in the substantial three-volume book called *Capital* (*Das Kapital*); it was Marx's lifetime of work, which was completed and published after his death by Engels.

Marx was born in 1818 in the Prussian town of Trier (now in Germany). Heinrich Marx, his father, was a lawyer, a progressive thinker, and an advocate for constitutional reform; his mother, Henrietta Pressburg, was from Holland. They were Jewish, but when his father converted to Christianity, six-year-old Karl was also baptized. However, his earliest experiences were of being Jewish, which introduced him to discrimination on the basis of religion. After completing high school in 1835, Karl entered the University of Bonn, where he studied the humanities. As a student, he was active in the rebellious student culture that prevailed. When he shifted to the University of Berlin in 1836, his thinking was honed, as he was introduced to Hegelian philosophy as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's thought was held in high regard in Berlin.

Marx became politically active in student groups, the Young Hegelians and the Doctors Club, sacrificing serious study to activism; interestingly, he could not quite appreciate Hegel's singular attention to the world of ideas. In 1841 he received his degree from the University of Jena, where academic rigors were less demanding; there, informed by Hegelian analytical method, he completed his dissertation, titled *The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophies of Nature*.

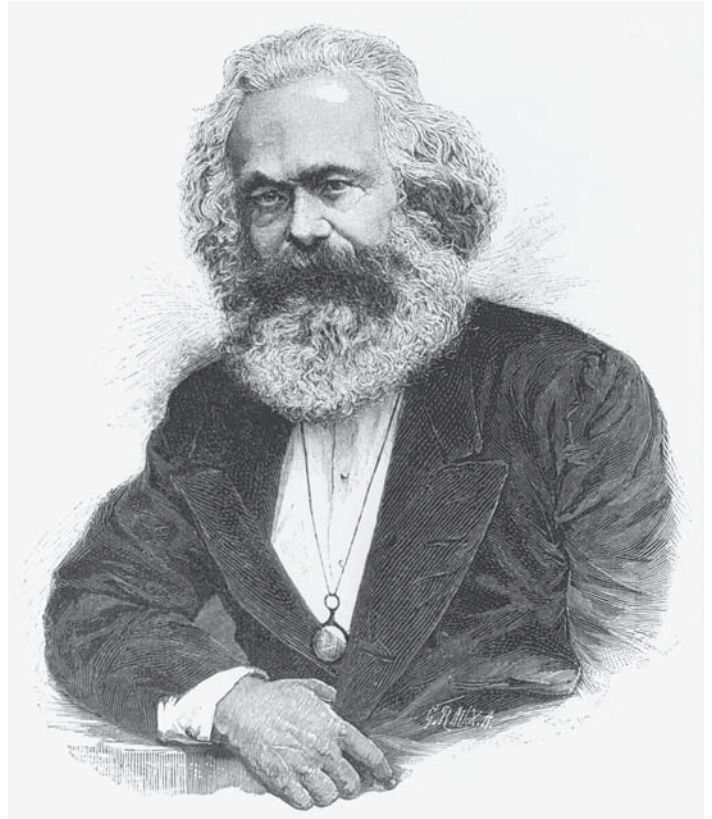
Marx returned to the University of Bonn hoping to find a job; instead he decided to become a writer and then editor in an opposition journal in Cologne, the aforementioned *Rheinische Zeitung*. In his writings from 1841 onward, there is another resonating influence. It was the Feuerbachian "transformational criticism" of Hegel in *The Essence of Christianity*; in effect, Ludwig Feuerbach turned Hegelian thought on its head, grounding human reality in social and material realities. Deeply affected by Feuerbach, Marx now formulated his comprehension of history as a process of self-development of the human species; humans were basically producers and material production was the foremost form of human activity. From this idea he was to extrapolate the more sophisticated ideological theories, not the least of which was that religion was "the

opiate of the masses.” During his time with *Rheinische Zeitung* he wrote on the material realities of the invisible poor and the underclass and on communism. To understand and critique their conditions of existence, he found his development of Feuerbach’s ideas to be much more useful than Hegelian ideas.

With the Prussian government’s repressive policies against *Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and his new bride, Jenny von Westphalen, moved to Paris in 1843. Paris was the hotbed of oppositional thinking, extreme forms of communism, and revolutionary socialist thought. Marx was to be entirely radicalized when his world intersected with that of the revolutionaries and French and German working classes. Marx began to study the history of the FRENCH REVOLUTION; he further fed his intellectual curiosity with the classics on political economy. In 1844 he met Engels for the second time; so started an intellectual and personal collaboration which contributed an impressive corpus of valuable writings to the world.

Engels was born in 1820 at Barmen; he graduated from Elberfeld high school in 1837. He came from a liberal, affluent, Protestant family; his father was a mill-owner in Barmen and in Manchester, England. Despite his leftist leanings, he could count on financial support from his family. Historians think that it was his relationship with his mother that allowed for the Janus-like existence of Engels—on the one hand he was a part of the industrial owner class and on the other a severe critic of it. He was sent to Bremen for business training in 1838 where he worked as an unsalaried clerk for an export business. But Engels was more interested in writing; his journalism was influenced by the ideology of the Young Hegelians who questioned all. Engels’s rebelliousness found its first expression in defying religion and second in his incisive, clear, and razor-sharp radicalized writings. During this time, his nom de plume was Friedrich Oswald.

From 1841–42, Engels served in the Household Artillery of the Prussian Army and attended lectures at the University of Berlin while simultaneously remaining active with the Young Hegelians. On his way to England in 1842, he met Marx in Cologne and then proceeded for his business training in the firm of Ermen and Engels in Manchester. He had occasion to closely observe and study the life of the English working class; he also joined the Chartist movement and continued with his leftist writings. In 1844 Engels contributed two of his writings to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, a journal that Marx had founded with Arnold Ruge. In these articles, he enunciated his earliest



Karl Marx and his colleague Friedrich Engels are seen as the fathers of modern communist political thought.

notions of private property as the source of material and social inequalities; it was his study of the English working class which had led to his first enunciations of scientific socialism. When Marx and Engels met in Paris, following their correspondence on these articles, their collaboration began.

Marx had to move to Brussels in 1845 after he was made to give up his Prussian citizenship; Engels followed him. Their first writing, *The German Ideology*, was written there. It was followed by several pieces, the most influential of which was the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. Both participated in the Revolutions of 1848–1849 in Prussia; eventually moving to live in London in the fall of 1849. Marx resumed his studies at the British Museum in London, while Engels lived in Manchester, working for his father’s firm for the next 20 years; his salary supported his and Marx’s activities. Engels lived with Mary Burns, an Irish working class girl, until her death in 1863. He was opposed to the institution of marriage, and the two lived as partners. Marx became a regular contributor to the *New York Daily Tribune* from 1850–61; some historians believe that it was in

fact Engels who wrote the articles for publication under Marx's name. In 1867 the first volume of *Capital* was published while the other two volumes, which were ready, still needed some editorial work. Engels moved to live in London in 1870 and continued to publish books in his own right, notably, *Anti-Dühring* in 1878. After Marx's death in 1883, Engels published on his own but he also completed the editing on the second volume of *Capital* in 1885 and the third volume in 1894. Engels died in August 1895. Despite the passing of both these thinkers and philosophers in late 19th century, their ideas, writings, and ideology continued to influence many in the following century.

### RADICALLY NEGATE

Marxism cannot simply be called a philosophy because at its very base it is a critique or a criticism (*Kritik*); to comprehend the mentality of Marx and Engels one has to use the lens of *Kritik*. For Marx, it was the way to radically negate the existing social reality, or in his own words, “a ruthless criticism of everything existing.” Marxist thought moves to a second step by then transforming what has been criticized. Marx and Engels's writings take concepts from the exclusive realm of ideas and connect them to the social and material reality around them. For instance, the concepts of alienation, knowledge, and nature connect with the historical, political, and economic realities so that they all exist in a vigorous relationship with one another.

Marx's basic premise was the primary human capacity to be a producer and his concern with the material conditions under which humans produced. In his words, “The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men which determines their existence; it is on the contrary their social existence which determines their consciousness.” This idea, known by the moniker of historical materialism, is the basis of all Marxist thought. Infused within all his writings, the idea of historical materialism demonstrated that every society is founded by the connections established between the “material forces of production” and the relationship between these forces—this is the economic basis. On this structure then is built the superstructure of politics and legalities which correspond to the nature of the economic substructure. It is through ideology that humans become conscious of the disjuncture between the sub- and super-structures which when critiqued reveal their lack of correspondence; it is then that conflict can arise.

Marxist texts enunciate the methods in which those who have the wealth (*Kapital*) also control the ways for creating more wealth; they are called the bourgeoisie. Conversely, those who have neither wealth nor the means to make it are in the employ of the bourgeoisie in their factories; those whose labor is a commodity are called the *Proletariat*. In Marx's time, this term referred specifically to the industrial working class. The proletariat and the underclasses are likely to move steadily toward pauperization; they are dependent either on wage labor or on the capitalist's largesse, both of which are decided by the bourgeoisie. This relationship then leaves all in a constant state of class struggle, which is not necessarily an overt struggle. The relationship between the classes is always tenuous and can rip apart societies and economies very quickly. Marxist thought offers alternative systems of production to the capitalist one because, according to him “Capitalist production develops the technique and the combination of the process of social production only by exhausting at the same time the two sources from which all wealth springs: the earth and the worker.”

### OPPOSITIONAL RELATIONSHIP

In the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat exist in an oppositional relationship. It is in the *Communist Manifesto* that this relationship and its consequences are most clearly enunciated. Since capitalism commodifies all material reality, there will come a time when human consciousness will challenge bourgeois ownership, most likely through a violent revolution led by the proletariat. The details of the types and consequences of class revolution were unfinished in the third volume of *Capital*. However, classical Marxism does offer freedom from alienated wage labor when the proletariat leads a revolution by which it repossesses its productive powers. Once the repossessed forms of material production are changed, then humans will once again produce in freedom, leading to self-realization and self-actualization on the scale of all humanity. This new form of production was not the fundamental nature of socialism or communism, but only its precondition. Neither Marx nor Engels offered any particular name for this mode of production, other than to mention in several places that it was to be a “free activity of human beings producing in cooperative association,” as stated by scholar Robert Tucker.

Marx wrote with an acerbic pen, with a tone that was intellectually powerful, indignant, and angry. His writings were not easily accessible. In fact, it was



Engels's clear, concise, free-flowing prose made the powerful message in Marx's works popular; his complementary treatises on Marx's writings explained their intense concepts. Some scholars believe that without Engels, Marxism would not have been what it became. Marx and Engels contributed through their *Kritik* and theorizing a massive body of political thought whose significance continues unabated.

See also SMITH, ADAM; SOCIALISM.

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JYOTI GREWAL

## Mazzini, Giuseppe

(1805–1872) *Italian revolutionary*

Giuseppe Mazzini, born in Genoa on June 22, 1805, was the intellectual source behind the Risorgimento, or resurgence. The son of a doctor, he completed his legal education in 1827 at the University of Genoa and became a practicing lawyer. He was a romantic revolutionary and an avid reader of drama and history. His writing was not just intended for the elite but for the masses. As a lawyer, he had tried cases for the disadvantaged. The annexation of his native republic of Genoa into the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont in 1815 dismayed him, and Mazzini had a burning desire to make Italy an integrated republic. An avowed antimonarchist, he favored a republican tradition. The task of unifying Italy divided into the kingdoms of Piedmont-Sardinia, the Two Sicilies, Lombardy-Venice, the Papal States, and smaller grand duchies was unappealing.

Mazzini joined the revolutionary *carbonari* (literally coal burners), whose members signed their oaths to rebel with blood. The bulk of *carbonari* members were drawn from the middle class and were responsible for insurrections in the 1820s in Naples, Sicily, and Piedmont. Mazzini was declared an outlaw and imprisoned at Savona in 1830. After his release, he appealed to King Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia to liberate the Italian states from Austrian rule. In 1831 he went to Marseille, France, as an exile and gathered fellow Italian emigrants. There he began organizing the

movement to unify Italy from abroad, and he spent most of his years as an exile. Mazzini established a political society, La Giovine Italia (Young Italy), based on the ethical principle of a strong faith in God and commitment to progress, sacrifice, and duty. Branches of Young Italy sprang up in various Italian cities and by 1833 its membership reached 60,000. Only people under the age of 40 were eligible. In 1834 he set up a revolutionary organization called Young Europe to unite movements like Young Poland, Young Germany, and Young Italy.

Mazzini believed that a mass movement could drive foreigners from Italy, and an Italian republic could be established based on the principles of democracy, equality, and social reforms. He combined his political philosophy with action in hopes of making his dream of Italian unification a reality. In 1832 Mazzini made an attempt to foment a rebellion in the Sardinian army. He was sentenced to capital punishment in absentia. He was expelled from France and from his new home in Switzerland. He organized another insurrection against the government of Sardinia in 1834, which also failed. His Young Europe movement made him a cult figure and prophet of nationalism throughout Europe. In 1837 he moved to London, where he lived for many years. He published a newspaper, *Apostleship of the People*. Attempts were made to revive the Giovine Italia, which was languishing due to series of abortive attempts at rebellion. In his writings, Mazzini talked of a national consciousness of Italy.

The mantra of the February Revolution that swept Europe was nationalism. It prompted Mazzini to make another attempt at the political unification of Italy. For him, the REVOLUTIONS of 1848 fulfilled a mission for humanity. He came back to Italy after the Austrians were ousted from Lombardy. The impact of the revolution was felt all through Italy. The people of Milan welcomed Mazzini, who served for awhile with another Italian revolutionary, General GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI. The adherents of Giovine Italia in Rome rebelled in November 1848 and drove out Pope PIUS IX, who fled to the Neapolitan area. The democratic Roman Republic was put into place, with Mazzini at the helm, instead of the Papal States. It was the crowning glory of his career.

Elected as a triumvir of the republic, Mazzini carried out his social reforms with efficiency and an authoritarian streak. On July 1, 1849, the popularly elected Assembly passed the constitution of the Roman Republic. But Mazzini's dream was short-lived as French troops, who responded to the appeal of the pope, besieged the new

republic. Mazzini surrendered on July 3. Italy almost returned to its pre-Revolutionary status, divided into sovereign principalities, and a disillusioned Mazzini returned to London. He disliked the “narrow spirit of nationalism,” and deplored the usurping of leadership by the politicians of Italy and Germany afterward.

The revolutionary phase of Italian unification was over and the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia took leadership in proclaiming the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. The amateur revolutionaries failed, and the path was cleared for professional politicians to take leadership of Italy’s unification, much to Mazzini’s dismay. He continued to strive for democracy and an agenda of social reforms. Mazzini was arrested in 1870 and lived in Pisa for two years under a pseudonym. He died of pleurisy on March 10, 1872.

Mazzini remains a respected figure in Italy, whose ideals were active into the 1990s under the banner of the republican party. Mazzini’s philosophy influenced not only nationalists in Italy, but nationalists abroad as well. Mohandas Karmachand Gandhi, an important figure in the Indian freedom movement, for example, was influenced by Mazzini and worked for both political and social emancipation in his struggle against British colonial rule.

See also CAVOUR, CAMILLO BENSO DI; ITALIAN NATIONALISM/UNIFICATION.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Meiji Restoration, Constitution, and the Meiji era

In December 1867 the 15th and last shogun (military leader) of the TOKUGAWA dynasty (1603–1867), Yoshinobu, surrendered his power to Emperor Meiji, which means “enlightened government.” The event is called the Meiji Restoration.

In 1868 Meiji took a charter oath that would create a modernized state when several important feudal lords (daimyo) surrendered their lands to the emperor. The process was completed in 1871 when all feudal holdings were confiscated from their traditional landowners, and Japan was divided into prefectures, still the main organizational departments of Japan today.

When Meiji became emperor, he inherited a state that had been severely handicapped in its development by the Tokugawa Shogunate, which closed Japan to foreign influence. Emperor Meiji and his supporters had to move swiftly to modernize his empire and, above all, its armed forces. The treaty of 1858, which was negotiated with the United States’s first envoy to Japan, Townsend Harris, included a clause: “The Japanese Government may purchase or construct in the United States ships-of-war, steamers, merchant ships, whale ships, cannon, munitions of war, and arms of all kinds, and any other things it may require. It shall have the right to engage in the United States scientific, naval and military men, artisans of all kind, and mariners to enter into its service.”

In his search for military and naval modernization, Meiji looked also toward western Europe. A delegation was sent to study the armed forces of Europe and initially felt that the French represented the best model for Japan’s army and that Britain would furnish the naval model since the British navy had reigned supreme since Admiral Horatio Nelson’s defeat of NAPOLEON I’s fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. The Meiji government thus went to Britain to purchase Japan’s warships. Many of the early Imperial Japanese battleships came from British shipyards. Japan’s army, however, shifted to the German model when the French army was decisively defeated by Prussian forces in the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR in 1870.

In 1873 Emperor Meiji introduced universal conscription to the armed forces, to bring Japan in line with German and other European practices. This ended the centuries-long samurai monopoly of armed military service. Such drastic changes, however, resulted in discontent. In 1877 some early supporters launched the SATSUMA REBELLION, which failed in the face of the discipline and modern weaponry of the new army.

Meiji pursued reforms throughout the government. In 1885 Meiji adopted a cabinet system loosely based on the cabinets under the U.S. president and the British prime minister. In 1889 a constitution was promulgated for Japan with a bicameral legislature. The upper house, or House of Peers, resembled the British House of

Lords, while the lower house, or Diet, would be elected by adult males who paid a certain sum in taxes.

In order to create the modernized state Meiji and his advisers realized that a comprehensive system of education was essential. In 1871 a ministry of education was created to carry out a far-reaching system of educational reforms. It created universal education for both boys and girls and modern universities and vocational colleges.

Industrialization was a primary goal of the Meiji government because it was the way that Japan could quickly take its place among the Great Powers. The government undertook major infrastructural building and also encouraged modernizing traditional industries. The textile industry was a prime example. It benefited from having a considerable labor pool available for industry. Many of the textile millworkers were girls from peasant families who could find no work for them on their agricultural lands. Japanese economic development followed that of other industrializing countries. As manufactured goods became a larger part of the economy of the country, the share of agriculture declined, reflecting the draw which the burgeoning factories had upon Japan's laboring population.

While the first 20 years of Emperor Meiji's reign were devoted to development at home, the last 20 years were involved with foreign adventurism. In 1894–95, Japan joined the ranks of those countries seeking to benefit from the weakness of neighboring China. One result of victory in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR was its annexation of the island of Taiwan (Formosa). It also contributed forces to the multinational army that rescued foreigners trapped in Beijing (Peking) during the Boxer Rebellion.

In 1902 Japan and Great Britain formed an alliance (Anglo-Japanese Alliance) to counter the threat posed by Russia toward British India and the Far East, especially Japanese interests in Korea. In February 1904 Japan attacked and inflicted a series of stunning defeats on the Russian army and navy in the Russo-Japanese War. A peace treaty was mediated by U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in September 1905 whereby Russia conceded to Japan's domination of Korea. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea and would rule it until 1945.

See also ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WARS; QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE; SATSUMA REBELLION (1877); TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE, LATE.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Metternich, Prince Clemens von (1773–1859) *European diplomat and peace broker*

Prince Clemens Lothar Wenzel von Metternich was the son of the Austrian envoy to the Rhenish clerical courts (later envoy to the Netherlands). A man of charm and presence, Metternich gained influence by marrying Maria Eleanora Kunitz, the granddaughter of the minister of Maria Theresa. Having received educational credentials via a degree in philosophy from the University of Strasbourg and a degree in law and diplomacy from the University of Mainz, and after traveling to England, he began his official career. He entered diplomatic service in 1797 as the representative of Westphalian courts at a congress of German states. In 1801 he became ambassador to Saxony for Austria.

Metternich's obsequious manner and shrewd powers of observation helped advance his career. In November 1803 he was named to the major court of Berlin for Austria. He then became Austria's ambassador to Russia for a year and finally ambassador to France in 1806. In that post, he ingratiated himself with the rising statesman CHARLES-MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND and NAPOLEON I's sister Caroline. When war broke out between France and Austria in 1809, he was held as a hostage for two months. In October 1809 the treaty of Schonbrunn greatly reduced Austria in size and brought it to its lowest point in history. At this point, Metternich, who had become minister of state in August, was appointed both foreign minister and minister of the imperial house. He was appointed partly because of his knowledge of Napoleon and partly because of his ability. From that point forward, Metternich was to dominate Austria (and often Europe) for nearly 40 years.

From this time onward, his emphasis was on maintaining a balance of power to preserve Austria. To gain time for Austria to recover and prevent a possible rapprochement between Napoleonic France and the Czar that might crush Austria, he acceded to Napoleon's request to arrange for the hand of Marie Louise. Marie Louise was the daughter of Austria's Francis II (who was also Holy Roman Emperor Francis I). In the subsequent Franco-Russian hostility, Metternich negotiated with both sides until it became apparent that Napo-

leon was on the defensive. He was then able to gain the maximum advantage for Austria as Russia and Prussia were becoming more anxious for Austrian troops as the decisive engagement at the battles of Leipzig and Dresden drew near.

After these coalition victories against Napoleon, Metternich hosted the powers of Europe as they arrived in Vienna to draw up settlements, many of which would last for a century. His main goal at this congress and thereafter were balance of power, legitimacy, and compensation. At the CONGRESS OF VIENNA he led the effort to prevent Russia from becoming too powerful. The Russians wanted all of Poland, which would threaten Europe as the Czar had already taken Finland, most of the Caucasus, and Bessarabia during the Napoleonic War. Prussia, in turn, who would give up her share of Poland, wanted all of Saxony, a densely populated industrialized state in Central Germany. This would make Prussia too powerful in Germany. Supported by the British and the French who were anxious to be readmitted to the club of Europe, Metternich managed to limit Russian gains in Poland and keep half of Saxony free.

The period 1815–48 was the age of Metternich, who dominated European diplomacy. The bases for this dominance were the arrangements made at the Congress. Under legitimacy, monarchs were restored in much of Europe, although much of the feudal system west of Austria was abolished. Monarchs were restored in Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. States that lost territory were compensated. Thus Sweden, which had lost Finland to Russia, received Norway, and Holland, which had lost colonial territories to Britain, received Belgium from Austria to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

After 1815 the council of Europe was formed to make sure that the leading powers of Europe (Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and, in 1818, France) would act in unison to maintain order, peace, and stability, thereby avoiding conflict among themselves. This system, although threatened by the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 as well as independence movements in the Balkans against Turks, endured until the CRIMEAN WAR in the middle of the century.

To enforce the system, the powers utilized two alliances. The Holy Alliance was signed in order to placate the czar. All of Europe signed an agreement to promote “justice, Christian charity, and peace.” The exceptions were the British king (who was insane); the pope, who considered himself the keeper of Christian charity; and the Turkish sultan, who was not Chris-

tian. A more practical alliance was the Quadruple Alliance among the great powers (changed to the Quintuple alliance with the eventual addition of France). This alliance would hold congresses to act on matters of mutual concern.

The business of the alliance involved collective security, and the results involved multimilitary intervention to restore the status quo, even if it resulted in application of force to repress forces of liberalism and nationalism. Thus the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 adjusted the relationship of France to the other powers; the Congress of Karlsbad in 1819 occurred after the assassination of a Russian envoy in Germany and was used by Metternich to force press censorship, government supervision of universities, and the suppression of representative institutions not sanctioned by ancient usage. The German states submitted to this Congress. After the Congress of Laibach in 1821, Austrian troops intervened to suppress a popular uprising in Naples and Sicily and finally in 1822 at Verona, French troops were sanctioned to put down a Spanish uprising against the king. As a result of the last three congresses, the parliaments that had been established in Sardinia, in Naples, and in Spain were abolished.

By that time, Britain and Russia had become less enthusiastic. The British, along with the United States, opposed a plan to restore the Spanish king’s authority over Latin America. They had developed a thriving trade with a Latin America free of Spanish mercantilism. Russia supported the Greeks as fellow Orthodox coreligionists. By the middle 1820s Metternich was no longer unfettered in his policy objectives but was still considered first among equals. Inside Austria, he exercised complete power for as long as Francis II ruled. However, after 1835 he had to share power as one of a number of councilors who advised the somewhat feeble-minded Ferdinand I.

By the 1840s the Metternich system came to be seen as something oppressive and even reactionary, and the author of this system was hated. On March 13, 1848, having seen the writing on the wall, he resigned. Exiled, he went to England and Belgium, before returning to Vienna in 1851. He died in 1859, at the age of 86. Married and widowed three times, he died alone. He had 11 children, seven of whom survived him. In terms of 19th-century diplomacy, only OTTO VON BISMARCK rivaled his influence and impact.

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General Winfield Scott invaded Mexico on the southern outskirts of the city of Veracruz in March 1847. He took Mexico City on September 13, 1847, after several weeks of fierce fighting that left thousands dead.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Mexican-American War (1846–1848)

In a profound national humiliation for Mexico and the biggest land-grab in U.S. history, from April 1846 to February 1848 the United States waged a war of conquest against its southern neighbor that had major repercussions for both nations. For Mexico, La Guerra de '47 discredited the leadership of JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA and his cohort of ruling conservatives, setting the stage for the emergence of a new generation of liberal reformers after 1855. It also created in Mexican national consciousness a combination

of resentment, fear, and respect toward its northern neighbor that endured well into the 20th century. For the United States, the war added 1.3 million square kilometers to the young republic, thus fulfilling the vision of proponents of the notion of MANIFEST DESTINY by spreading U.S. dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. It also sharpened the sectional division between North and South and played a key role in the eruption of the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR 13 years later.

Before the war, most of this vast region was claimed by Mexico but not under its effective dominion. Comprising the northern frontier of the viceroyalty of New Spain and inherited by Mexico after independence in 1821, the region was inhabited by perhaps 75,000 people, some of Spanish descent and perhaps as many native peoples. The Spanish-speaking population was clustered in two main zones: the Upper Río Grande Valley, centered on Santa Fe (in present-day New Mexico); and further west in the ribbon of missions and settle-

ments hugging the Pacific coast of California from San Diego to San Francisco. The vast bulk of the conquered region was given over to an intricate mosaic of sedentary, semi-sedentary, and nomadic native peoples in the throes of dramatic changes.

The long-term roots of the war lay in the aggressively expansionist ideology of Manifest Destiny, shared by the most prominent U.S. politicians and opinion-makers in the aftermath of the 1803 LOUISIANA PURCHASE and the WAR OF 1812 with Britain. The war had an important precedent in the TEXAS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE in 1836, in which a highly militarized and well-organized group of Anglo-Americans wrested Texas from Mexico. After 1836 debates swirled regarding the status of Texas. Most Anglo Texans urged annexation to the Union, as did many white Americans west of the Mississippi and in the Southern slaveholding states. In 1844 at the prompting of President Tyler, Texas applied for statehood for a second time (it first applied in 1836), an initiative defeated in the Senate by a coalition of Northern non-slave states.

In the presidential elections of 1844, former governor of Tennessee James K. Polk was elected on a platform of reoccupying Oregon territory and annexing Texas. After Texas became a state in December 1845, Mexico protested by breaking diplomatic relations with Washington. Meanwhile, pressures were mounting in Washington and beyond for the acquisition of New Mexico and California territories.

Rebuffed in its bid to purchase the land, the Polk administration turned to war. Using the pretext of a border conflict between U.S. and Mexican troops in the disputed territory between the Rios Grande and Nueces in southeastern Texas, on May 13, 1846, the U.S. Congress declared war on Mexico.

The war itself, the subject of an expansive literature, was more hard fought than U.S. policy makers had anticipated. In summer 1846 General Stephen W. Kearney's Army of the West captured Santa Fe before marching west to California, where it linked up with an expedition led by Colonel John C. Frémont. By early 1847 the two principal zones of Mexican settlement in what later became the U.S. Southwest were in U.S. hands. Meanwhile forces under General Zachary Taylor marched south from the disputed territory in Texas, meeting unexpectedly fierce resistance before taking Monterrey in September 1846.

The third arm of the offensive, the Army of the Occupation led by General Winfield Scott, invaded Mexico on the southern outskirts of the city of Veracruz in March 1847. Bombarding the walled city for

48 hours with some 6,700 artillery shells, killing hundreds of civilians and reducing much of the city to rubble, Scott's army moved methodically westward, following the same route as Hernán Cortés 328 years earlier, taking Mexico City on September 13, 1847 after several weeks of fierce fighting that left thousands dead.

By the terms of the February 2, 1848, Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that formally ended the war, the United States acquired the northern two-fifths of the national territory claimed by Mexico, a region embracing the present-day states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and parts of Utah and Colorado. In exchange Mexico received \$15 million in cash, plus \$3.25 million in U.S. assumption of outstanding claims—about \$14 per square kilometer. The treaty also guaranteed full U.S. citizenship of Mexican nationals in the ceded lands, a provision to which the U.S. government did not adhere in the long term. In subsequent years, the landholding Spanish-descended *californios* (settlers in California) were stripped of their lands and political rights, while many of the Spanish-speaking peoples of the Southwest, especially in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, became second-class citizens and a low-wage labor force in the region's burgeoning commercial agriculture, ranching, and mining industries.

In the shorter term, the war sharpened the sectional conflict between North and South by reopening the divisive issue of the expansion of slavery into the territories, initiating a chain of events that led directly to the Compromise of 1850, a deeply flawed agreement whose unraveling 11 years later resulted in the Civil War—a war in which many of the most prominent military leaders on both sides were veterans of the Mexican campaigns.

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## Mexico, early republic of (1823–1855)

Several major themes dominated the first three decades of the independent Mexican republic—sometimes referred to as the “Age of SANTA ANA”—each relating to a specific axis of social, political, and international conflict. The central arena of struggle was the process of state formation, the constituent elements of struggles to forge a viable national government pitting liberals against conservatives, centralists against federalists, and pro-church against anti-church factions. Conservatives generally were centralist and pro-church, and liberals were federalist and anti-church, though there were many exceptions to these broad tendencies.

Related to these domestic political conflicts were struggles in the international arena, pitting the new Mexican state against foreign interlopers, especially Spain, France, and the United States. The early republican period was marked by profound political instability, economic dislocation, and deep divisions between various leaders, parties, and factions. It also saw Mexico’s national territory slashed nearly in half, with the loss of Texas in 1836 and the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR of 1846–48. The political turmoil and national humiliations of the early republican period set the stage for the rise of a new generation of political leaders in the mid-1850s, epitomized by the revered Liberal reformer BENITO JUÁREZ.

Following the overthrow of AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE in 1823, a provisional military junta oversaw the creation of the nation’s first constitution, the Constitution of 1824. A liberal, federalist document modeled on the U.S. Constitution, the 1824 Constitution created the *Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Mexican States United) comprised of 19 states and four territories. The new charter gave individual states more power than did its counterpart to the north (as implied in the new nation’s name, the “Mexican States United,” *not* the “United States of Mexico”), while also granting the president special powers in times of emergency.

It also preserved the religious monopoly of the Catholic Church and special privileges of military officers and the clergy. The administration of the country’s first elected president, Guadalupe Victoria, was marked by fiscal crises and an armed revolt by Vice-President Nicolás Bravo—squashed by forces led by José Antonio López de Santa Ana—a harbinger of the political turmoil to come. In 1829 under Victoria’s elected successor Vicente Guerrero, Spain attempted to reconquer their former colony but was roundly defeated by forces under Santa Ana. In the same year the Guerrero government abolished slavery throughout the republic.

Meanwhile, the conservative disenchantment with the liberal government intensified.

Sensing the shifting political winds, Santa Ana, elected president as a liberal in 1833, retired to his estate and left the daily business of governance to his vice-president Valentín Gómez Farías. When a coalition of conservatives rose in revolt, Santa Ana put himself at their head, defeated the liberal government, and installed himself as the new conservative president. The Constitution of 1824 was scrapped and in its stead was imposed the Constitution of 1836, or *Siete Leyes* (Seven Laws), a far more conservative and centralist document. The new constitution dramatically circumscribed the political autonomy and power of states and territories, including the slaveholding Anglo-American settlers in Texas, whose numbers had grown dramatically in the past two decades.

Rising in revolt, in 1836 Texas declared its independence from Mexico. Santa Ana took the field again, and, after some initial successes, was defeated, captured, and sent back to Mexico City. Soon after, in 1838, a conflict with French property-holders escalated into open hostilities with France—the so-called Pastry War—in which French battleships shelled the port city of Veracruz before Santa Ana (who lost his leg in the battle) negotiated a settlement.

The final nail in Santa Ana’s political coffin came with the Mexican-American War of 1846–48, in which the United States, driven by visions of MANIFEST DESTINY, wrested from Mexico the northern two-fifths of its national territory. Discrediting Santa Ana, the war was experienced by many Mexicans as a profound national dishonor. Compounding the crisis, just as the war with the United States was ending in the far north, a major revolt by Maya Indians was erupting in the far south—the so-called Caste War of Yucatán, which came to a boil in 1848 and simmered for the next half-century. Atop all the turmoil and strife of the first three decades of independence, the defeat at the hands of the United States created an auspicious environment for the emergence of a new generation of leaders and the period of *La Reforma* (the Reforms) from the mid-1850s.

See also MEXICO: FROM LA REFORMA TO THE PORFIRATO (1855–1876); TEXAS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE ALAMO.

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## Mexico, from La Reforma to the Porfiriato (1855–1876)

Coming on the heels of the devastating defeat in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, in 1855 the Revolution of Ayutla ousted the aging dictator JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA for the last time, ushering in a period in Mexican history known as La Reforma, or the period of Liberal Reforms. Indelibly associated with the figure of BENITO JUÁREZ, the period saw a host of economic and political reforms inspired by Enlightenment notions of private property, secularism, free trade, and individual rights of citizenship.

These reforms in turn sparked widespread resistance on the part of the church, Indian communities, army officers, and other conservative elements. The result was a major civil war from 1858–61 (the War of the Reform). This massive civil war, ending just as the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR was beginning, led to the period of French intervention.

After the expulsion of the French came the period of the Restored Republic, which ended with the coming to power of the dictator PORFIRIO DÍAZ, the Porfiriato. The tumult and confusion of the period 1855–76 has been attributed to the depths of the differences separating various protagonists' visions of Mexico's past and future, compounded by the turmoil wrought by foreign invasion and occupation.

### THE LIBERAL REFORMS (1855–1857)

In 1853 as discontent with the ruling conservative regime mounted, a group of prominent liberals plotted the overthrow of the dictator Santa Ana from exile in New Orleans. Their leaders included Melchor Ocampo, Santos Degollado, Guillermo Prieto, and Benito Juárez. Allying with dissident rebel chieftain Juan Alvarez, one of whose lieutenants Ignacio Comonfort had issued the Plan de Ayutla calling for the dictator's ouster, the exiles returned to Mexico, fomented a rebellion, and forced Santa Ana's resignation in August 1855.

One of the first acts of the new government bore the name of the new minister of justice: the Ley Juárez (Juárez Law). The law abolished the special privileges, or *fueros*, enjoyed by members of the military and the church, which since the early colonial period had

exempted soldiers and clerics from prosecution in civil and criminal courts. In a stroke, the law overturned more than 300 years of jealously guarded tradition among two of society's most powerful groups.

The Ley Juárez was quickly followed in June 1856 by the Ley Lerdo, brainchild of the new secretary of treasury Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, an even stronger anticlerical measure that essentially required the church to divest itself of most of its real property via public auction.

The Catholic Church was far and away the country's single largest landholding entity. The law also abolished the collectively owned land of Indian communities, compelling their sale at public auction. The law was intended to weaken the church, turn Indians in communities into individual citizens, advance its framers' vision of a more secular and modern state and society, and create an important new government revenue stream.

This frontal assault on the church's power and Indians' collective rights in land was followed by what is widely considered to represent the height of 19th-century Mexican liberalism: the 1857 Constitution. Incorporating the Juárez, Lerdo, and other reform laws, the Constitution created a unicameral legislature as a stronger check on the power of the executive. It also created Mexico's first bill of rights, which included freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and education. The new charter did not specify freedom of religion, but nor did it privilege the Catholic Church, creating de facto state toleration of non-Catholic sects. The church, the military, Indian communities, and other conservative elements bridled at this assault on centuries of tradition, a resistance that soon erupted into open civil war.

### THE WAR OF THE REFORM (1858–1861)

Spearheaded by conservative general Félix Zuloaga and his Plan de Tacubaya, conservative elements rose in revolt. Zuloaga and his allies marched on Mexico City, dissolved Congress, arrested the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Juárez, and forced the resignation of President Comonfort. Juárez, the most charismatic and visionary of the liberal leaders and second in line to the presidency, escaped and established a provisional government in Querétaro, then in Veracruz, rallying liberals around him. For the next two years, a horrific civil war wracked the country.

By this time, liberalism had become a homegrown ideology embraced by Mexicans from diverse walks of life; lines of alliance and conflict were complex, shaped by ideology, personal allegiances, and many other factors. Atrocities mounted on both sides. The war devastated



the economy, destroying crops and livestock and bringing commerce to a standstill.

In July 1859 the liberal government in Veracruz enacted the Veracruz decrees, deepening earlier reforms by nationalizing church investment capital as well as its lands. Soon after the U.S. government bestowed diplomatic recognition on the liberal government in Veracruz. By 1860 the liberals had gained the upper hand, and on New Year's Day 1861, a liberal army, 25,000 strong, marched into Mexico City unopposed.

#### THE FRENCH INTERVENTION (1862–1867)

Endless troubles bedeviled the restored liberal regime under Juárez, elected president in March 1861. Most nettlesome, the economy was in ruins and the government bankrupt. A confluence of events overseas soon compounded the difficulties. The U.S. Civil War, begun in April 1861, meant that the United States was no longer able to enforce the MONROE DOCTRINE prohibiting European powers from intervening militarily in Latin America.

In France, the conservative, pro-Catholic regime of NAPOLEON III, influenced by large numbers of Mexican conservatives exiled in Paris, determined to seize the opportunity to fulfill a longtime national vision and make Mexico part of the expanding French overseas empire. Using the pretext of the Juárez government's failure to compensate its nationals for properties destroyed in the late war, in December 1861 Napoleon III dispatched some 2,000 troops with orders to occupy Veracruz, reinforced by 4,500 more early the next year.

On their march toward Mexico City on May 5, 1862, the invading French army met unexpectedly fierce resistance in the city of Puebla. The famous battle, later memorialized in the national holiday Cinco de Mayo (fifth of May), forced the French to retreat. It also catapulted into prominence General Porfirio Díaz, who played a key role in the fight. The battle of Puebla delayed the French invasion for nearly a year. With the arrival of some 30,000 reinforcements and after a two-month siege, the French finally took Puebla in May 1863 and occupied Mexico City in June. Napoleon III selected an obscure Austrian archduke to serve as the new emperor of Mexico—Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, or Maximilian, who entered Mexico City with his royal entourage in June 1864. Weak, indecisive, and well-meaning, Maximilian floundered while armed resistance to the French occupation mounted. Soon after the end of the U.S. Civil War in April 1865, the United States demanded French withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the Mexican venture proved more costly than Napoleon had anticipated. Opting to cut his losses, in January 1866 Napoleon ordered his troops home. The hapless Maximilian, deluded into believing that the Mexican people embraced his reign, opted to stay. Forces under Juárez captured, tried, and, on June 19 in Querétaro, executed him before a firing squad.

#### THE RESTORED REPUBLIC (1867–1876)

The restored Juárez government soon embarked on an ambitious program to implement the provisions of the 1857 constitution. Slashing the size of the army, enacting measures to revivify the moribund mining economy, and encouraging foreign investment, it also intensified its efforts to secularize education and privatize church and Indian lands. Elected to a fourth term in 1872, Juárez died of a heart attack in July. His successor Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, elected in October, announced his intention to seek reelection in 1876. Rising in revolt on the principle of “no reelection,” Porfirio Díaz took the National Palace in the fall of 1876, dominating Mexican political life for the next 35 years.

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## Mexico, independence of

Mexico followed a path to independence that both resembled and differed from the path taken by other Latin American nations in the Age of Revolution. As in South America, the Napoleonic invasion of Iberia in 1807–08 generated a crisis of authority in New Spain, prompting the formation of a *cabildo abierto* (open city council) in Mexico City. Of the various plots and conspiracies hatched against the Spanish colonial government in the Basin of Mexico and beyond, one in particular would have major repercussions for the process of independence.

On September 16, 1810, the Creole priest MIGUEL HIDALGO issued his famous Grito de Dolores (Cry of Dolores), denouncing the bad government of the Spanish and demanding an end to the Spanish colonial rule of Mexico. The Hidalgo rebellion rapidly snowballed, reaching its height in late October 1810, when as many as 100,000 of the priest's impoverished mestizo and Indian followers stood on the outskirts of Mexico City, posing the threat of an all-out race and class war in the heart of Spain's overseas empire.

The Hidalgo rebellion thus played much the same role in New Spain as the HAITIAN REVOLUTION two decades earlier across the Caribbean. It could be seen as a cautionary tale for Creole elites who wished to achieve independence, but not at the cost of subverting the colony's rigid race-class hierarchy and thus risking their own privileges and power. After the Spanish defeated Hidalgo's insurgency, autonomist Creoles bided their time, most refusing to support the simmering rebellion waged in the regions surrounding the basin of Mexico by another parish priest, José María Morelos. The Morelos rebellion fizzled, despite the 1813 Congress of Chilpancingo (in the province of Guerrero) in which delegates formally declared independence.

In 1815 Spanish fortunes improved with their capture and execution of Morelos and, back in Europe, with the defeat of NAPOLEON I and restoration of King FERDINAND VII to the throne. For the next five years, until 1820, the independence movement in New Spain remained relatively quiescent, though the Spanish proved unable to snuff out the numerous guerrilla bands led by Vicente Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria (both future presidents), and others.

In 1820 it was once again events in Spain that triggered a movement toward independence in the colony: the Riego Revolt against King Ferdinand, in which Colonel Rafael Riego led an uprising of army officers demanding that the king adhere to the provisions of the liberal 1812 Constitution, in effect establishing a constitutional monarchy. The king had little choice but to yield to Riego's demands. Back in New Spain, the conservative Creole elite felt threatened at this latest turn of events. One such conservative Creole, Colonel AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE abandoned his royalist allegiances and struck out for independence.

Iturbide sought an alliance with his erstwhile foe, the rebel leader Vicente Guerrero, and after a series of conferences the two agreed on a plan to make New Spain independent: the Plan de Iguala. It boasted 23 articles and three guarantees: that the new nation would

be ruled under a constitutional monarchy; that Roman Catholicism would be the state religion; and that equality would reign between Creoles (Spaniards born in New Spain) and *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain). Under Iturbide's command, the so-called Army of the Three Guarantees (Ejército Trigarante) attracted allies from throughout the colony, and in September 1821 marched triumphantly into Mexico City, effectively making Mexico independent after almost exactly 300 years of colonial rule.

As elsewhere in Latin America, the devastation wrought during the independence period was immense. Mines were flooded, crops destroyed, livestock slaughtered, and commerce crippled. As many as half a million people died in the violence. The range and depth of the problems facing the new nation were immense. While the actual date of Mexican independence was thus September 28, 1821, Mexicans celebrate independence on September 15–16, in commemoration of Hidalgo's Grito de Dolores of 1810—a national memory that reveres the courage and sacrifice of the renegade parish priest and his followers while ignoring the legacy of the turncoat conservative-cum-emperor.

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## Mexico, New Spain revolts in

Indian revolts, rebellions, and insurrections played a key role in the colonial history of the Americas, shaping Indian-Spanish relations in lasting ways and helping to structure the principal features of colonial society. In New Spain, patterns of violent collective action by Indian communities varied widely in time and space. In Central and Southern Mexico, the core of the viceroyalty, colonial-era revolts were local, small-scale, and of relatively brief duration, at least until MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA's Revolt of 1810, in the waning days of 300 years of colonial rule. In peripheral zones, outside the core areas of Indian settlement, north and south,

several large-scale rebellions erupted during the colonial period. These patterns were partly an expression of demographics, geography, and the Spanish Crown's geopolitical strategy of rule: those areas of densest Indian settlement yielded more labor, more wealth, and thus, were more worth controlling and defending. Areas with fewer people had less labor, less wealth, were costlier to control, and were thus less worth defending.

Because their power was far from absolute, the Spanish in effect gave up large parts of the Americas as unconquerable, launching occasional forays into those areas, but for the most part leaving their generally seminomadic inhabitants alone. It was on the boundary between these zones of Spaniards' unequivocal domination and generalized absence that the largest and most violent Indian rebellions erupted. Each of these collective outbursts can be traced to a unique confluence of long-term causes and short-term triggers; each followed a distinctive trajectory and each produced a different outcome. All can also be seen to have had certain features in common.

On the northern periphery, in 1680 a major rebellion broke out among the sedentary Pueblo Indians of the Upper Río Grande Valley, the result of decades of extreme exploitation, oppression, and violence at the hands of Spanish *encomenderos*, combined with epidemic diseases, drought, widespread hunger, and an intensification of religious persecution by Franciscan missionary friars. After 1692 when the Spanish managed to retake the area, the Pueblo Revolt (or Popé's Rebellion) led to a major restructuring of Spanish colonial rule throughout the region, resulting in decreased exactions in tribute and labor, greater religious autonomy, and an overall easing of the most oppressive features of colonial rule. In 1740 in the highland valleys of the Sonora desert, the Yaqui and Mayo Indians rose in rebellion against the Jesuit missionaries and the small number of Spanish miners and hacienda owners. The revolt, which lasted some six months and extended across large parts of the north, was rooted in intensified labor demands by secular Spaniards, grievances against specific Jesuit friars, and an erosion of the autonomy of individual communities, and was triggered by floods and famine. In the wake of the uprising, the mission and mining system on the northern frontier was considerably weakened, while the Yaqui exercised greater political, economic, and cultural autonomy for the rest of the colonial period and after.

On the southern periphery, the Tzeltal (Maya) Revolt in Chiapas in 1712 was similarly rooted in decades of excessive labor demands compounded by extreme political and religious persecution. This revolt was triggered

by the vision of a 13-year-old Tzeltal girl named María López, of the Virgin yearning for her own kingdom. Dissident Maya leaders and thousands of their Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and Chol-speaking followers embraced her vision; the revolt spread throughout large parts of Chiapas before being suppressed by the Spanish military. Subsequent decades saw a lessening of exactions and greater religious autonomy among Tzeltals and other Mayan-speaking peoples throughout the region. The Maya Insurrection of 1761 in Yucatán, led by Jacinto Canek, had similar long-term causes and was triggered by Canek's argument with a priest that escalated into a major, regionwide rebellion. Its aftermath saw a diminution of Spanish labor and tribute demands and a relaxation of friars' religious intolerance, along with a legacy of struggle that inspired later generations of rebels (most notably, the Caste War of Yucatán from 1848). All of the foregoing were major regional events that offered direct and sustained challenges to Spanish authority and power, and whose repercussions endured for decades.

In central and southern Mexico, episodes of violent collective action by Indian communities followed a different pattern. Large-scale regional rebellions were impossible here; the Spanish were simply too strong. Instead, Indian communities devised and pursued a host of strategies intended to more effectively endure the weight of colonial rule. From the mid-1500s on, Indians became adept at using the judicial system against specific infringements of their collective rights in land and labor, initiating litigation and pursuing legal cases through the courts that could and often did last for decades. Many Indian communities became renowned for their savvy and skill in using the courts.

Another way Indians in central and southern Mexico defended the rights of their communities was through violent collective action. Such violent outbursts did not assume the character of sustained frontal challenges to the overall structure of Spanish domination and Indian subordination. Instead they were localized, spontaneous, without identifiable leaders, of relatively brief duration, and focused on specific sets of grievances against individual agents of state and ecclesiastical authority. Targets most often included specific authorities such as priests, municipal officials, hacienda overseers, land surveyors, census takers, tax collectors, and government buildings like jails and administrative offices. Women often played key roles in these unplanned outbursts. Weapons were makeshift, consisting of diggings sticks, hoes, clubs, slings, rocks, and powdered chili peppers used to temporarily blind and disable the targets of the community's wrath. Few such revolts lasted more than

a day or two. Deaths were usually few. The authorities generally responded to such spontaneous outbursts with “a calculated blend of punishment and mercy,” and the outcome commonly led to redress of the community’s specific grievances.

The Mexican historian Agustín Cue Cánovas has identified more than 100 conspiracies and rebellions during the 300 years of Spanish colonial rule in New Spain, while U.S. historian William B. Taylor has unearthed evidence for more than 140 episodes of communities in revolt against Spanish rule. Scholars are just beginning to unravel the complexity of these episodes of rural and urban unrest and the variety of ways in which violent collective action by Indian communities shaped the overall structure of colonial society and of Spanish-Indian relations in the heartland of Spain’s American empire.

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## Midhat Pasha

(1822–1884) *Ottoman reformer*

Midhat Pasha entered the Ottoman government service as a young man and rose quickly within the ranks. He worked in Syria and then in Istanbul before being appointed governor (*vali*) over Bulgaria in 1857. Midhat quickly restored order to the rebellious province and instituted a wide-ranging series of modernization projects. While he supported modernization of the empire, Midhat opposed local nationalist sentiments and repressed Bulgarian nationalism. His anti-pan-Slavic stance incurred the enmity of Russia and owing to Russian pressure he was withdrawn from Bulgaria and brought back to Istanbul.

Midhat served as provincial governor over Baghdad from 1869–72. As governor of Baghdad, he in effect ruled all of Iraq. He extended Ottoman influence into the Arabia Peninsula and, as in Bulgaria, worked

to modernize the territory. He modernized Baghdad with the construction of new roads and a bridge across the Tigris River, a bank, and textile factory. He also improved shipping lanes for the Shatt al-Arab leading into the Persian Gulf and enlarged irrigation projects to increase productivity and income. Midhat also efficiently applied Ottoman Land Law to regularize and register land titles and the collection of taxes.

Midhat served as Grand Vizier from 1876–77 and was accorded the title of pasha. However, Midhat’s efficiency, financial acuity, and honesty threatened many increasingly corrupt officials who frequently intrigued against him. On the other hand, the pro-reform Young Ottomans called Midhat “the ideal statesman.”

Midhat supported the programs of the Young Ottomans who wanted the implementation of a constitutional monarchy over the Ottoman Empire. Midhat and the Young Ottomans sought to halt the further erosion of Ottoman financial independence to European creditors and to prevent national uprisings in the Balkans.

In 1876, the Young Ottomans and Midhat were instrumental in ousting Sultan Abd al-Aziz, who was subsequently assassinated, and placing Murad V on the throne. Murad V only served a few months before mental illness forced his removal. His brother ABDUL HAMID II became the new sultan after promising to implement the constitution written by Midhat and to support reforms. The first Ottoman parliament opened in 1877, but Abdul Hamid II used the impending war with Russia as the excuse to suspend the constitution and parliament within a year. Midhat was ousted from office on charges of complicity with the assassination of Abd al-Aziz. To escape further persecution, Midhat then toured Europe and observed the House of Commons in session in London. He was called back to serve as governor of Syria, but within months the sultan reconsidered and brought him back to be tried with others for the killing of Abd al-Aziz. In a highly biased trial, Midhat was sentenced to death, but following pressure from the British his sentence was commuted to banishment. He was exiled to Taif, Arabia, where an agent of the sultan probably was responsible for his death by strangulation in 1884.

See also YOUNG OTTOMANS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Mississippi River and New Orleans

North America's most important river, contested by four nations and many native tribes, has played an essential role in U.S. history. Flowing 2,301 miles from northern Minnesota's Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico below New Orleans, the Mississippi was a key AMERICAN CIVIL WAR arena. Until 1865, Cairo, Illinois, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, was the boundary between freedom and slavery. Reshaped over hundreds of years by settlers, engineers, and business interests, the Father of Waters has been and remains an important commercial artery and an ecological battlefield.

The Mississippi even has its own bard—Mark Twain (penname of Samuel L. Clemens) who grew up on the river's banks, plied its waters, and wrote two

books in which the Mississippi is the central character. His 1883 *Life on the Mississippi* is a nonfictional account; 1884's *Huckleberry Finn* uses a fictional journey down the mighty north-south river to explore slavery and freedom in pre-Civil War America.

By 1750 France was the major player in the Mississippi basin, obtaining furs from local Indian tribes and establishing military fortifications and trading posts along the upper Mississippi. New Orleans, founded in 1718, became the major port and capital of France's sprawling Louisiana colony.

The SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS demolished France's imperial dreams for the Mississippi and the New World generally. In 1755 thousands of French colonists known as ACADIANS were deported by British victors from Nova Scotia to Louisiana delta lands. Later known as Cajuns, they found a living fishing, trapping,



In 1815 two weeks after a treaty ended the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson, assisted by French pirate and slave trader Jean Lafitte, won a major victory over British forces at New Orleans, permanently securing this port for the United States.

and farming along the lower Mississippi. A deal with Spain before the war's end in 1763 allowed France to maintain its fur trade. Spain, at least nominally, held all lands west of the Mississippi and the vital port of New Orleans from 1762 to 1800.

Access to the Mississippi was an issue that aggravated relations between Britain and its North American colonies. The treaty ending the AMERICAN REVOLUTION promised river rights to the new United States, yet French and British fur traders and their Indian allies continued to dominate the region. In 1802 President THOMAS JEFFERSON learned that Spain had secretly sold Louisiana back to French emperor NAPOLEON I. A worried Jefferson asked to buy New Orleans. Napoleon instead agreed to sell his entire holding for about 18 dollars per square mile. The LOUISIANA PURCHASE doubled the size of the United States.

The LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION and concurrent explorations along the Mississippi by U.S. Army lieutenant Zebulon Pike in 1805 began to reveal just what the United States had acquired. The Mississippi remained a wild frontier. Soon after killing ALEXANDER HAMILTON in an 1804 duel, former vice president Aaron Burr rode a keelboat down to New Orleans, which he hoped would become the seat of his own American empire. Burr was warmly welcomed by New Orleans's French population but his plans were undone by a co-conspirator. In 1815, two weeks after a treaty ended the WAR OF 1812, ANDREW JACKSON, assisted by French pirate and slave trader Jean Lafitte, won a major victory over British forces at New Orleans, permanently securing this port for the United States.

By this time, the Mississippi had become a busy waterway for travel and commerce of every kind. Although navigable for its entire length, the river was treacherous, especially in seasons of drought and flood. Many different kinds of vessels were tried on the river—canoes, rafts, pirogues, pole boats, and keelboats, to name a few. In 1811 the steamboat *New Orleans*, engineered by Robert Fulton, took four months to travel from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. Within a decade, boats could reliably sail upstream.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, established in 1802, played (and continues to play) a major role on the Mississippi and its watershed. In 1824 Congress authorized the Corps to manage and improve the river's navigability and safety. Locks and dams were installed; later, levees to prevent flooding were constructed almost continuously from New Orleans to Dubuque, Iowa. Other projects that began in the 19th century but did not reach their zenith until the 20th

included dredging, channelization, and construction of auxiliary canals.

Before railroads in the 1850s began to cut into Mississippi shipping, lead ore, lumber, and agricultural products, mostly heading to St. Louis or New Orleans for processing or transshipment, kept "river rats" busy until winter ice buildups curtailed travel. Galena, Illinois, became an important metropolis, supplying 90 percent of the nation's lead ore. Logging in Minnesota and Wisconsin, spurred by an almost insatiable need for lumber, especially on the treeless Great Plains, filled the Mississippi with huge logs heading to sawmills. Logging increased erosion and soil loss; logs snagged underwater became a major threat to river shipping.

The Mississippi's north-south trade suffered a huge setback when war broke out in 1861. It was apparent to Union leaders that controlling the Mississippi could cripple the Confederacy, making cotton shipments to Europe almost impossible. The "River War" of 1862 made heroes of officers ULYSSES S. GRANT and David G. Farragut. Using ironclad gunboats adapted for river conditions, Union naval units occupied New Orleans in April. In June Union forces captured Memphis. Besieged at Vicksburg that summer, Confederates, although lacking sufficient weaponry, held off the attack and maintained control of about 200 miles on the Mississippi.

Today's Mississippi is still crowded with boats and barges, but its commercial importance continued to decline after the Civil War. New Orleans's importance was eclipsed by New York's Harbor. St. Louis lost out to Chicago, the nation's railroad hub. River tourism increased on paddlewheel excursion boats appealing to gamblers and a growing leisure class. By 1882 Mark Twain, nostalgically traveling his river from New Orleans to St. Paul, found the formerly bustling river eerily quiet. The nation's traditional watery heart, now mostly driven and flown over, makes headlines only when the Mississippi experiences devastating floods.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; RAILROADS IN NORTH AMERICA.

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## Mitre, Bartolomé

(1821–1906) *Argentine statesman*

Bartolomé Mitre was one of the Argentine statesmen who dominated his country's political scene following the overthrow of JUAN MANUEL ORTIZ DE ROSAS in 1852. The son of Ambrosio Mitre and Josefa Martinez, he grew up in Buenos Aires where the political life was dominated by Rosas. Disliking the dictatorship that Rosas had established, when Mitre was 26 he began his 15-year exile, leaving Argentina for Uruguay where he took part in the defense of Montevideo against the Argentine dictator. He then went to Bolivia and Peru, returning to Uruguay, where in 1852 he led their forces in the Battle of Caseros, which led to the overthrow and flight of Rosas.

In 1853 Buenos Aires province refused to accept the new Argentine constitution which massively diminished its role in the nation's politics, and Mitre was called upon to lead the breakaway province. Eight years later he was governor and led the Unitarists at the Battle of Pavon on September 17, 1861, when the Federalists, who wanted regional autonomy, were decisively defeated. Although few realized it at the time, it was the end of the Federalist cause.

Mitre, who became president on April 12, 1862, moved the capital back to Buenos Aires and spent the next two years ensuring that the Federalists were politically marginalized. He extended postal and telegraph lines throughout the country with stamps being issued for the whole of Argentina rather than separate regional issues as had previously been the case. Mitre also ended most local taxes, consolidated provincial and regional debt, and established a nationwide system of courts. Immediately, the power of the Federalists had been diminished.

In December 1864 war with Paraguay broke out when the Paraguayan president, Francisco Antonio López, still believing that the Federalists would prevent Argentina playing an important role in the impending conflict, attacked the Brazilian Matto Grosso region and then marched into Argentina and captured the city of Corrientes. However, López had miscalculated, and Mitre took charge of the Argentine forces and became a passionate advocate of continued Argentine involvement, allying his country with Brazil and the new government of Uruguay. This resulted in the war becoming known as the War of the TRIPLE ALLIANCE. One of Mitre's sons, Jorge, was killed in that war.

The war dominated Argentine affairs, and Mitre used it to achieve greater national unity. It also seems

certain that the war was particularly beneficial to Mitre's supporters, some of whom amassed fortunes in war contracts. Mitre's political party became known as the Purveyors' Party, as the prices for beef, leather, horses to serve as cavalry mounts, fodder, and military supplies soared. The main Federalist leader, Urquiza, was also placated by massive contracts for supplying the Argentine and the Brazilian military.

In 1868, when his term as president came to an end, Paraguay's defeat was inevitable, even if the final victory was still two years away. The defeat of the Paraguayan forces at the Battles of Tuyuti in May 1866 and Curupayty in September, as well as the subsequent capture of the Paraguayan fort of Humaita, failed to gain Mitre much popularity in Buenos Aires. In January 1868 Mitre stepped down as commander in chief of the Allied forces, and the post went to the Brazilian marquis (later duke) of Caxias. In the 1868 presidential elections, the Argentine population was clearly weary of the conflict and refused to support Mitre's handpicked successor-designate in the presidential elections.

However, Mitre was elected to the senate and in 1874 ran again for the presidency. On losing, Mitre tried to lead a rebellion, which quickly petered out. In 1891 he again contested the presidency, but withdrew before the final election. In his old age, Mitre was regularly seen around Buenos Aires, and when he died on January 19, 1906, he was acclaimed as one of the great men in Argentine politics. The newspaper *La Nacion* ran a full-page obituary on the day after he died and another on the following day. He was buried in Recoleta Cemetery, Buenos Aires. He was featured on a 1935 postage stamp and again in 2006 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of his death.

As well as being a politician, Mitre was also a great scholar. He translated Dante's *Divine Comedy* into Spanish and was the author of many books. He wrote poetry and detailed biographies of both independence heroes Manuel Belgrano and San Martín. An avid reader and book collector, a contemporary painting of his bedroom by Pierre Calmettes shows many books open around the room. Mitre's library of 20,000 books has been augmented since his death by an additional 50,000 volumes, making it one of the most important in Argentina. Known as the America Library, the vast majority of the books are concerned with the Americas, or printed in the Americas. It is open to the public and contains many rare works in Spanish and English, as well as a map collection, rows of bound periodicals, and a coin collection. In addi-

tion, there is a historical archive of 48,000 documents covering 19th-century Argentine history.

The library is housed in Mitre's old house, now the Mitre Museum, where the room in which Mitre met Urquiza and Derqui on the ground floor has been recreated. On the upper floor, Mitre's bedroom, bathroom, and adjoining study have all been faithfully preserved with a photograph of the former president's wife above the bed, flanked by those of his sons Jorge and Adolfo. Entry to the museum is two pesos—the two peso note having Mitre on one side, and his residence—the museum—on the other. One of Mitre's sons, Emilio became an engineer and politician, another son, Bartolomé Mitre y Vedia, was a well-known writer.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Monroe Doctrine

In 1823 in response to the long-anticipated successes of the Spanish-American independence movements, U.S. president James Monroe announced a hemispheric policy that later came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Penned principally by secretary of state and future president JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, the doctrine forbade subsequent European colonization in the Western Hemisphere. “The American continents,” Monroe proclaimed, “are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

The doctrine further implied that the United States would oppose strategic or political alliances between European powers and Latin American nations: “We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing [the newly independent nations], or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.” An expression of an emergent muscular foreign policy following the victorious WAR OF 1812 with Great Britain, the doctrine applied to all European powers but

was aimed specifically at Britain, which had designs on Cuba, and at France, one of Spain's most important allies in the early 1820s.

The doctrine had important precedent in the thinking of U.S. policy makers. In 1808 THOMAS JEFFERSON, pondering the probable emergence of new nations in the wake of Spain's collapse, wrote that “We consider [the new Latin American nations'] interests and ours as the same, and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere.” The United States provided substantial material aid to the Latin American revolutionaries, despite a formal proclamation of neutrality in 1815.

The year before Monroe announced his hemispheric doctrine, the United States extended diplomatic recognition to the newly independent Latin American nation-states of La Plata (later Argentina), Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, and the not-yet-independent nation of Peru.

The first open defiance of the doctrine came in the early and mid 1860s. With the United States embroiled in its own CIVIL WAR, France under NAPOLEON III launched an invasion and occupation of Mexico. After the defeat of the Confederacy in April 1865, the administration of President Andrew Johnson demanded French withdrawal, and Napoleon soon complied. The Caribbean presented a more nettlesome situation, with every island a European colony (save Hispaniola, divided between Haiti and the Dominican Republic). In the 1880s and 1890s, as U.S. aspirations for hemispheric domination grew, policymakers sought not only to keep European powers out but to establish a positive U.S. right to intervene if warranted. This came in 1904, with President Theodore Roosevelt's corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

While the 1823 Monroe Doctrine did not explicitly proclaim U.S. domination of the hemisphere or include any U.S. right to intervene militarily in Latin American affairs, many Latin Americans denounced the doctrine as a fundamental violation of the principle of national sovereignty. A vast polemical literature from south of the U.S. border decries the Monroe Doctrine as a signal expression of Yankee imperialism.

See also LATIN AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE IN; NAPOLEON I.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER



## Mormonism

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established in 1830, shortly after *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* was published. The church was “restored” by the prophet Joseph Smith. At 14, Joseph, born in Vermont but living in Palmyra, New York, claimed to have had a vision, in which God informed him of his mission to restore the true religion.

At 17, Joseph reported that an angel named Moroni directed him to a hidden manuscript preserved on golden plates and written in an unknown language. Smith’s translation narrates the story of how Middle Eastern exiles, associated with the so-called Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, came to America in 600 B.C.E., how the resurrected Jesus later had preached to these now-native American tribes, and how one tribe of Christian converts, the Nephites, were reduced by wars to only Mormon and his son, Moroni.

Before their deaths, they buried this narration in 384 C.E., to be recovered in a “latter day” when their spiritual descendants would restore the true faith. Smith’s community, identifying itself as the restoration of this ancient faith (authentic Christianity), was forced by harassment to leave New York and move first to Kirtland, Ohio (1832), and then to Independence, Missouri (1838).

They eventually settled in Illinois on the Mississippi and built the city of Nauvoo, which would become

in the early 1840s the largest city in the state. Smith, who began taking many other wives in addition to his first wife Emma Hale, advanced the general practice of polygamy as an ordinance of the church.

Despite his enormous popularity and prosperity, such that he was able to mount a viable candidacy for the U.S. presidency, Smith’s practice of polygamy led disillusioned ex-members to establish a newspaper designed to expose him as a fraud and suppress his political ambitions. Eventually, a riot led to the burning of the newspaper office, and Joseph and his brother, Hyrum, were arrested. While detained in a Carthage jail, a lynch mob murdered both men.

After Smith’s death, the church split. The largest group, following their new leader Brigham Young, migrated in 1847 to Salt Lake City, Utah. This group withdrew support for polygamy in 1890. The second group, now known as the Community of Christ (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), followed Smith’s wife Emma back to its current home in Independence, Missouri. They rejected polygamy immediately and have attempted to maintain a theology closer to mainstream Christian thought.

*The Book of Mormon*, read by literary critics as an early American romance based on Bible stories, is for the Utah church merely the first of many revelations, which early on included Smith’s *Doctrine and Covenants* and *The Pearl of Great Price*. The doctrines of progressive revelation (in which leaders are divinely inspired with teachings for a developing community)



Mormon pioneers on the trail in 1847: Following the death of Joseph Smith, many in the Mormon Church headed west to Salt Lake City, Utah. The second group, the Community of Christ, followed Smith’s wife Emma back to Independence, Missouri.

and progressive spirituality (in which believers are destined to become divine beings) form the framework of Mormon theology.

However, the most contentious point with critics is the secrecy of Mormon Temple practices. Clearly, church membership has not been hindered by such clandestine behavior. In 1947, the community reached the million mark and today it has risen to over 12 million. By the beginning of the 21st century, this aggressive missionary church could boast 200 million members worldwide.

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RICK M. ROGERS

## Mughal dynasty (decline and fall)

Descended from both Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, the Mughal dynasty originated in Central Asia. It became the strongest dynasty to rule India, lasting from 1526 to 1858. The Mughal dynasty reached its height under Akbar, who encouraged reconciliation among his subjects by encouraging intermarriage between Hindus and Muslims and appointed competent administrators. His empire stretched from the Himalayas to the Hindu Kush and included present-day India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The Mughal Empire passed its zenith after Akbar.

Shah Jahan, although famous for the construction of the Taj Mahal, was an unsuccessful military leader. He launched three failed campaigns against the ruler of southern Afghanistan, was defeated in his attempt to regain the ancient Mughal patrimony in Central Asia, was repulsed four times in his efforts to extend rule from northern to southern Deccan, and lost an effort to oust the Portuguese from its coast. The cumulative effect of these campaigns was the imposition of higher taxes on the peasantry, whose loyalty to the Mughals began to diminish. This became more evident under Aurangzeb. The fortunes of both the empire and the dynasty decreased in the last half of Aurangzeb's reign. Overwhelmingly ambitious, he spent the last 28 years of his

reign campaigning in the south to conquer and unite the subcontinent from the south tip to the northern Himalayas and Hindu Kush. Although initially successful, many areas quickly revolted.

Aurangzeb's wars took a toll on the empire's resources, which became strained. This led to peasant resistance and flight, thereby increasing the burden on the remaining peasants. Aurangzeb's strict Islam and intolerance toward other religions also roused opposition. He destroyed Hindu temples and schools, dismissed Hindu officials from government, and reimposed the tax on non-Muslims. These policies led to the rise of the greatest military opponents of the Mughals—the Marathas and the Sikhs. Under the leadership of Shivaji, the Marathas in the northwest Deccan carried out resistance and by 1750 controlled large sections of central and northern India. The Sikhs, originally a peaceful sect that attempted to synthesize Hindu and Muslim beliefs, became militarized by persecution and by 1750 controlled much of the Punjab in northeast India. The Hindu Rajputs in northcentral India, initially won over by Akbar's policies, became hostile and began to attack the Mughals. Even within the Delhi area, Hindu peasants called the Jats became radicalized and also revolted.

After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, most of the 10 Mughal emperors who followed him between 1707 and 1857 were little more than figureheads for one of the contending parties for power in India. Court feuds and civil wars also led to disintegration as Muslim dynasties arose in south Deccan, the eastern province of Oudh, and northeast Bengal between 1704 and 1720. One Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, attempted to repair some of the damage by placating the Hindus but with little success, partly due to his own indolence and foreign invasions. Mughal power never recovered from the invasion of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah, who sacked Delhi in 1739, carried away the fabled peacock throne, symbol of the dynasty, and plundered northern India. Even more devastating was the invasion of Ahmed Khan, ruler of eastern Persia, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and portions of northern India. He sacked Delhi, defeating the Marathas and Rajputs, but his empire disintegrated after his death in 1772.

Mughal power also suffered with the rise of European merchants, especially the British and French who replaced the earlier Portuguese and Dutch. In 1691 the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY received a charter from the Mughal government not only to trade but to collect taxes in what is now Calcutta. In time, it became progressively more involved in politics; by 1765, the company controlled all Bengal, the richest province of

India. By 1800 Britain had ousted the French from India. By 1818 the company either directly or indirectly ruled most of India. By the 19th century, Mughal emperors had become mere pensioners of the company. The last Mughal emperor was deposed and exiled to Burma after the INDIAN MUTINY in 1857.

There were many causes for the decline and fall of the Mughal dynasty. First, the lack of tolerance shown to the non-Islamic majority by later Mughal emperors; second, the imperial overreach by emperors in terms of military expeditions which strained resources after 1680; third, the diversity of India's ethnic and religious groups as well as strong traditions of regionalism which served to weaken the center; and fourth, the superior technological and financial expertise which the West, including England, enjoyed after 1500 gave it an advantage dealing with Islamic emperors who had fallen behind. Finally, and perhaps most important, the Mughal dynasty remained a minority in India, distinct in religion, culture, and language from the majority of subjects. Given the circumstances, its fall was perhaps inevitable.

See also SIKH WARS.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Muhammad Ali

(1769–1848) *Egyptian ruler*

An Ottoman janissary of Albanian origin, Muhammad Ali became the founder of modern Egypt. Following the Napoleonic invasion and short-lived British occupation of Egypt, Muhammad Ali and a number of other janissary forces were sent to reassert Ottoman control in 1802. Muhammad Ali had outmaneuvered rival janissaries for leadership by 1806.

Muhammad Ali then cleverly aligned himself with the weaker of the perennially warring Mamluk factions that had previously governed Egypt to defeat the stron-

ger. He eliminated the remaining Mamluks by inviting them to a celebration at the heavily fortified citadel overlooking Cairo in 1811. Once the Mamluks were securely inside the high walls of the fort, the janissaries massacred them, leaving Muhammad Ali the sole ruler. Pledging allegiance to the Ottoman sultan, he was appointed pasha of Egypt and began an ambitious program to increase the strength of his armed forces and to build a new navy. The army was conscripted from the Egyptian fellaheen, or peasantry, and ultimately reached over 100,000 men.

To finance military expenditures, Muhammad Ali increased taxes and established government monopolies over the economy. Monopolies controlled the sale of oil, coffee, and Egyptian products including tobacco, grains, sugar, and cotton. He also moved the Egyptian economy toward the production of cash crops, especially tobacco and the highly desirable Egyptian long-grain cotton. Through government support, Muhammad Ali underwrote the creation of small industries in textile manufacturing, food processing, and some armaments. This began a process of industrial modernization that was largely halted by the British occupation of Egypt at the end of the 19th century. The irrigation systems were expanded and water and road transport systems were developed throughout the area. Medical care improved, although cholera and malaria remained problems. A new administrative elite was created. The top officials were predominantly of Turkish origins; like Muhammad Ali, they spoke Turkish rather than Arabic.

Although he was illiterate, Muhammad Ali valued education and established a military training school and sent students at government expense to European universities. Muhammad Ali made one graduate Rifa'a Rafi al-Tahtawi director of a new School of Languages; the school was responsible for the translation of many European, especially French, political and philosophic works. The Bulaq Press published hundreds of books in Arabic, including many translations from European works. These influenced a new generation of Arab and Islamic reformers in the late 19th century. An official gazette was also issued.

As leader of Egypt, Muhammad Ali was involved in four major wars. At the behest of the Ottoman sultan, he sent his sons Abbas and Ibrahim to crush the puritanical Islamic reformist movement, the WAHHABIS, who threatened Ottoman control over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in the Hijaz from 1811–81. The Wahhabis were defeated in their stronghold in the Nejd (in northern modern-day Saudi Arabia). After making a pilgrimage to Mecca, Muhammad Ali withdrew his troops in 1824,

thereby allowing the Wahhabis to regroup and emerge as an even stronger force at the end of the century.

In 1820 Muhammad Ali launched military campaigns into the Sudan. He wanted new recruits and slaves for his army and hoped to obtain gold to help finance his army and navy. Although his troops were militarily successful, most of the army recruits and slaves died of diseases and the gold resources failed to materialize.

In 1822 the ongoing GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE threatened Ottoman control in the Balkans, and the sultan again called on Muhammad Ali to use his new navy and army to defeat the Greeks and their allies. Muhammad Ali took the island of Crete in 1824 and met with initial success. But in 1827 his new fleet was destroyed at the Battle of Navarino Bay. Muhammad Ali was ready to negotiate, and he lost Crete to the British in 1840.

He then turned his attention toward Palestine and Syria, where he hoped to enhance his prestige as well as stop the flow of draft dodgers from Egypt who sought to escape the much-hated state conscription. He also hoped to obtain wood to rebuild his navy. Syria had suffered under a long period of Ottoman misrule and initially offered little opposition to Muhammad Ali's troops, who under Ibrahim's command took Acre in 1832. Ibrahim advanced to Konya, deep inside the Anatolian Peninsula, and might have advanced to Istanbul, but he was stopped by Muhammad Ali. Although he wanted further territory, Muhammad Ali recognized that the European powers, who were engaged in a long-term diplomatic rivalry over the so-called EASTERN QUESTION, or what to do about the weakened Ottoman Empire, would not allow it to collapse. When Russia offered to support the sultan in the war against Muhammad Ali, Great Britain, which opposed Russian advances in the Black Sea, stepped in to force negotiations. Under the Kutahya Convention of 1833, Muhammad Ali retained control over Greater Syria in exchange for a small yearly tribute to the sultan. He thereby controlled key trade routes and the Muslim holy cities in Arabia.

Ibrahim was made governor of Syria, but efficient tax collection and conscription led to local dissent and rebellions. Wishing to reassert his authority, Sultan Mahmud II was confident that his newly reformed army would be able to defeat Muhammad Ali. Ottoman forces attacked in 1838, but at the Battle of Nazib in northern Syria, Ibrahim routed the Ottoman army in 1839. Fearing Muhammad Ali's mounting power and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain intervened. Britain rallied the support of Russia, Prussia, and Austria and offered Muhammad Ali control

over Egypt for life if he immediately agreed to a settlement. When Muhammad Ali refused, a four-power blockade was put in place, and British marines took Acre in 1840. Recognizing defeat, Muhammad Ali withdrew from Syria.

In 1841 the sultan granted Muhammad Ali and his heirs the hereditary right to rule Egypt as khedives; however, the Egyptian army was limited to 18,000, a huge decrease from its size during the zenith of Muhammad Ali's power. In 1848 Ibrahim, the presumed heir, died, before his father. Thus when the ailing Muhammad Ali died shortly after Ibrahim, his grandson Abbas succeeded to the throne. The conservative Abbas halted many of Muhammad Ali's development projects, but they were resumed after Said, Muhammad Ali's son and Abbas's uncle, and later Ismail, another of Muhammad Ali's grandsons, became khedives. The dynasty established in Egypt by Muhammad Ali survived until it was overthrown in a military-led revolution in 1952.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS; BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT; ISMAIL, KHEDIVE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Muhammad al-Mahdi

(1848–1885) *religious leader*

Muhammad Ahmad Abdullah was born on the island of Lebab on the Nile River. He had a traditional Islamic education and as a child committed the Qur'an to memory. Known for his fervent religious belief, as a young man he secluded himself in a cave to meditate. Following in the pattern of the prophet Muhammad, Muhammad Abdullah began to receive revelations that he shared through teaching and preaching. In 1881 he declared himself the Mahdi or "rightly guided one"; according to Islamic tradition, the Mahdi was to appear to foreshadow the end of an age. The Mahdi was sent to establish the faith and custom of the prophet. The Mahdist movement in the Sudan was a combination of

nationalist and religious belief and was seen by many as the beginning of Sudanese nationalism.

The Mahdi established his state in a power vacuum when the Ottoman Empire, the ostensible governing authority, and Egypt, in the midst of the URABI REVOLT, were weak and torn by revolts and local problems. In addition to his undoubted religious appeal and charisma, the Mahdi's refusal to pay Ottoman or Egyptian taxes attracted further support among the Sudanese. The taxes levied by the Mahdi were generally lower than those of the Ottomans. He garnered tribal support and crushed internal uprisings. In 1882 the Mahdi took el Obeid, the capital of western Sudan. He struck money in the name of the new Mahdist government, pacified most of the country, and ousted the remaining Turkish garrisons. He established a theocratic state based on religious law. The Mahdist movement was another of the 19th-century Islamic revival movements such as the Sanusiya in Libya and the WAHHABIS in Arabia.

Alarmed by the rising new power in the south, the British who had occupied Egypt in 1882, sent a military expedition led by William Hicks to defeat the Mahdi. Without proper supply routes or knowledge of the local terrain, Hicks, with a force of Egyptian soldiers, moved deep into Sudanese territory where his expedition was cut to pieces by the Mahdi's army in 1883. Cut off from Egypt and outside supplies, foreign missionaries and adventurers in the Sudan were taken prisoner by the Mahdi; some remained under virtual house arrest for years.

As the Mahdi moved closer to the capital of Khartoum, CHARLES "CHINESE" GORDON, so named for his role in defeating the Boxer Rebellion, was sent to evacuate the remaining British forces. A Christian zealot, Gordon believed it was his mission to stop slavery in the Sudan and to secure the territory. Ignoring orders to withdraw, he was trapped in Khartoum as the Mahdi's army lay siege to the city. The siege lasted from 1884 until late January 1885. A British relief expedition was sent to rescue Gordon, but before it arrived the Mahdi's forces, known as dervishes in the West, took the city. Against the Mahdi's orders, Gordon was killed and beheaded. His head was then presented to the Mahdi as a sign of the victory. The British relief forces arrived on the outskirts of Khartoum two days too late and, recognizing their untenable position, promptly retreated back to Egypt. Gordon became a martyr to the cause of British imperialism. Although the British prime minister WILLIAM GLADSTONE favored withdrawal from the Sudan, the

British public, including Queen VICTORIA, were outraged and demanded that Gordon's death be avenged and the Mahdi destroyed.

The Mahdi died shortly after the taking of Khartoum in 1885. He was succeeded by Abdallahi, as the khalifa, or companion. Abdallahi struck money with an Omdurman mint mark and legislated proclamations and decisions on points of law. He defeated the Abyssinians (in present-day Ethiopia) in 1889, but shortly thereafter the Mahdist state faced internal uprisings, a plague of locusts (a recurring ecological problem in much of Africa), and a resulting famine.

Meanwhile, the British remained determined to defeat the Mahdist state. The British military hero Herbert Kitchener was appointed commander in chief of Egyptian forces to take the Sudan. Avoiding the mistakes of previous expeditions, Kitchener extended the railway system deep into southern Egypt to ensure efficient movement of supplies and men. In 1898, Kitchener met the Mahdist army at the BATTLE OF OMDURMAN, where with superior armaments his army easily defeated the larger but poorly armed dervishes. Kitchener then moved to eradicate any traces of the Mahdist state, even destroying the Mahdi's tomb. However, the movement remained a latent force in the Sudan, and the Mahdi's heirs emerged as political leaders when the Sudan became independent in the second half of the 20th century.

See also SUDAN, CONDOMINIUM IN.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## music

The period from 1750 until 1900 covered the European musical periods of the classicists and romantics. Most European countries had official orchestras, with smaller bands of musicians performing in stately homes, town halls, and other places, and folk music traditions existing throughout Europe, where performers would play at fairs, festivals, and other occasions. However, there was a stronger innovative musical tradition in Germany,

where many rulers and states had their own courts and competed with rivals as cultural centers.

### GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

In Austria and the German lands, there were a number of important patrons of music, one of the foremost in the mid-18th century being the Habsburg rulers of Austria, although the war over Silesia—the War of Austrian Succession and the SEVEN YEARS' WAR—were extremely costly, causing Empress MARIA THERESA to economize on her court music. In this period Johann Georg Reutter continued to write church music and opera, and Gottlieb Muffat wrote for the harpsichord and the organ.

The elector Palatine also maintained considerable musical talent in his court at Mannheim, recruiting musicians such as the Bohemians Johann Stamitz, Franz Xaver Richter, and Christian Cannabich, as well as a number of Italians. By contrast the Prussian court at Berlin tended to favor more academic music, with Carl Heinrich Graun being the *Kapellmeister* (director of music) for Frederick the Great. In charge of the Berlin opera, he also wrote *The Death of Jesus*, a Passion cantata. He was later joined by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, the son of Johann Sebastian Bach. Mention should also be made of musicians in Hamburg such as Georg Philip Telemann, director of the Leipzig Opera in 1702, and the Hamburg Opera from 1732 to 1738.

The great age of classicism in Europe started in the 1770s with renewed confidence and increasing wealth at many central European courts. This period saw the Austrian cities of Vienna and Salzburg emerging as centers for this new musical style, with G. C. Wagenseil, a composer of many symphonies, quartets, and piano concertos, and also J. B. Vanhal. Another musician during this period was Leopold Mozart, father of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and an important composer in his own right.

Franz Josef Haydn managed to get a position in the choir at St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna, and then joined the household of the famous Esterhazy family, as their *Kapellmeister* from 1766.

It was not long before the Italian Antonio Salieri emerged as an important musician at the Habsburg court, with his youthful prodigy Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart quickly rising to prominence. Mozart traveled to Italy when he was young, and there he heard many other musicians, remaining in contact with many of them throughout his life. As a result he had a wide knowledge of contemporary European

compositions and was able to compose new music, including 21 operas.

His work included *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute*, as well as 27 concertos, piano trios, and serenades. He worked at the Austrian court in Vienna under Emperor Joseph II, dying from renal failure. A cousin of Mozart's wife was Carl von Weber. Also a youthful prodigy, he wrote a number of concertos and then the operas *Sylvana* and *Abu Hassan*.

### THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The forces of the ENLIGHTENMENT, which came to influence events around the French Revolution, led to the romantic era, which saw a decline in the prestige and wealth of the Austrian court and the rise in importance of France. Franz Josef Haydn died in 1809 on exactly the same day that NAPOLEON I entered Vienna after defeating Austria. In spite of this decline, there were still a number of Austrian musicians who helped Vienna retain its prominent position, albeit briefly. Italian Luigi Boccherini composed several hundred compositions for string quartets. Franz Schubert was a prolific composer, writing 145 songs in 1815 alone, including nine in one single day. These included some of his best-known works, although critics feel his finest music dates from the 1820s. Another important German composer of this period was Robert Schumann, who produced a choral work titled *Paradise and the Peri* and was director of the Dusseldorf Orchestra from 1849 until 1853.

By this time new composers had emerged, notably Ludwig van Beethoven, who developed from a classicist from the 1780s into the leading romantic composer of the 19th century. He rose to international prominence with his symphonies, and his music was seen as breaking from the classical tradition and being unpredictable, clearly influenced by Haydn and Mozart. Beethoven used a much greater range of tempos, rhythms, harmonies, and key changes than most of his contemporaries.

Beethoven initially admired Napoleon I and dedicated his Third Symphony, to him, before renaming it the *Eroica* Symphony when he became disillusioned after Bonaparte crowned himself emperor. Beethoven later went on to compose his Fifth Symphony, known as The Emperor Symphony, and the Ninth Symphony, The Choral Symphony. His other work included the opera *Fidelio*, originally entitled *Leonora*. He is also well known for his popular piano pieces Moonlight Sonata and Für Elise. Some of Beethoven's contemporaries included Johann Ladislaus Dussek, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, and the pianist Ferdinand Ries.

## THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

The romantic period also saw cultural influence from other parts of the world, with music in the Americas becoming influenced by Indian musical traditions alongside a growing appreciation of the indigenous cultural traditions throughout the Americas. This gradually led to some changes in music in the newly independent United States and also in Spain, with some of the rhythms gradually spreading around Europe. In Bohemia, Antonin Dvořák composed *From the New World*, which shows influences of African-American musical traditions.

The emerging power—political and financial—of France saw Paris become a center of music from the last decade of the 18th century into the early 19th century. The Belgian-born composer François-Joseph Gossec worked in the French capital throughout the Revolution and enduring changes of government, with Nicholas D'Alayrac composing many comic operas in the early French Republic. Later French composers include Hector Berlioz, who composed many symphonies, including the *Symphonie Fantastique*, and *Romeo and Juliet*; and also Gioacchino Antonio Rossini from Italy who composed *Le Comte Ory* and *William Tell* in France. Jacques Offenbach moved to Paris from Germany and became famous with his *Orpheus in the Underworld* and *La Belle Hélène*. Other French composers include Charles Gounod, composer of *Faust* and *Romeo and Juliet*; Léo Delibes, composer of ballets including *Coppelia* and *Sylvia*; and Jules Massenet, who produced music for the ballet *Le Cid*.

With the rise of German nationalism and the increasing connections between France and western Germany, many new composers became important, including Giacomo Meyerbeer, Camille Saint-Saëns, Georges Bizet, Emmanuel Chabrier, César Franck, and Gabriel Fauré. Felix Mendelssohn composed many pieces of music for strings and piano, including the oratorio *Elijah*. Later the increasing political unity of Germany coincided with the popularity of Johannes Brahms and Richard Wagner. Wagner became an opera conductor at Dresden and produced *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhäuser* before spending years perfecting *The Ring of the Nibelungs*, *Siegfried*, and *Tristan and Isolde*. His music came to epitomize German national identity during the late 19th century, building on Teutonic legends and influenced by Greek tragedies and the philosophies of Friedrich Nietzsche and Arthur Schopenhauer. Austrian composer Johann Strauss composed over 400 waltzes, including *An der Schönen Blauen Donau*, better known in English as the *Blue*

*Danube*, and Richard Strauss, not related to Johann, composed German operatic concertos.

## BRITAIN AND THE REST OF EUROPE

In Britain, the most famous composer of the period was Sir Arthur Sullivan, who wrote the music for operas for which W. S. Gilbert wrote the words. Their operas included *Trial by Jury*, *H.M.S. Pinafore*, *The Pirates of Penzance*, *Patience*, *Iolantha*, *The Mikado*, *Ruddigore*, *The Yeoman of the Guard*, and *The Gondoliers*.

In eastern Europe, much of the new musical traditions came from Poland, even though Poland as an independent nation had ceased to exist. Frédéric Chopin, who had a French father and Polish mother, embodied both western and eastern European concepts. Most of his music was composed for solo piano, and with the increase in the number of pianos throughout the world, it was not long before his music was being played all over the globe. In Hungary Franz Liszt became popular with his oratorio *Christus*; Gustav Mahler, best known for his symphonies, directed the Budapest Opera in 1888–1891; and Franz Lehár conducted military bands in Vienna and wrote *The Merry Widow*. In Italy Niccolò Paganini was an important violinist and composer from Genoa, and Vincenzo Bellini composed a number of pieces of music and had an important influence on Giuseppe Verdi, whose operas included *Rigoletto*, *Il Trovatore*, and *Aida*, composed for the opening of the Suez Canal. Other important Italian musicians were Gaetano Donizetti, whose operas included *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Lucia di Lamermoor*, and *La Favorita*; and Giacomo Puccini, who composed *La Bohème* and later *Madama Butterfly*. In Spain the major composers included Isaac Albeniz, Emmanuel Chabrier, composer of *Espana*, and Enrique Granados y Campina, who became a prominent pianist. Norwegian composers included Edvard Grieg, who wrote, among other pieces, music for Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, and Rikard Nordraak.

In Russia prominent composers of this period include folk musician Mikhail Glinka; Alexander Dargomizsky; Alexander Borodin; Modest Petrovich Mussorgsky from Ukraine, who composed much work including *Boris Gudonov*; Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, composer of *The Golden Cockerel*; Alexander Nikolayevich Scriabin, who wrote mazurkas and piano concertos; and most notably Piotr Illyich Tchaikovsky. Tchaikovsky's great works include *Swan Lake*, *Eugene Onegin*, *Sleeping Beauty*, the *Nutcracker*, the *Pathétique* Symphony, and the *1812 Overture*. Mention should also be made of Sergei Rachmaninov, whose First Symphony was performed in 1897, and Jean Sibelius, whose work *En Saga* was played for the first time in 1892.

## THE REST OF THE WORLD

Outside Europe and the Americas, music in Africa involved heavy use of percussion, especially drums, with lutes and zithers also being common in northern and Saharan Africa. Drums and dance played an important part in religious ritual in much of sub-Saharan Africa.

In the Arab and Islamic worlds, chanting of the Qu'ran remained the most esteemed musical form. Even in present-day Islamic societies, such as Malaysia, national competitions in Qu'ranic chanting are held for both men and women. Some local and instrumental improvisational performances were considered the Arab equivalent to classical music in the West. The oud (a short-necked lute), tambourine, *qanun*, tabla (a small, hand-held drum), and various flutes were the main instruments. Numerous authors from Morocco, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey wrote about musical theory and the lawfulness of singing and musical performances from the 17th to 19th centuries. There was also a lively tradition of folk music and dance.

In India musicians used a very wide range of musical instruments such as the two-stringed lute, the sitar, the tabla, the *sarangi*, and the *tambura*, with much of the music being associated with ritual religious festivals. *Ghazals*—classical Urdu love songs—were popular throughout the year. Chinese music tended to rely on percussion, with drums and cymbals heavily used in theatrical performances, but use of the flute and stringed instruments were also common. Mention should also be made of gamelan bands (musical ensemble bands), which remain common in Java and Bali in modern-day Indonesia. They trace their origins back to medieval times, and during the 18th century most villages in Java and Bali had at least one gamelan—the orchestra being imbued with special spiritual significance. Japanese court musicians were formed into orchestras playing for members of the imperial family and to accompany plays.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Muslim rebellions in China

The three Muslim rebellions against the QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY in China in the 19th century were caused by economic, ethnic, and religious problems. The Xinjiang (Sinkiang) Rebellion also had diplomatic implications.

The first was the rebellion in Yunnan, known in the West as the Panthay Rebellion, from a corruption of the Burmese word for “Muslim.” Between 20–30 percent of the population of Yunnan, located in southwestern China, is Muslim, descended from Central Asian Muslim troops sent by Kubilai Khan to garrison the region in the 13th century. They were discriminated against by the majority non-Muslims and the Han and Manchu officials because of their distinctive lifestyles. Disputes over mining rights led to the rebellion in 1855 under Du Wenxiu (Tu Wen-hsiu), who proclaimed himself Sultan Sulieman of a Muslim kingdom with capital at Dali (Tali). After enjoying initial successes, a new governor appointed by the Qing was able to eliminate the rebels in 1873. Du sought British help in vain and committed suicide.

The second Muslim rebellion occurred in Shaanxi (Shensi) and Gansu (Kansu) Provinces in northwestern China between 1862 and 1873. It is also called the Tungan Rebellion, after the approximately 14 million Chinese Muslims in these provinces who were of mixed Central Asian and Chinese descent; although largely assimilated in language and customs, they nevertheless suffered from discrimination. The rebellion broke out in 1862 as a result of the incursion of Taiping rebels into Shaanxi, igniting local grievances. The situation was very confused because the Muslims were divided into the warring Old and New Sects and was further complicated by incursion of another rebel group, the Nian (Nien), into Shaanxi in 1866, who joined forces with the Muslims. The Qing court appointed ZHO ZONGTANG (Tso Tsung-T'ang), a great general-statesman who had helped defeat the TAIPING REBELLION, governor-general of Shaanxi-Gansu, in charge of suppressing the Tungan rebels. Zuo could not take up this task until



he had suppressed the NIAN REBELLION in 1868, after which he spent six years of hard campaigning before pacifying these two provinces.

Xinjiang, in the far northwestern part of China, was its historic gateway to the West along the ancient Silk Road. After several campaigns it was conquered in 1759 by Emperor QIANLONG (Ch'ien-lung), who expelled the previously influential religious leaders called *khojas* to Khokand beyond China's border. After 1759 Xinjiang was governed by a military governor from Ili, who delegated local chieftains called *begs* to control the Muslims called Uighurs. It was garrisoned by Manchu banner troops concentrated on the north and south of the Tianshan Mountains. In 1864 as the Uighurs rebelled, Yakub Beg (1820–77), a Khokandian adventurer, invaded Xinjiang. Preoccupied with rebellions elsewhere, the Qing government was unable to respond; thus Yakub Beg gained control of parts of northern Xinjiang (Kashgaria) and proclaimed himself ruler. Russia took advantage of China's disarray to occupy Ili.

Xinjiang became part of the Great Game between Great Britain and Russia for control of Central Asia. After suppressing the Muslim rebellion in Shanxi and Gansu, the Qing court appointed Zuo Zongtang imperial commissioner to suppress the Xinjiang Rebellion. An experienced and careful commander, he was able to crush the rebels in 1877. Yakub Beg committed suicide, and Xinjiang was pacified. Russia was compelled to restore the Ili to China in the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881. On Zuo's recommendation Xinjiang received the status of province and was fully integrated into the Qing Empire.

The three Muslim rebellions were indicative of the decline of the Qing dynasty. Their suppression, along with the defeat of other rebellions, would give a new lease on life to the dynasty.

See also ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## mutiny on the *Bounty* (1790)

In 1790 the crew of the Her Majesty's Armed Vessel (HMAV) *Bounty* and the Polynesians accompanying

them arrived to populate Pitcairn Island. They found traces of earlier Polynesian settlements, but no indigenous people were resident at the time of their arrival.

Over 2,000 accounts of the mutiny and the subsequent settlement of Pitcairn have been told, often contradictory and must be regarded as part myth, part fiction. Also, five motion pictures have captured the tale of the *Bounty*. Vessels from the Royal Navy discovered Pitcairn Island in 1762, but the rough sea prevented any landings. It rose to fame from the events that unfolded on the *Bounty* in 1789.

The trader *Bethia* was armed and renamed HMAV *Bounty* and under command of Captain William Bligh sailed for the South Seas on December 23, 1787, with orders to collect seeds of the breadfruit tree to help feed African slaves in transit to the Americas.

After some difficulties, the *Bounty* arrived in Tahiti on October 30, 1788, and stayed for five months while the seeds were collected. The *Bounty* left Tahiti but had only been at sea for three weeks when some of the crew mutinied under the leadership of Fletcher Christian. The Royal Navy in those days was known for its harsh discipline. Also, the pleasant lifestyle on Tahiti and the fact that several of the crew had engaged in intimate relations with local women might have inspired the subordination. The events and roles in the mutiny remain disputed. The Hollywood version shows the captain of the *Bounty*, William Bligh, as a inhuman tyrant, while recent research suggests that Christian may have been suffering from a mental condition that led to irrational behavior. The captain and 18 loyal crewmembers were cast adrift in open boats and later picked up at sea.

The *Bounty* returned to Tahiti to pick up supplies, livestock, and to take some of the native Polynesians back with them. Sixteen mutineers had decided to stay in Tahiti, but Christian rightfully thought it would be too risky—the Royal Navy captured those that stayed behind. Christian and the others continued to search for an isolated island to settle on. On January 15, 1790, the *Bounty* happened upon Pitcairn. Their cargo was brought ashore, and on January 23 the *Bounty* was set on fire so it would not be spotted and reveal the presence of the mutineers on the island.

The soil was fertile and the climate warm. A settlement was established at what is now known as Adamstown, and a kind of apartheid developed. The male Tahitians did not receive any land, were treated like slaves, and had to share the women that were left after the mutineers chose their spouses. The Tahitian men rebelled, and several mutineers were killed, Christian

among them. But the rebels fell out over the women, and the mutineers killed them.

Peace was eventually maintained, but having learned how to distil spirits from local produce, drunkenness plagued the community, until John Adams, the last remaining mutineer, had a religious experience. He started holding mass and showed leadership, bringing about some order.

The community developed a unique mix of Victorian and Tahitian culture, but the outside world would reach them sooner or later. Ships had been sighted, some even having come ashore without contact being established. An American whaling vessel, the *Topaz*, reported the presence of the community in 1808, but it was not until 1814 that British naval vessels visited Pitcairn. They took pity on Adams, given his place in the community and his piety. He had requested a resettlement of the islanders, since population growth made their resources meager. Adams died in 1829, and in 1831 the entire community was moved to Tahiti. There they experienced disease and discovered that their culture was too European to thrive in Tahiti. That same year, they went back to Pitcairn.

Adams and his successors had no formal powers, but increasing interaction with the outside world exposed the need for legitimate governance. A constitution was drawn up in 1838, making the islands a British colony, giving universal suffrage for the election of a chief magistrate to anyone over the age of 18 and who intended to stay on the island for more than five years.

A new emigration followed in 1856 because of overpopulation (193 people) on Pitcairn, this time to the Norfolk Island that was uninhabited. But again some chose to return to Pitcairn, first in 1858, then in 1864. Meanwhile, visitors to Pitcairn had vandalized

the houses, and the gardens were overgrown. Selling handicrafts to passing vessels and salvaging provided some extra income, but they could no longer trade any surplus crops for needed supplies. Missionaries and sailors that the islanders had rescued offered some gifts, and Queen VICTORIA even sent them an organ.

Religion had played a prominent part in the life of the inhabitants on Pitcairn. However, a visit by American Seventh-day Adventists caught them in a time of social crisis and with lack of unifying leadership, and the Anglican Church was replaced. The conversion spurred social and political reform. Education was improved, a newspaper was founded, and a judiciary and parliament introduced. But the ill fortune that haunted the islanders since returning from Norfolk would not relent. The parliament was removed, and the chief magistrate was reintroduced in 1904. In the 20th century, communications improved, with about one ship a week arriving at Pitcairn. The population peaked at 233 in 1937 but had dropped to 40 by the turn of the millennium. Most of those who left emigrated to New Zealand.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET



# N



## Naoroji, Dadabhai

(1825–1917) *Indian nationalist*

Dadabhai Naoroji, known as the Grand Old Man of India, was a leading Indian nationalist and critic of the British economic exploitation of India. He was born into a Parsi (Zoroastrian) family in Bombay. The Parsi had fled Persia in the seventh century to avoid forcible conversion to Islam and established a colony in Bombay where they prospered through trade with the British and Portuguese.

This background was helpful to Naoroji, as he spent much of his adult life in Great Britain and established the first Indian business firm in that country. He was also the first Indian (in fact, the first Asian) to be elected to the British parliament. When taking his seat he was allowed to swear on a book of Avesta (Zoroastrian scripture) instead of the Bible.

Naoroji was educated in mathematics and natural science at Elphinstone College and taught there before moving to Great Britain in 1855. In Britain he worked as a businessman and was involved in politics and also became a professor of Gujarati at University College, London. Naoroji continued to travel between Britain and India and remained active in Indian politics, serving as the prime minister of Baroda state (an Indian princely state) and as a member of the legislative council of Bombay. Naoroji founded the Indian National Association, which later merged with the Indian National Congress (INC) and served three times as president of the INC.

Naoroji was a tenacious critic of British economic policy in India. He developed the drain theory, which charged that Britain was draining money and resources from India to Britain. To amass evidence for this theory, he examined import and export figures for India for 37 years and demonstrated that there was an annual discrepancy of about \$135 million in favor of Britain. Although economic exploitation of colonies was a common practice at the time (indeed opportunity for such exploitation was a principal reason why countries acquired colonies), Naoroji continued to write and speak against it, appealing to the British self-image as a nation that engaged in “fair play.”

Naoroji died in 1917, but left a legacy of influence that touched such great Indian figures as Mahatma Gandhi.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

## Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte)

(1769–1821) *French emperor and military leader*

Napoleon Bonaparte is regarded as one of the greatest military commanders in history, changing the map of Europe and developing new laws, civil codes, and educational systems that continue to the present day. He is recognized as one of the most famous men in history, being the subject of countless biographies, with one writer suggesting that only Jesus and Adolf Hitler have had more biographical studies written about them.

Napoleone Buonaparte, as his name was known in Italian, was born on August 15, 1769, at Ajaccio, Corsica, shortly after the island was ceded to France by Genoa. He was the fourth child, and the second surviving one, of Carlo Buonaparte, a lawyer, and his wife, Letizia (née Ramolino). The Buonapartes were descended from Tuscan nobility who had moved to Corsica in the 16th century, with Carlo Buonaparte marrying his wife when she was 14. In an interesting twist, Carlo Buonaparte disliked the idea of French rule over Corsica and joined the nationalist resistance movement of Pasquale Paoli. When Paoli fled after his defeat at the Battle of Ponte Novo on May 8, 1769, ending Corsica's brief experience of independence, the Buonapartes made an accommodation with the French, and Carlo became the assessor for the judicial district of Ajaccio in 1771. Seven years later, he managed to get his eldest two sons, Joseph and Napoleon, into the Collège d'Autun. Napoleon was nine years old.

### EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

Although Napoleon Bonaparte was a Corsican by birth and ancestry, in later life he never felt a huge affinity for the island; indeed he only visited it once after his rise to power. After the Collège d'Autun, Bonaparte spent five years at the Brienne Military College and then a year at the military academy in Paris. While he was at the military academy his father died, on February 24, 1785, leaving the family in difficult financial straits. Bonaparte graduated in September ranked 42nd in a class of 58, having assumed the position as head of the family, although he was not the oldest son. Bonaparte had become interested in mathematics and science.

His first military posting was as a second lieutenant in the artillery, being sent to Valence. There he became extremely interested in military strategy, writing his first book, *Lettres sur la Corse*, which expressed some of his early feelings for the island of his birth. He returned to Corsica soon afterward and in June 1788 rejoined his

regiment. By this time he had also become fascinated by many of the ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT, especially those of Rousseau and VOLTAIRE.

With the calling of the National Assembly in Paris in 1789, Pasquale Paoli had been allowed to return to Corsica, and Bonaparte wanted to go and join him. The Corsican nationalist, however, was upset that Bonaparte's father had deserted his cause, and Bonaparte returned to France, where, in April 1791, he was appointed first lieutenant of the 4th Regiment of Artillery at Valence. He also became active in politics, joining the Jacobin Club.

However, his emotional attachment was still with Corsica, and he returned there but had a falling out with Paoli, returning to metropolitan France, where he had been briefly listed as a deserter. In April 1792 war with Austria broke out, and Bonaparte's skills were needed by the artillery. Although he was promoted to captain, Bonaparte went back to Corsica yet again. There he sided with the Corsican Jacobins who were trying to prevent Paoli from getting Corsica to break away and become independent. Condemned by Paoli, the entire Buonaparte family fled to the French mainland, adopting the spelling "Bonaparte."

Bonaparte went to Nice, where the Jacobins had gradually come to dominate the republican movement. The monarchy had been abolished, and Bonaparte went to Marseille with his soldiers from the National Convention. To get to Marseille, he took them to Toulon, where he was appointed commander of the National Convention's artillery with the support of Antoine Saliceti, who was also from Corsica and a longtime family friend. In September Bonaparte was promoted to major and in October became adjutant general. He was involved in fighting at Toulon in December and forced the British troops there to evacuate the city. On December 22, 1793, at age 24, Bonaparte became a brigadier-general, one of the youngest generals in modern history, a feat subsequently bettered only by Francisco Franco.

### AFTER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

When Maximilien Robespierre fell from power in Paris in July 1794, Bonaparte was arrested on a charge of conspiracy and treason. As a Jacobin, Bonaparte had been seen as a follower of Robespierre, and even though he managed to get his freedom, he was not restored to his command but, instead, in March 1795, he was sent to La Vendée, where he was placed in command of the artillery of the Army of the West. Bonaparte was unhappy at the demotion and sought military preferment and even considered, albeit briefly, leaving France

altogether and serving under the sultan of the Ottoman Empire. However, Bonaparte decided to stay, and with a new constitution being introduced, royalists hoped that they would be able to seize power in Paris. The National Convention was worried but felt that they could trust Bonaparte. He was placed second in command of the troops in Paris and used them to shoot hundreds of royalists who were trying to storm the National Convention. This move earned him the gratitude of the politicians, and he was hailed as the savior of the French republic. He was immediately appointed commander of the army of the interior and an adviser to the Directory, as the new government was called.

It was during this period that Napoleon met Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, the widow of General Alexandre de Beauharnais, who had been executed during the Reign of Terror. She was from Martinique in the Caribbean, and Bonaparte fell in love with her. Bonaparte was then involved in cracking down on a protocommunist conspiracy launched by François Babeuf and sought to get command of the Army of Italy, the French army that was about to invade the Italian Peninsula. Filippo Buonarroti, an Italian who had known Bonaparte in Corsica, was appointed commander in chief of the Army of Italy in March 1796. It was a great disappointment for Bonaparte, who married Josephine on March 9 and two days later had to leave home to lead the army on March 11.

### RISE TO MILITARY PROMINENCE

When Bonaparte took command of his soldiers in Nice, he found that there were only 30,000 soldiers instead of the 43,000 he had been promised. Their morale was low, as they had been badly fed and not paid properly. He managed to turn them around and inspire them in battle. At Lodi he was first given the nickname *le petit caporal* (the little corporal). In early 1797 Bonaparte led his men to victory over the Austrians, forcing them to evacuate Lombardy. He then crushed the troops of the Papal States but decided against following up the order from Paris to dethrone the pope. As it was, Pius VI, who had condemned the execution of LOUIS XVI, was to die in French captivity in the following year.

Bonaparte invaded Austria and forced the Austrians to sign the Treaty of Campo Formio. This gave France control of the Low Countries (modern-day Belgium and the Netherlands) and also northern Italy and the Rhineland. Bonaparte then captured the city of Venice and forcing the abdication of the doge, Lodovico Manin, on May 12, 1797, ending its independence, and reorganized the map of Europe to create the pro-French

Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy. Bonaparte had taken 160,000 prisoners and had captured 2,000 cannons and 170 standards.

In March 1798 Bonaparte suggested putting together a military expedition to seize Egypt, then a part of the Ottoman Empire. The Directory were worried about the cost of this expedition but happy that it would take Napoleon a long way from France. On his way to Egypt, the French captured Malta on June 9, 1798, but were unable to find the great treasure they had expected to find. On July 1, the French reached Alexandria, after eluding the British navy.

In the Battle of the Pyramids, fought some four miles from the pyramids, a French force of 25,000 held off 100,000 Egyptians. By the end of the battle, the French had lost 300 men, and the Egyptians had lost 6,000. However, although the French were successful on land, the British under Admiral Horatio Nelson attacked the French at sea and destroyed the French navy. Napoleon then moved into Palestine and Syria, where the French captured Gaza, Jaffa, and Haifa. They killed large numbers of people in these attacks, but the French army itself was badly weakened.

### RISE TO POWER

Bonaparte had his eye on developments at home, and on August 29, 1799, he suddenly left the Middle East for France. In October he returned to Paris, where people were beginning to be dissatisfied with the Directory. Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, one of the members of the Directory, asked whether Bonaparte would support a coup d'état. On November 9 (18 Brumaire of the revolutionary calendar), Bonaparte led his soldiers into the Legislative Assembly and ejected the members, and Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos were declared the three provisional consuls. Sieyès hoped to run the new government but Bonaparte who had drafted a new constitution managed to make himself the First Consul, and then the First Consul for life. There was no mention in the new constitution of "liberty, equality, and fraternity."

The Consulate was a period when Bonaparte tried to introduce many long-lasting reforms, a number of which continue to the present day. In 1801 he negotiated the Concordat with the Roman Catholic Church, leading to a reconciliation between the church and the state. He also introduced the Napoleonic Code, whereby legal experts reformulated the entire legal system, codifying criminal and civil laws. There was also a meritocratic system by which Bonaparte himself

appointed ministers, members of the Council of State, generals, and civil servants. It profoundly changed the nature of France forever.

### CONQUEST OF EUROPE

While this was taking place, Bonaparte returned to Italy, which had been taken back by the Austrians while he had been preoccupied in Egypt. He entered Italy leading his men across the Alps, through the Great St. Bernard Pass. He met the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo and in one of his finest battles victory was eventually his. The Treaty of Lunéville of February 1801 not only confirmed the Treaty of Campo Formio but also extended French control. France was extended to cover the frontiers chosen by Julius Caesar in his creation of Gaul: the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the River Rhine. The Treaty of Amiens in March 1802 resulted in peace between the British and the French. The British withdrew some soldiers, but there was a disagreement over Malta, with Britain, in support of French royalists, declaring war on France in 1803. The French had used the period to sell the French possessions in North America to the United States. The LOUISIANA PURCHASE resulted in the United States's doubling in size after paying less than 3 cents per acre.

In January 1804 Bonaparte discovered that the royalists were plotting his assassination. He sent his soldiers several miles over the French border into the German state of Baden, where the duc d'Enghien from the house of Bourbon was seized and brought back to France. He was quickly tried and then shot. By this time Napoleon seemed to have decided to confirm himself in power by becoming an emperor, and the Empire was proclaimed on May 28, 1804. On December 2 at Notre-Dame de Paris, the imperial regalia was blessed by the pope, and Napoleon then crowned himself and Josephine. On May 26, 1805, in Milan Cathedral, he was crowned king of Italy. There were no major changes in the way France was run, except that succession was not hereditary, and some princely titles were handed out to members of his family, with an imperial nobility created in 1808.

Napoleon was involved in fighting the British from 1803 until 1805, hoping to be able to land troops on the British mainland. Initially the French moved many troops to Boulogne but they did not have control of the sea, which had prevented their previous planned attack in 1798. The French managed to persuade the Spanish to declare war on the British, with the hope that the Franco-Spanish fleet might be a match for the British.

However, on October 21, 1805, at the Battle of Trafalgar, the British under Admiral Horatio Nelson defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet, ending any real chance of an invasion of the British Isles. Nelson himself was killed in the battle despite the Royal Navy's victory.

With his failure at sea, the French decided to attack Austria again, and on November 13, 1805, Napoleon led his men into Vienna, the Austrian capital. On December 2 he defeated the combined Austrian and Russian forces at the Battle of Austerlitz, one of his greatest victories. The Treaty of Pressburg saw the Austrians give up all claims to influence in Italy and also cede Venetia and Dalmatia (Croatia) to the French, as well as giving land in Germany to France's ally Bavaria. In July 1806 Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine, placing western Germany under French protection and control.

Napoleon then turned his attention to the Prussians, and he defeated them at the Battles of Jena and Auerstädt. He then defeated the Russians at Eylau, and took the city of Warsaw, where he met and fell in love with Countess Marie Walewska, a Polish woman who hoped that she might persuade Napoleon to re-create Poland. Soon after this the Russian czar ALEXANDER I met with Napoleon at Tilsit in northern Prussia, and this summit led to the re-creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon was developing his concept of the continental system that would strangle the British economy by forbidding Britain to export goods to any European country, and this in turn would result in mass unemployment, making Britain collapse from within.

While most countries agreed to this, Portugal, Britain's oldest ally, refused to cooperate, so Napoleon decided to invade Portugal. He sent General Junot against the Portuguese, with Charles IV of Spain allowing French troops to go through his country. The French quickly captured Lisbon, and the Portuguese monarchy fled to Brazil. However, many Spanish were unhappy about the presence of French soldiers, and, Charles IV abdicated in favor of his son, who became FERDINAND VII. Napoleon saw this move as a perfect opportunity to remove the Spanish Bourbon family, and both Charles and Ferdinand, under pressure, abdicated. Napoleon put his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain. Although Spanish revolutionaries welcomed this, it was very unpopular in most of Spain and guerrilla war broke out.

With the British aiding the Portuguese and now the Spanish royalists united under the command of Arthur Wellesley—later the first duke of Wellington—the French started losing what became known as the Penin

sular War. Although Napoleon met with Czar Alexander I at the Congress of Erfurt from September to October 1808, the czar would give no firm commitment. However, it removed the prospect of war with Russia. Napoleon sent huge forces into Spain and was about to win the war when Austria attacked Bavaria. Napoleon had to send his armies against Austria, defeating them and forcing them to sign the Treaty of Schönbrunn on October 14, 1809.

### FIRST EXILE

Napoleon was upset that Josephine had been unable to give him an heir, and he divorced her to marry Marie-Louise, the daughter of Austrian emperor Francis I. Their son was born on March 20, 1811, and was given the title the king of Rome. Napoleon was now at his most powerful. He controlled the French Empire, which included the Illyrian provinces, the Papal States, Tuscany, the Netherlands, and parts of Germany. It was surrounded by the Kingdom of Westphalia, ruled by his youngest brother, Jérôme Bonaparte; the Kingdom of Spain, ruled by older brother, Joseph Bonaparte; the Kingdom of Italy (ruled by Eugène de Beauharnais, Josephine's son, as the viceroy); the Kingdom of Naples (ruled by Napoleon's brother-in-law, Marshal Joachim Murat); and the Principality of Lucca and Piombino (ruled by another brother-in-law, Félix Bacciocchi). With the Swiss Confederation linked to France by alliance, there were also two other French allies, the Confederation of the Rhine and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. With Napoleon's marriage to Marie-Louise, Austria was also an ally.

However, the fighting on the Iberian Peninsula continued, and in spring 1812, Napoleon moved his army to Poland to threaten Czar Alexander I of Russia. The Russians retreated, and Napoleon, intent on engaging them in battle, invaded Russia with 650,000 men. As the Russians retreated, the French were drawn further and further into Russia, with the French fighting an indecisive two-day battle at Borodino on September 7. A week later Napoleon entered Moscow, which had been abandoned by the Russians. However, a fire broke out later the same day destroying much of the city, and Napoleon had to withdraw. Harassed by Russian soldiers, Cossacks, and others, by the time Napoleon's troops left Russia, there were scarcely 10,000 men left.

The Prussians and the Austrians suspected that the French army had been broken in Russia, and after a false report that Napoleon had died in Russia in October, morale declined. When Napoleon returned to Paris, he found France in a bad state, economically and



*A portrait of Napoleon I at Fontainebleau in 1814. The emperor had “extended the boundaries of glory” for France.*

militarily. He was still able to defeat the Russians and the Prussians, respectively, at the Battles of Lützen and Bautzen. Austria offered to allow the French to return to their original borders, but with the dissolution of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Confederation of the Rhine. The Prussians offered to return to the frontiers of 1805.

Napoleon hesitated, and Austria declared war. At the Battle of Leipzig on October 16–19, 1813, known also as the Battle of Nations, the French forces were badly mauled. With the French facing defeat in Spain, Napoleon ordered his troops to return to France, and he faced his opponents who declared that their war was not against the French people but specifically against Napoleon himself. While Napoleon wanted to continue fighting, he was forced to accept the Treaty of Fontainebleau, whereby he abdicated and moved to the island of Elba with 400 guards and an annual income of 2 million francs. Napoleon bid



farewell to his old guard at Fontainebleau and went to Elba. Louis XVIII, brother of the executed Louis XVI, then became the king of France.

### RETURN TO FRANCE

Although Napoleon was initially quite happy to reform the government of Elba, he soon became bored, and some of the French were upset at the Bourbon Restoration, with Louis XVIII effectively put into power by foreign countries. With Napoleon worried about being sent into a more remote exile and without his allowance, which was supposed to have been paid by the French government, Napoleon decided to risk everything on returning to France and trying to regain power.

On March 1, 1815, he landed at Cannes with some guards and rapidly gained more and more support, reaching Paris on March 20. Louis XVIII announced that he would not hold the French command to their oaths of loyalty, in a great gesture to prevent a civil war, and Napoleon was back in power. Some of the men who had pressured Napoleon to abdicate at Fontainebleau and who had taken up appointments under Louis XVIII returned to support Napoleon, who magnanimously appointed Marshals Ney and Soult to senior command positions.

The British and the Prussians were angered by Napoleon's return to Paris and immediately massed armies in the Netherlands (modern-day Belgium). Louis XVIII had ended conscription, and Napoleon was eager not to reintroduce the draft, so he mustered as many soldiers as he could and then marched them into the Netherlands, where he defeated the Prussians at the Battle of Ligny on June 16, 1815. At the same time the French under Ney drove back the British at Quatre Bras. Napoleon then made a crucial mistake in detaching a third of his army to cut off the Prussians, whom he thought had fled eastward. In fact they soon found that they were following the Prussians of Field Marshal Gebhard von Blücher.

When Napoleon and his soldiers met the British at Waterloo, Napoleon was ill but launched a series of attacks against the British lines before having to retire as his condition worsened. When he recovered, he found that the French cavalry had launched a number of futile charges against the British. He salvaged much of the situation by advancing the artillery. With the British forces driven back, and some of their allies having fled in disorder, Napoleon launched an all-out attack. However, at that moment the Prussians arrived on the battlefield, and the French were defeated, with Napoleon fleeing back to France. He abdicated on June 22, 1815, and tried to make for the United States

but eventually surrendered to the British, who decided to send him into exile on the remote South Atlantic island of St. Helena.

### EXILE ON ST. HELENA

Napoleon spent the last six years of his life on St. Helena, where he wrote his memoirs and amused himself with his small number of followers who went with him into exile. He was well looked after but soon became ill. It has been suggested that he was poisoned by arsenic given off by his wallpaper and, alternatively, even more bizarrely, that he had developed female characteristics. It also seems that he might have succumbed to cancer. He died on May 5, 1821, on St. Helena and was buried there, although his body was repatriated to France in 1840 and lies in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris.

Many people have marveled at Napoleon's military genius. He was a good tactician, but his strengths lay in campaigning strategies in which he often went into a war outnumbered by his opponents but was often able to match them on the battlefield. He also relied heavily on the artillery, most likely from his original background. His ability to risk much on single battles served him well until Borodino, with him making mistakes at both Leipzig and at Waterloo. At the latter battle he asked an aide how he would be remembered, and the man replied that Napoleon had "extended the boundaries of glory."

See also FRENCH REVOLUTION; NAPOLEON III; NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Napoleon III (Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte)

(1808–1873) *emperor of the French*

Louis-Napoleon was born on April 20, 1808, at the apogee of the empire of his uncle, NAPOLEON I. Louis-Napoleon was the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, whom Napoleon had made the king of Holland, and

Hortense de Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine de Beauharnais.

In April 1814 Napoleon I was forced to abdicate his throne, bringing to an end the Napoleonic adventure, except for the Hundred Days in 1815, when Napoleon suddenly won back his imperial crown only to lose it again permanently at the Battle of Waterloo on June 18, 1815. With the fall of the Napoleonic empire and the RESTORATION OF THE BOURBON DYNASTY in the person of King Louis XVIII, Louis-Napoleon found refuge with his mother in Switzerland and Germany. From an early age, Louis-Napoleon sought to emulate the martial glory of his uncle, and he joined the Swiss army, where he rose to the rank of captain.

Louis-Napoleon was also animated with the revolutionary spirit that Napoleon and the French had brought across Europe. Following in his uncle's footsteps, Louis-Napoleon would become involved in the revolutionary ferment that swept Italy, once Austrian power had been reestablished following the defeat of Napoleon. In 1830 revolutions swept over Europe, in spite of the efforts of the Great Powers to end political liberalism after the defeat of Napoleon and his subsequent death in 1821. Louis-Napoleon became involved in the revolutionary ferment in Italy. In France, the last of the Bourbons, Charles X, was forced to abdicate in favor of Louis-Philippe, the "Citizen King."

Louis-Napoleon's personal ambitions were given an unexpected boost with the death of Napoleon's only son, Napoleon II, in the cholera epidemic of 1832. With the death of Napoleon II, Louis-Napoleon became the standard-bearer of the Napoleonic cause, and his political ambition gradually emerged to take the place of his illustrious uncle. He thus became a direct threat to the rule of Louis-Philippe in France. As a political conspirator for most of his adult life, Louis-Napoleon must have realized that France was still content under the reign of the "Citizen King." Thus he lived the life of an English gentleman, biding his time for another chance at imperial glory.

He had only two years to wait. In 1848, when liberal revolutions swept over Europe again, Louis-Philippe fell from power. The new provisional authorities gave Louis-Napoleon permission to settle in France. Presenting himself as a reformist candidate, Louis-Napoleon was elected to sit in the new assembly. However, it was soon evident he was not content with only that.

Louis-Napoleon set about imprisoning his opponents and waging a coup d'état. Given the bloodiness of the Paris revolution of 1848, most Frenchman received

Louis-Napoleon as their new emperor with a measure of relief, as an earlier generation had his uncle after the chaos of the FRENCH REVOLUTION. Napoleon III, as he was now named, and his empress Eugénie attempted to bring to life again the glamour of the First Empire of his uncle, with the imperial eagles prominent in Paris again for the first time since Napoleon I's final defeat at Waterloo in 1815.

### FOREIGN ADVENTURES

Like Napoleon I, his nephew could not resist being drawn into foreign adventures. In 1854 Napoleon III entered the CRIMEAN WAR to defend Turkey from Russian aggression. The idea of France and England being allies after the long Napoleonic Wars was a surprise for many on both sides. Together they helped bring about the Russian surrender at the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

Remembering his earlier attempts to liberate Italy, in 1859 Napoleon III invaded Italy, where, allied with the Kingdom of Piedmont under Victor Emmanuel II, he was determined to break the hold of Austria on northern Europe, as his uncle had done in 1796–97. On June 24, 1859, the Austrians were defeated decisively at the Battle of Solferino, leading the way to the unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel. Henri Dunant, a Swiss, was so appalled by the suffering of the wounded on the battlefield that he took the initial steps that would lead to the foundation of today's Red Cross and Red Crescent associations. However, the growing might of France alarmed the British and created a war scare that led to many volunteer regiments who feared Napoleon III would invade England.

If Louis-Napoleon desired to imitate his imperial uncle in all things, he also did so by reaching beyond his ability. As Napoleon I was permanently weakened by his invasion of Spain in 1808, so too was Napoleon III by his adventure in Mexico. From 1857 to 1860 Mexico was embroiled in a civil war, which endangered the investments of foreign countries there. On October 31, 1861, England, France, and Spain occupied Mexican fortresses to guarantee repayment of Mexican debts. The new Mexican president, BENITO JUÁREZ, was compelled to agree.

### MEXICAN INTERESTS

However, when England and Spain withdrew in April 1862, Napoleon III, taking advantage of the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, attempted to establish a Mexican empire ruled by the Austrian archduke Maximilian. Juárez was able to unite Mexico against the French occupiers, and the Mexicans never viewed Maximilian as more than

Napoleon's puppet. After four years of guerrilla war, Napoleon III was forced to evacuate Mexico in 1866 when the United States, with its civil war won, deployed a large army under General Phillip Sheridan on the border with Mexico. Maximilian, who did not leave with the French, was shot by a Mexican firing squad.

Napoleon III was now confronted by the growth of Prussia, under the leadership of its chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK. Bismarck was determined to unite Germany under Prussia's king, Wilhelm I. In 1866, in a mere six weeks, Prussia defeated Austria, the only other real claimant to power in Germany. Napoleon III felt that a united Germany under Prussia represented a clear threat to France.

The two countries finally clashed over Bismarck's attempt to put a relative of the Prussian king on the throne of Spain. On July 19, 1870, Napoleon's France declared war on Prussia and the North German states supporting it. In the war that followed Napoleon proved no match for the Prussian troops. He himself and Marshal MacMahon were surrounded at the fortress city of Sedan and forced to surrender to the Prussian army on September 1, 1870. Napoleon III was forced to undergo the humiliation of imprisonment at the hands of the Prussians, after which he was permitted to leave for exile in England in 1871. He would die there on January 9, 1873. Any hopes of a Bonapartist resurgence ended when his son, Louis Eugène, the prince imperial, was killed in a minor skirmish by Zulus as he accompanied British troops during the Zulu War of 1879.

See also MEXICO: FROM LA REFORMA TO THE PORFIRIATO (1855–1876).

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## Napoleonic conquest of Egypt

NAPOLÉON I's 1798 expedition to Egypt aimed to increase French imperial holdings and to prevent British

overland communications with Asia. The Directory agreed to the mission because the conquest of Egypt would be a victory for France, while Napoleon's possible defeat would prevent him from further meddling in French politics.

Consequently, a large armed force led by Napoleon set sail for Egypt in the spring of 1798 and took Malta on the way. The English navy under Nelson gave chase but failed to capture the French fleet. The French landed in Egypt in July; in spite of the summer heat, Napoleon had his troops immediately march toward Cairo, where they defeated the local Mamluk forces at the Battle of the Pyramids.

Styling himself as a "friend of Islam and Egypt," Napoleon entered Cairo to establish French control. He established a local *diwan*, or council, with a few elite Egyptian members to act in a purely advisory capacity. Napoleon had also brought along a number of SAVANTS, or French scholars, to provide assistance to the occupation and to collect as much information as possible on all aspects of Egypt.

However, rather than have it cruise in the open sea, Napoleon had instructed the French navy to lay anchor outside Alexandria, where it was soundly defeated by the English at Battle of Aboukir Bay. This left Napoleon's troops at a distinct disadvantage in terms of reinforcements and supplies. They also faced a major insurrection in Cairo in the fall.

The insurrection took the French by surprise and threatened their occupation of the city; however, within days the French had successfully crushed the rebellion.

Seemingly undaunted by these setbacks, Napoleon continued his plans for the conquest of Greater Syria in 1799. He easily took the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza, and Jaffa, but stalled in northern Palestine at Acre. The city was staunchly defended by Jazaar Pasha and the French troops were ill with malaria and other diseases brought on by the summer heat and lack of clean water and other provisions.

With the loss of military momentum and hearing of troubles back in Paris, Napoleon abandoned his troops, most of whom died on the battlefield or on the retreat back to Egypt. Escaping capture by the British navy, Napoleon returned to France as a military hero and following a coup d'état became first consul of the French government.

General Kléber replaced Napoleon as commander in chief and under the Convention of El-Arish with the English in 1800, the French agreed to evacuate Egypt as soon as possible. But Kléber was assassinated in the

summer of 1800 by an Egyptian nationalist, Sulayman al-Halaby, who was then executed for the crime. General Menou, who had married an Egyptian woman, then took command, but he was highly unpopular with French troops. Menou then entered into protracted negotiations with the English regarding the terms of the French withdrawal. Negotiations dragged on as the two sides argued over possession of the many antiquities that the savants had taken from Egypt. Ultimately almost of these artifacts, including the famous Rosetta Stone, were taken by the British and placed in the British Museum in London, where they remain today. The French troops and the savants returned to France by 1801.

In 1801 the English temporarily occupied Egypt. At the time, they saw Egypt only as a way station for their more important holdings in the Indian subcontinent. Under the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 the British withdrew from Egypt. The Ottoman sultan promptly sent a new contingent of Janissary troops to reestablish his sovereignty over Egypt, but for a short period the Mamluks continued to remain an important political force as well.

Napoleon's Egyptian expedition had long-lasting effects in Europe. Largely owing to the popular publications by the savants, European society became acquainted with ancient Egyptian history and a new field, Egyptology, or the study of ancient Egypt, developed. Europeans added Egypt to their itineraries for the Grand Tour, and a new tourist industry, including package tours, developed in Egypt.

The expedition also increased the awareness of European governments regarding the geostrategic importance of Egypt and the region, thereby contributing to western imperial designs for control of the area. Although Napoleon's expedition influenced a very small number of urban Egyptians, the modernization of Egypt began several decades later under the rule of MUHAMMAD ALI.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT; SAVANTS/ROSETTA STONE.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Native American policies in the United States and Canada

Since the foundation of the first permanent English settlement in North America in Jamestown in 1607, the relationship between Euro-American politics and the continent's indigenous inhabitants has comprised a major chapter in British-American, French-American, U.S., and Canadian history. Imperial, colonial, national, state, and provincial government policies toward Native peoples varied widely and went through a number of distinct phases.

In the broadest terms, the process was one in which aggressively expansionist states—spurred by massive European immigration, settlers' land hunger, efforts to enhance states' fiscal capacities, and racist expansionist ideologies—successfully implemented a range of strategies intended to appropriate the lands of Native peoples. In the mid-1700s indigenous peoples exercised effective dominion over most of North America, particularly the interior and the West. By 1900 they had been defeated and marginalized, their lands seized in a long series of wars, treaties, laws, and court rulings, and their communities relegated to reservations comprising less than 1 percent of the continent's landmass, most on lands inadequate for subsistence and often on lands unfamiliar to them.

### COLONIAL PERIOD

During the colonial period, many Indian peoples in eastern North America were able to maintain a significant degree of economic, political, and cultural autonomy by playing off different European powers against each other (this despite the ravages of epidemic diseases, which severely weakened Native peoples before sustained interactions with white people had even begun). Emblematic here was the diplomatic strategy pursued by the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy (Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Oneida), the dominant political power throughout upstate New York and much of the Great Lakes region, which shrewdly avoided strong alliances with any European power or colonial government.

With the French defeat at the hands of the British in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, Indian peoples in areas conquered by Britain lost an important counterweight to British power. French fur traders and Jesuit missionaries, more interested in trade and saving souls than in acquiring land, on the whole were far more tolerant of Indians than the English. After 1763 the balance of power strongly favored the British, diminishing the

diplomatic and political leverage of Native peoples in the Northeast. Further west, a series of attacks launched by a Native alliance under the leadership of the Ottawa chieftain Pontiac in 1763 exposed Britain's weaknesses west of the Allegheny and Ohio River valleys and in the Great Lakes region. The unsettled conditions prompted the British government to issue the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding further settler expansion beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Settlers largely ignored the proclamation, setting the stage for further conflict on the western frontier.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A similar dynamic unfolded in the aftermath of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The war split the Iroquois Confederacy, with the Mohawk, Seneca, and Cayuga allying with the British. The victorious Americans retaliated, compelling large numbers of Iroquois to abandon their lands and migrate west or north to Canada. In the South, the Cherokee and others took advantage of the fighting between the British and Americans to launch a series of attacks on frontier towns and settlements, prompting harsh retaliation after the war.

Overall, the Revolution severely weakened the position of Native peoples vis-à-vis the new American republic, while also opening Appalachia and the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee River valleys to white settlement and, south of the Ohio, to the expansion of African slavery. In the early republic, under the intellectual leadership of THOMAS JEFFERSON in particular, U.S. policy toward the Indian problem gelled into an either-or proposition: either Indians east of the Mississippi River could assimilate into white society and become civilized, or they could migrate west of the Mississippi. Either way, the U.S. government would assume dominion of their lands.

As events unfolded, even eastern tribes' adoption of all the hallmarks of civilization did not prevent the land seizures and forced migrations. In the Old Northwest, the Treaty of Greenville of 1795 with the Shawnee, following the armed conflicts between the U.S. Army and Shawnee in 1790–91, ceded most of present-day Ohio and parts of Indiana in exchange for the promise of a permanent boundary between Indian territory and the zone of white settlement, a pledge not enforced in subsequent years. After 1815 with the 1812 U.S. defeat of the coalition of tribes cobbled together by the Shawnee chieftain Tecumseh and defeat of the British in the WAR OF 1812, the U.S. government was in a position to enforce the Jeffersonian assimilate-or-migrate policy.

A series of Supreme Court rulings, beginning with *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), provided constitutional backing for the policy, based mainly on the Indian commerce clause of the Constitution. The rulings further defined Indian tribes as sovereign political entities subject only to the authority of the federal government and not state governments, largely resolving a key issue in the constitutional principle of federalism. In 1824 the Indian Office was established under the administration of the War Department; in 1849 it became the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the authority of the Interior Department.

### INDIAN REMOVAL AND DISPLACEMENT

With the election of ANDREW JACKSON to the presidency in 1828, the U.S. government embarked on an aggressive policy of Indian removal. In 1830 Congress passed the Removal Act, which required Indian tribes east of the Mississippi to relinquish their ancestral lands and either become citizens of the states in which they resided or migrate west. In the Northwest, the Sac and Fox under Black Hawk resisted and were defeated in the Black Hawk War of 1832. In the Southeast, the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw) responded to white encroachment in a variety of ways, including armed resistance, the adoption of farming and Christianity, and the appropriation of nationalist discourses and practices. In the 1820s a Cherokee nationalist movement under the leadership of John Ross and others, building on Sequoyah's 1809–21 invention of an 85-character Cherokee syllabary, published the newspaper *Cherokee Phoenix*, the year after formally establishing a new nation-state in the Cherokee constitution of 1827, modeled on the U.S. Constitution.

Under President Jackson, however, the pressures for Indian removal proved too great. From 1830 to 1838 in the infamous Trail of Tears, upward of 30,000 members of the Five Civilized Tribes were forcibly removed and resettled in Oklahoma's Indian Territory, a policy supported by the Supreme Court's rulings in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). By 1840 virtually all the lands east of the Mississippi River had been opened to white settlement, south of the Ohio River accompanied by African slavery.

### WESTERN EXPANSION

From the 1840s to the 1870s with the U.S. victory in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, the Homestead Act of 1862, the victory of the Union in the CIVIL WAR, the

Indian Wars in the West from the 1860s to the 1880s, and the building of the railroads during the same period, the process of land dispossession was carried all the way to the Pacific. In New Mexico Territory, the Taos Rebellion of 1847 was quickly suppressed and its leaders executed. In California, the gold rush from 1849 led to the enslavement and virtual genocide of California's linguistically diverse and politically disunited Native peoples.

The early 1850s saw the coalescence of a new reservation policy favoring concentration, in which the federal government negotiated individual treaties with reputed representatives of specific tribes. Such treaties most commonly forcibly imposed an exchange of Indian land for cash. Treaties also required tribal members to concentrate on reservations that comprised a small fraction of their former holdings. With the outbreak of the Civil War, many Plains Indians seized the opportunity to try to regain their lost lands, as in the Great Sioux Uprising of 1862 and its aftermath across Dakota Territory to Montana and beyond. Similarly, from 1860 to 1864 the Navajo War in New Mexico Territory ended with the defeat of the Navajo and the Navajo Long Walk, or forced migration, out of their ancestral homeland 300 miles east to Bosque Redondo reservation in northwestern New Mexico.

In the postwar years, Plains Indians' resistance to white encroachment intensified. Their lifeways dramatically transformed by their adoption of the horse from the 1700s, and firearms in the 1800s, the Dakota, Cheyenne, Apache, and many other Plains and western tribes presented the federal government with a formidable adversary. A pivotal moment in the mounting conflict came in the aftermath of the systematic violation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868, which guaranteed in perpetuity Sioux dominion over the Black Hills of present-day South Dakota.

The Black Hills gold rush from 1874 prompted swarms of white prospectors to enter the region, violating the treaty and stiffening Indian resistance, and culminating in the annihilation of George A. Custer's 7th Cavalry in the Battle of Little Bighorn in southern Montana in summer 1876 by a coalition of tribes led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. The defeat shocked the nation and steeled the federal government's determination to resolve the Indian problem once and for all. After a complex series of aggressive U.S. military campaigns, which included the systematic slaughter of the region's vast buffalo herds, by 1890 all organized armed resistance had been crushed.

### THE DAWES ACT

The effort to eliminate Indians' collective land-ownership was codified in the Dawes Act (General Allotment Act) of 1887, which required remaining Indian reservation lands to be broken up into individual parcels to male heads of households. Efforts to implement the law by the Bureau of Indian Affairs became riddled with corruption and malfeasance and its enforcement was only partial.

It is estimated that from its passage in 1887 until its repeal in 1934, the Dawes Act resulted in the privatization of 90 million acres, shrinking reservation lands from 138 million to 48 million acres. The ostensible goal of the Dawes Act was to facilitate the civilization of Indian peoples by their gradual assimilation into white society. This goal was also pursued by the government's establishment of Indian boarding schools in various parts of the country, in which Native children were forcibly subjected to assimilation, most famously at the Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, founded in 1879. By 1900 the Native American population in the United States had shrunk to 237,196 (according to the U.S. Census Bureau), from a conservatively estimated 3 to 5 million people four centuries earlier, a demographic decline of around 95 percent.

### CANADA

A similar set of processes unfolded in what remained of British North America after 1815, which after 1867 became the quasi-independent Dominion of Canada. Through a series of wars, treaties, laws, and court rulings, First Nations peoples (as Native peoples are officially known in contemporary Canada) were systematically stripped of their ancestral lands in ways very similar to those implemented by Canada's southern neighbor, though with less episodic violence overall. In the words of one eminent scholar, compared to their southern neighbors, First Nations peoples in Canada were shot less but starved more often.

In 1885 the Métis leader LOUIS RIEL launched a major rebellion in Manitoba with the aim of ensuring the ancestral rights of the Métis peoples centered on Winnipeg and the Red River Valley. The rebellion was crushed by the Canadian government, and its leader executed. With the formation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, most First Nations peoples in the Canadian West recognized the futility of armed resistance and reluctantly consented to treaties relinquishing their land rights in exchange for reservations (often small and in marginal zones), cash, the promise of future annuity payments, hunting and

fishing rights, and similar mechanisms mostly adopted from U.S. treaties.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Netherlands East Indies

The Netherlands East Indies was a political unit controlled by the Dutch, covering what is now Indonesia. Consisting of a vast archipelago of over 2,000 islands, it had been taken over piecemeal by the Dutch over several centuries. The center of their rule was on the island of Java and their capital was Batavia (now Jakarta), located on the north coast of Java. Their main reason for initially taking the islands had been to control the trade with the Spice Islands, and the Dutch therefore exerted great control over the eastern islands in the archipelago, the Moluccas, especially the island of Ambon. Gradually the Dutch established military bases throughout the islands and in the early 17th century began to cultivate plantations.

On the island of Java, they first took over Batavia and the area around it in 1619, adding the Preanger districts to the south of Batavia in 1677. Two years later they annexed Cheribon and then Semarang, taking Bantam, the westernmost part of Java in 1684. The Dutch then took control of the northern coast in 1741 and the island of Madura two years later. Some areas in south-central Java remained in the control of the sul-

tans of Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Solo). Outside Java the Dutch had reached agreements to trade and establish bases on many islands but did not have control of northern Sumatra, which was under the control of the sultans of Aceh (or Atjeh) and the island of Bali. By the 1770s they had control over much of the coastal regions of Borneo and the Celebes (now Sulawesi).

On an administrative level, the Dutch ruled through the Dutch East India Company, which, outside Java, made no attempt to control the people, working through native rulers—with the exception of the islands of Ambon, Ternate, and Banda in the Moluccas. However, from 1770 the company was faced with bankruptcy. Its employees had made huge fortunes but the main company itself was in a disastrous financial position. When war broke out with England in 1781—the AMERICAN REVOLUTION—the Netherlands government had to intervene financially to prevent the company going bankrupt. However, the debt burden increased and in 1783 the company ceased paying dividends to shareholders.

In 1790 the Dutch government appointed a committee to overhaul the company—the government itself was the chief creditor. While a rescue package was being arranged, war with France broke out in 1792 and three years later the Netherlands was invaded. The National Assembly, under French revolutionary control, then proclaimed the Batavian Republic and enacted a new constitution by which the state took over the Dutch East India Company, and the company was formally dissolved in 1798.

The Batavian Republic was eager to get funds from its colonies and decided to institute a different administrative structure for the East Indies. By the nature of the various treaties with the different sultans and rulers, it was necessary to totally overhaul the entire system, and in 1803 a report was submitted to the new republican government. Most of its recommendations were actually academic because in 1795 when William V had fled the Netherlands ahead of the French, he had taken refuge in England and ordered all his colonial governors to welcome British troops and merchant ships.

Thus the British had taken control of Malacca—also ruled by the Dutch at the time; and the bases at Padang (which had been sacked by the French in 1793 and was unable to resist), Ambon, Banda and even Ternate in 1799. The latter was particularly important for the trade in sandalwood. In 1802, by the Treaty of Amiens, all these places were to be restored to the Dutch; however, with war breaking out so soon afterwards, the British decided to keep them all and prepare to invade Java.

Java and in particular Batavia had been going through a period of semi-independence at the time. With the British controlling most of the seas, little control was exerted from the new Batavian Republic or from France. The governing authorities in Java were even able to conclude commercial treaties with Denmark and the United States. However, this whole situation changed in 1806 when the Batavian Republic was swept away and Louis Bonaparte, brother of NAPOLEON I, became king of the Netherlands. On January 28, 1807, he appointed Herman Willem Daendels, a Dutch Jacobin, to be the new governor-general of the Netherlands East Indies.

### DETERMINED CHANGE

Daendels arrived in the Netherlands East Indies determined to change the whole administrative structure. He was anxious to regularize and standardize commercial arrangements, codify the laws, operate through a more formal judiciary, and reduce the influence of Chinese businessmen. At the same time he had to overcome the appalling sanitary conditions of Batavia. He did this by demolishing sections of the old city, Kota, and moving the old cemetery, which was close to the water table, to a new site outside the city walls. The large square in front of the governor's residence in Batavia was also his creation.

Daendels also had the task of fortifying the city to prevent an imminent British attack. He moved much of the army out of Batavia, where it was in range of British ships, to a garrison base at Meester Cornelis, just south of the city. There work began on massive fortifications. Although many of the decisions made by Daendels were needed, his reforms did create much resentment among the businessmen in Batavia who complained regularly to the Netherlands. By this time Napoleon had decided to annex the Netherlands, incorporating it into France. Daendels was recalled and replaced by Jan Willem Janssens, who was far more conciliatory in his approach, and also less decisive.

### BRITISH ATTACK

Unfortunately for Janssens, soon after he arrived, the British attacked. Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, had wanted to capture Java. A BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY agent, THOMAS RAFFLES, had long urged him to do so. Finally in 1811 Minto led a massive expeditionary force, with 9,000 soldiers, to Malacca, and then they sailed for Batavia, landing at Ancol, just east of the city. As well as soldiers, Minto had brought with him teams of agronomists, botanists, and scien-

tists. Minto's massive and well-armed force frightened Janssens, who immediately retreated to Meester Cornelis, leaving Batavia as an open city. The British took it, marveling at its wealth. They then surrounded Meester Cornelis, which had been reinforced by some French soldiers, and after a short battle stormed it. Janssens then fled south with the British in pursuit. Facing them north of Yogyakarta, the British again easily defeated the Franco-Dutch forces, and Janssens surrendered. The British also stormed the sultan's palace at Yogyakarta, where they looted.

With the British in control of Java, they dispatched ships to seize outlying Dutch bases: Palembang, Macassar, and Kupang (or Koepang) in West Timor. The British East India Company then split their new possessions into four: Java, Malacca, West Sumatra, and the Moluccas. Raffles was appointed lieutenant-governor and took up residence in Batavia, but preferred the summer residence in Bogor, set in the middle of the botanical gardens.

Raffles pushed through many of the reforms that Daendels had tried to introduce. These actions were generally quite popular. However, Raffles was under pressure to increase the revenue base of his administration. Most of his moves were free of trouble, but in May 1813, the sale of land at Probolinggo, in eastern Java, resulted in massive protests as Chinese businessmen had increased their control in the region. Local farmers marched on the British, who were visiting the Chinese community leader at the time and demanded that the British officers acknowledge the local titles to the land and disregard Chinese attempts to evict them. The Chinese had hired local bodyguards, but these fled, and two highlanders, trying to calm the demonstrators, were both "barbarously murdered," as described on their gravestone.

### CONVENTION OF LONDON

Raffles was finally making inroads into the land problem when the Convention of London, at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, returned to the Dutch all lands held by them after 1803. This was delayed by Napoleon's return from Elba, but after his defeat at Waterloo, instructions arrived at Batavia to this effect. The British in Java were angered by this arrangement, as they had actually increased the size of the colony during their rule. However, they relented, holding onto Malacca, and Raffles went on to found a British base on Singapore.

The Dutch, returning to the Netherlands East Indies, were told to be as liberal as they could, to reestablish



their rule without opposition from the locals. In 1830 they succeeded in gaining control of the rest of Java and set about building a new administrative structure. At the heart of this was a school to train Dutch civil servants who would form the administrative class in the Netherlands East Indies. To this end in 1834 they established a school in Surakarta (Solo). After nine years this project was abandoned and a new school was established at the Royal Academy at Delft, Netherlands. There a two-year (later three-year) course was introduced to ensure civil servants had a good understanding of the culture and history of the East Indies.

The island of Java and its satellite island, Madura, were to form the economic and administrative core of the colony. They were the most densely populated islands in the region—in fact one of the most densely populated parts of the entire world—and were divided into West Java, Central Java, and East Java, with the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta having a degree of autonomy. The rich farming lands provided vast quantities of rice and were also good in the raising of livestock, and the seas around Java were rich in fish.

To the west of Java was the island of Sumatra. The British eventually gave up their base at Bencoolen (modern-day Bengkulu) in exchange for holding onto Malacca, but the Dutch were never able to develop high-intensity agriculture on the scale that was the case in Java. With the rubber boom in the late 19th century, extensive rubber plantations were established in Sumatra. The island of Bangka, and to a lesser extent, the neighboring island of Billiton, off the east coast of Sumatra, was found to have extensive deposits of tin, and Dutch mining companies established large ventures, leaving much of the island covered by a moonscape. The north of Sumatra, under the control of the sultans of Aceh, only finally became a part of the Netherlands East Indies after the Acehese War, which lasted from 1873 until 1904.

To the east of Java, the island of Bali was occupied by the Hindu princes who had ruled Java before the arrival of Islam. They managed to maintain their independence, but when the Dutch took the island of Lombok in 1894, it was obvious that the Dutch were going to move on Bali, which they invaded in 1906. Prior to that there had been constant problems over Dutch merchant vessels running aground on the islands and being looted by the locals. During the Dutch invasion, the Balinese nobility charged the Dutch lines and were massacred.

In Borneo, the Celebes, and the rest of the Sunda islands, the Dutch controlled trade with Dutch

administrators, merchants, and businessmen living in towns, but not exerting much control over events in the countryside and the hinterland. This was also the case in Dutch New Guinea. In contrast to this, in the Moluccas, the Dutch exerted a much greater control over the population. The Dutch built schools and hospitals and many people joined the Dutch Reformed Church. Many Moluccans, especially Ambonese (or *Amboinese* as they were known at the time), served in the Dutch colonial forces and made up a large section of the Dutch colonial police used throughout the archipelago.

The society in the Netherlands East Indies was stratified with the Dutch ruling class generally living in particular parts of cities, close to churches, and maintaining their own social life and clubs, and being buried in Christian cemeteries apart from most of the rest of the population (who were mainly Muslim). There were other Europeans, including a sizeable British trading community in Batavia and also some Britons running plantations in Sumatra. The Chinese formed the merchant class of the archipelago and although they never numbered more than 3–5 percent of the population, they dominated business in almost every town in the Netherlands East Indies. Of the locals, the rulers enjoyed the prosperity that Dutch rule brought, and gradually a small middle class emerged, aiding the Dutch in their colonial rule and also producing the nationalists who worked against the Dutch in the 1930s. For the rest of the peasantry, life hardly changed.

See also NAPOLEON III.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Newman, John Henry

(1801–1890) *theologian and church leader, cardinal*

John Henry Newman's life can be divided neatly into two almost equal parts: as an Anglican from 1801 to 1845 and as a Roman Catholic from 1845 to 1890. Newman was born in London on February

21, 1801, to a conventional Anglican family, neither too high church nor too low church. Although it was a religious household, there was little to suggest the extraordinary career Newman would have in his later years.

In 1816 Newman entered Trinity College, Oxford. Thus began what would become almost three decades of educational, pastoral, and intellectual work in that celebrated university. In 1822 Newman won a fellowship to Oriel, at that time Oxford's most prestigious college. Becoming vicar of the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin in 1828, he began to attract a large following who came to listen to his sermons. Preached in a soft, melodious voice, Newman's sermons appealed to Oxford students and High Street shopkeepers, to intellectuals and common folk. These would be collected in later years in the multivolume *Plain and Parochial Sermons*.

In Oriel's senior common room, Newman came into contact with some of the men who would become the most important leaders of the Oxford Tractarian Movement, which was launched in 1833. The immediate catalyst for this religious movement (more commonly known as the Oxford Movement) was the coming to power of a new parliament in 1831. With the threat of government interference in ecclesiastical affairs, coupled with a poorly educated clergy and lukewarm congregations, some Oxford intellectuals began to speak out in pulpit and on the printed page. The movement's chief weapon was the published tract, hence the name for its proponents, Tractarians.

Meanwhile, Newman was touring Europe. Falling ill at sea in the summer of 1833, he penned the verses for which he is famous: *Lead, Kindly Light*. He hastened back to Oxford in time to hear John Keble preach a sermon *On the National Apostasy*, which for Newman was to signal the beginning of the Oxford Movement, a movement forever associated with the name of Newman. In all, 90 *Tracts for the Times* were published from 1833 to 1841, of which he wrote 29. It was his *Tract 90* that provoked a storm of controversy and ended the series.

Newman's association with such high church Anglicans as Keble and Edward Pusey was to shape his theological orientation. In his own words, it checked his drifting toward the liberalism of the day. Newman was against liberalism in religion, not in politics. Liberalism was, to him, "the anti-dogmatic principle," the principle that "there is no positive truth in religion, but one creed is as good as another, and all are to be tolerated since all are matters of opinion." Newman's first book, *The*

*Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833), is notable for his insistence on the necessity of dogma.

Indeed, it was his study of early church history that provoked his own intellectual and spiritual crisis. What began as a study of the early church fathers, with a view toward justifying the Anglican *via media* (middle way) between Catholicism and Protestantism, was turning into, first, unease over the Anglican position, and then a positive doubt. In the spring of 1839 the Oxford Movement was at its height, but Newman himself was on the verge of a change of heart. He penned the tract *The State of Religious Parties*, which would be (in his own words) "the last words which I ever spoke as an Anglican to Anglicans." This article ended with the rhetorical question: "Would you rather have your sons and daughters members of the Church of England or of the Church of Rome?" But from then on, until 1843, he "wished to benefit the Church of England, without prejudice to the Church of Rome."

The year 1841 saw the publication of *Tract 90*, which argued that the Anglican 39 Articles could be interpreted in a Roman Catholic sense. The storm of indignation from many quarters that this tract produced eventually led to Newman's resignation as head of the Oxford Movement. Preferring silence and withdrawal, Newman retired to the village of Littlemore, just outside Oxford, where he continued his reading and study.

By 1843 he made a formal retraction of his verbal polemics against the Roman Catholic Church and resigned the vicarship of St. Mary's. For two more years, he quietly lived as an Anglican layman. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church in October 1845 by Dominic Barberi, an Italian passionist. He left Oxford for good the following year; it would be many years before he would see the old university again.

In 1846 Newman was in Rome to study, before his ordination to the Catholic priesthood the following year. Returning to England, he would spend most of the remainder of his life in the house of the Oratorians in Birmingham. If Newman was a controversialist and outspoken theological adversary in his Anglican period, he was no less so as a Catholic priest. In 1850, for example, England was in a no popery period, which was a reaction to the restoration of the English Catholic hierarchy by Rome. Awarded a papal doctorate of divinity for his *Lectures on Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church*, he was henceforth to be called Dr. Newman until the time he was made cardinal.

Such writings, however, were not Newman's lifework, although posterity remembers him chiefly for his writings. He preferred to live, until his death in 1890, the simple and obscure life of an Oratorian priest, engaged in liturgical, educational, and charitable activities. Nonetheless, he was an exceedingly effective writer, though only an occasional one. Except for a few monumental, indeed astonishingly erudite, theological works that were far ahead of their time, such as *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1845), *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870), and *The Idea of a University* (published only in 1873), much of Newman's literary output as a Catholic consisted of responses to those who either maligned or misunderstood him or Catholic teaching. Thus, his *Letter to Pusey* (1866) was a defense of Catholic devotion to Mary, the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* (1875) was a carefully nuanced theology of papal infallibility (defined by the VATICAN I COUNCIL in 1870), and most famously, his autobiographical *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864) was a response to writer Charles Kingsley's gratuitous and published attack on the Catholic clergy and Newman in particular. These works had the cumulative effect of establishing Newman as a first-rate intellectual and a modern-day Catholic apologist.

With such accomplishments, one would not have imagined Newman undergoing years of suspicion and setbacks from his Catholic superiors. In an article entitled "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine," Newman had articulated his vision of a church in which laypeople actively participate even in doctrinal matters, since they have the spirit of truth in them. Such ideas (which the Second Vatican Council adopted in its teaching on the *sensus fidelium*, the "spiritual sense of the lay faithful") were deemed dangerous and heretical. From 1859 onward, Newman was held in suspicion by prelates in Birmingham, London, and Rome. It was only in 1879, when he received the cardinal's red hat, that he felt that the cloud was lifted from him forever.

Cardinal John Henry Newman died on August 11, 1890, and was buried in Rednal, eight miles out of Birmingham. One paper wrote: "No peer, or prince, or priest, or merchant who ever walked the crowded streets of Birmingham is so missed or mourned as the Roman Cardinal." Cardinal Henry Manning, preaching at the London Oratory, declared that "the history of our land will hereafter record the name of John Henry Newman among the greatest of our people, as a Confessor for the Faith."

Newman's enduring contributions are difficult to measure. In his Anglican period, he awakened the

church to a clearer grasp of Christian doctrine and a more energetic practice of the faith. As a Catholic, he published timely apologetics and seminal theological treatises remarkable for their scholarship, balance, and farsightedness. Throughout his long life he sought to live virtuously, honestly, and charitably. A man of deep prayer and unassuming humility, he once wrote in his private journal: "Those who make *comfort* the great subject of their preaching seem to mistake the end of their ministry. *Holiness* is the great end. Comfort is a cordial, but no one drinks cordial from morning till night." The cause for his heroic sanctity is presently being pursued with the Vatican's Congregation for the Causes of Saints.

See also GREAT AWAKENING, FIRST AND SECOND.

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JAKE YAP

## newspapers, North American

Emerging almost simultaneously with the appearance in Europe of new forms of printed communication, Britain's North American colonies propelled newspapers to new heights of political clout, popular appeal, and financial success in the 18th and 19th centuries. New technologies, including the telegraph and steam printing press, and an evolving connection between growing urban publics and their newspapers made this medium the communication choice of its era.

### COLONIAL BEGINNINGS

Early colonial newspapers tended to be small and mainly devoted to commercial information. Papers like the *Boston Gazette*, founded in 1719, published commodity and stock prices, ship arrivals, and notices for goods available in town. Printers needed to be literate; a printer who had opinions also had the means to express them. As early as 1721 James Franklin, elder brother of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, opposed smallpox vaccinations in his *New England Courant*. The ability of a news sheet to include controversial topics or political views tended to

wax and wane, depending on the forbearance of British and local officials.

As relations between the American colonies and Britain deteriorated after the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, newspapers' political engagement increased significantly. Publishers spearheaded opposition to Britain's 1765 Stamp Act, which threatened both their expression and their profits. This act imposed a tax on every printed page. Printers counterattacked, using their presses to circulate anti-Stamp Act articles while often refusing to pay the tax. Newspapers not only helped kill the Stamp Act but forged colonial linkages that would eventually help bring on the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The oldest surviving paper from this era, the *Hartford Courant*, was founded in 1764. In 1791 the U.S. Bill of Rights would enshrine freedom of the press.

### U.S. PRESS CHALLENGES

Establishing press freedom soon proved much easier than actually dealing with a free press. It was one thing for colonial newspapers to ridicule the hated British, but U.S. politicians soon found themselves targets of both fair and unfair abuse. As political parties emerged, newspapers became a favored way to broadcast their achievements and belittle their foes' programs in highly partisan fashion. One such party mouthpiece was the *New-York Evening Post*, founded by Federalist ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

A major challenge to press freedom emerged in 1798 when a Federalist Congress approved and President John ADAMS signed the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS. A key target of these repressive laws was the *Philadelphia Aurora*, published by Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin. Bache was a ferociously Republican journalist who spared no Federalist from his printed assaults. Bache died of yellow fever before his sedition trial; his wife defiantly continued to publish. When THOMAS JEFFERSON became president in 1801, he made sure the Sedition Acts died.

### THE PENNY PRESS REVOLUTION

In the early 19th century, neither the partisan press nor a growing number of newspapers dedicated to business issues were widely circulated by modern standards. These papers were expensive, about six cents an issue, and many were available only by long-term subscription. It was the wealth or importance of readers rather than their number that concerned the owners of such newspapers. Even so, by 1825, the United States was believed to circulate more newspapers than any other

country. Visiting in 1831, French observer ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE saw this outpouring of printed speech as a means of uniting and stabilizing American society.

Newspaper circulation soared dramatically when, in 1833, Benjamin Day, using the slogan "It Shines for All," launched his *New-York Sun*, priced at just a penny. In 1835 James Gordon Bennett began publishing the *New-York Herald*. Although its price was raised to two cents the next year, the *Herald* circulated 20,000 copies a day. This new penny press focused on crime, human interest, and scandal, although political issues of special concern to working-class readers were not ignored. In 1841 Horace Greeley, an abolitionist and promoter of westward expansion, founded the influential *New-York Tribune*, another penny paper.

The penny press was made possible by the growing populations of American cities and the rise of steam-powered presses. The old hand press, not much changed from the days of Gutenberg, turned out about 125 copies per hour; by 1851, Day's *Sun* was printing 18,000. Another important leap was the introduction, in 1844, of the first telegraph connections. No longer stuck printing stories days or weeks old, received by mail or messenger, newspapers became considerably more timely and enterprising. Transatlantic telegraph connections in the 1860s extended this real-time benefit to foreign news.

### NEW PROFESSIONALISM AND "YELLOW" JOURNALISM

As newspapers became wealthier, many owners committed their publications to new kinds of journalism, and new kinds of clout for themselves. In 1851, backed by two friends who were bankers, Henry J. Raymond, a veteran of Greeley's *Tribune*, founded the *New York Times*.

The *Times* caused a stir in 1871 with pioneering investigative journalism that brought down the corrupt political organization of New York City boss William Marcy Tweed. In 1855 Joseph Medill, a Canadian immigrant who helped create the U.S. Republican Party, took over the *Chicago Tribune*. After the disastrous CHICAGO FIRE of 1871, he served a term as mayor.

Although some newspapers sent staffers to gather news from Washington, D.C., and state capitals as early as the 1820s, not until the CIVIL WAR did the necessity of having reporters cover live events become generally recognized. Bennett had sent just one observer to the MEXICAN WAR; he sent 63 to Civil War battlefields, where they competed with reporters from the *Tribune*, *Times*, and others. In the late 19th century

fierce competition between publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst reshaped journalism in many American cities. Pulitzer founded the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1865 and moved to New York in 1883 to spectacularly resuscitate the ailing *New York World*. Pulitzer used a combination of sensational stories, important local issues, and populist politics to attract urban readers. His effort to raise donations from *World* readers to install the STATUE OF LIBERTY succeeded after other fundraising efforts had failed. Hearst trained at Pulitzer's *World* after he was expelled from college. In 1887 Hearst returned to California to revive his father's *San Francisco Examiner*. His rivalry with Pulitzer truly began in 1895 when Hearst bought the *New York Morning Journal*, cutting its price to one cent and luring away many *World* staffers, including the artist who drew an early comic called "The Yellow Kid." The battle between the two publishers for circulation and stature, often at the expense of journalistic accuracy, became known as yellow journalism.

As the United States and Spain tangled over the status of Cuba in the 1890s, Hearst sent celebrity writer Richard Harding Davis and renowned artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to collect news. Although Pulitzer and Hearst were soon enmeshed in their own war over which newspaper was telling the truth about Cuba, both the *World* and Hearst's *Journal* used huge headlines and scare stories to help foment and cheer on the 1898 SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

By the end of the century, U.S. newspapers were riding high. Across the nation, advertising revenues rose with circulation, staffs increased in numbers, skill, and specialization, and larger cities supported an array of daily and weekly newspapers. New techniques, including woodcuts and etchings, were making both news content and advertising copy more colorful and easier to read. By 1897 a new kind of rotary press made it possible for many papers to include actual photographs on their pages. Outside the mainstream, smaller presses used similar techniques of writing and presentation to bring news to non-English-speaking immigrants and African Americans. Although the first African-American journal appeared in 1827, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS began publishing his *North Star* in 1847, black-owned newspapers like the *Philadelphia Tribune* of 1884 and *Baltimore Afro-American* of 1892 provided their readers the full newspaper experience.

### CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS

With a smaller population and continuing colonial rule by Britain until 1867, Canada's journalism fol-

lowed a trajectory similar to that of U.S. newspapers, but at a somewhat more gradual pace. In Canada, as in the United States, political figures played major roles in publishing and used their newspapers to shape the political discourse. In 1752 the *Halifax Gazette*, Canada's first newspaper, was established with the help of a Boston printer who brought the first press to what was still a wilderness outpost. France had strongly discouraged newspapers in its New France colony; not until Britain triumphed in the French and Indian War did French-language publications begin to emerge. The first was the *Quebec Gazette*, founded in 1764 with the assistance of Philadelphia printers. In 1778 Fleury Mesplet founded the *Montreal Gazette* as a French-language journal. After a period as a bilingual paper it became English only in 1822.

Mesplet, who had received some encouragement from American patriots, was jailed, along with his editor, by outraged local authorities soon after the *Gazette* appeared. In 1766 British authorities closed down the *Halifax Gazette* and removed its editor for allowing publication of an article attacking the Stamp Act. In 1835 publisher Joseph Howe was charged with seditious libel for writing in his *Novascotian* that local magistrates were pocketing fines with tacit approval from the province's lieutenant governor. Although he was not allowed to claim truth as his defense, Howe was acquitted by a jury in just 10 minutes.

Between 1813 and 1857, the number of Canadian newspapers, mainly weeklies, rose tenfold. Politics was a major impetus as old Tory elites faced challenges from new reform parties in both French- and English-speaking areas. William Lyon Mackenzie's *Colonial Advocate* was one of the most outspoken of these new papers.

When Tory sympathizers smashed his presses in 1828, Mackenzie used the incident to build support and was elected to a reform Upper Canada assembly soon thereafter. George Brown, who had published an antislavery paper in New York, launched the *Toronto Globe* in 1844. Brown, a proponent of Canadian western expansion, used his paper to push this and other reform causes, becoming an initiator of CANADIAN CONFEDERATION in the 1860s. Brown died in 1880 after he was shot in his office by a disgruntled former *Globe* employee.

Like their U.S. counterparts, Canadian papers expanded their size, circulation, advertising, and news-gathering techniques in the late 19th century, although they were slower to adopt such innovations as huge headlines. They did experiment earlier than many U.S.

papers with rotary presses and half-tone photographs, the first of these, a photo of the new Montreal Customs House, appeared in 1871. As Canadians expanded west, so did their newspapers. By 1900 Canada had 121 dailies, up from 23 in 1857.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADA; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Nian Rebellion in China (1853–1868)

The word *nian* means “a band” and referred to the outlaw secret society bands or gangs along the lower Yellow and Huai River valleys in borderlands between Shandong (Shantung), Henan (Honan), Jiangsu (Kiangsu), and Anhui Provinces. This area had long harbored bandits and salt smugglers.

Although they existed since the 18th century, floods in the early 1850s and the famine that followed abetted their growth. In 1853 a man named Zhang Luoxing (Chang Lo-hsing) became leader of the Nian and titled himself the Great Han Heavenly mandated King. He organized his followers after the Manchu banner system and initiated them with pseudo-religious rites. At the peak of his power in the late 1850s the Nian controlled approximately 100,000 square miles of territory.

However, the Nian never developed a centralized government capable of administering cities or organizing a coordinated military action, resorting mainly to guerrilla warfare and fast but uncoordinated cavalry raids, seldom holding on to towns and cities, but retreating to their earthen-walled strongholds. They scorched the earth to deprive government forces of supplies.

The Nian also sporadically cooperated with the Taiping rebels in the Yangzi (Yangtze) River valley. Early QING (Ch'ing) efforts to defeat the Nian met with failure, in part because of the hostility of many peasants toward the government. Even the capture of Nian leader Zhang in 1863 did not end the rebellion

because in 1864 some followers of the defeated TAIPING REBELLION joined their cause.

In 1865 the court appointed ZENG GUOFAN (TSENG KUO-FAN), the statesman-general who led the defeat of the Taiping Rebellion, to suppress the Nian. He approached the task by reforming the local government and winning over the population in contested areas. But the aging Zeng had disbanded most of the Hunan army that he had organized and led after the defeat of the Taiping Rebellion and pleaded to be allowed to retire. The task was given to one of his lieutenants in 1867. He was LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang), the organizer and commander of the modern armed and well-disciplined Huai, or Anhui, Army. With the assistance of Zuo Zongtang (Tso Tsung-t'ang), another statesman-general who had contributed to defeating the Taiping Rebellion, Li ended the Nian Rebellion in 1868.

The suppression of the Nian and other rebellions in the 1860s and 1870s was the triumph of warfare and civil government by capable leaders who rallied to the Qing dynasty. It was a genuine pacification in the traditional manner by scholars-generals-administrators committed to Confucian moral principles, who stressed political and economic reforms in combination with hard fighting. They had to recruit the armies that they commanded because the Qing regular army had deteriorated to ineffectiveness.

See also TONGZHI (T'UNG-CHIH) RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Nightingale, Florence

(1820–1910) *health care pioneer*

Florence Nightingale came from a wealthy English family and received a classical education in languages, history, and mathematics from her father. Much to her parents' dismay, she rejected several marriage proposals and was determined to become a nurse, a profession that was held in low esteem by the upper classes in the 19th century.

With an annual income from her father, she traveled to Egypt and elsewhere. In Germany she studied new



*Through Florence Nightingale's efforts in the Crimean War great advances were made in healthcare and nursing.*

health care practices. Returning to England, Nightingale became superintendent at a Harley Street hospital for women in 1853. After she learned about the deplorable

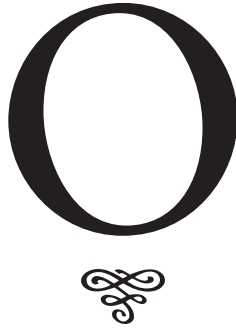
lack of health care for the soldiers in the CRIMEAN WAR, Nightingale traveled to Scutari (in present-day Turkey), where, in spite of considerable prejudice against women working in the field, she and her assistants worked tirelessly to improve sanitary conditions and hygiene. As a result, mortality rates dropped from over 40 percent to around 2 percent.

Because she carried an oil lamp while caring for the wounded at night, Nightingale became known as the lady with the lamp. After the war, Nightingale used her considerable skills in the mathematical field of statistics to improve health care in general; she funded a training school for nursing in London as well and wrote a detailed report providing recommendations on health care in the army.

Nightingale was bedridden, perhaps with a psychosomatic illness, for the last years of her life and died in 1910. She received numerous awards for her work in the field of health care. Clara Barton and others followed her example by volunteering as nurses during the U.S. CIVIL WAR. Nightingale was perhaps the most famous woman, after the queen, in Victorian England.

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JANICE J. TERRY



## **O'Higgins, Bernardo**

(1778–1842) *Chilean military and political leader*

A military leader who led Chilean forces against the Spanish, Bernardo O'Higgins won independence from Spain and became the supreme dictator of Chile from 1817 until 1823.

Bernardo O'Higgins was born on August 20, 1778, in Chillán, Chile, the son of Ambrosio (Ambrose) O'Higgins and Isabel Riquelme. Ambrose was originally from County Sligo, Ireland, and moved to Spain to join the Spanish army, later settling in Paraguay, where his brother William (or Guillermo) O'Higgins had bought some land. Ambrose then became marquis of Osorno, governor of Chile. As a Spanish official, he was not allowed to marry locally and as a result started living with a well-connected lady from Chillán. Some time after Bernardo was born, his father moved to Peru, where he was appointed viceroy, and the boy stayed with his mother, using her surname until his father's death.

To complete his education, Bernardo O'Higgins was sent to school in Lima, Peru, and at 16 went to Spain. The following year he went to England, living in Richmond-upon-Thames, just outside London. In England, O'Higgins became interested in nationalist politics. There he met the Venezuelan independence activist Francisco de Miranda, who was agitating against Spanish rule, and became hugely influenced by liberal ideas. He joined a secret Masonic lodge that Miranda had established in London—the mem-

bers dedicated their lives to the independence of Latin America. With his father being viceroy of Peru, O'Higgins could get introductions to important people easily, and for Miranda he was a very important recruit for the cause. O'Higgins left England in 1799 and went to Spain where he met some Spanish who were also against Spanish rule.

In 1801 Ambrosio died, and Bernardo O'Higgins was left a large estate near Chillán. He retired there and took up the life of a gentleman farmer. He bought a house in Chillán and in 1806 was elected to the local town council.

However, there were sudden huge changes to sweep through Latin America. In 1808 Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain and appointed his brother Joseph as king. This left the Spanish colonies without a central authority, and the administration in each city formed juntas—military leaders—who they could constitutionally appoint in times of emergency. Chile started to make its first moves toward independence, and on September 18, 1810, a junta announced that it had replaced the Spanish-appointed governor-general. In 1811 Chile's first Congress met with O'Higgins as a member. Two years later Chile had a constitution and seemed to be on the road to independence.

However, the Spanish decided to try to reestablish royal control over Chile. In 1814 the viceroy of Peru sent soldiers into Chile and within several months O'Higgins rose from being a colonel in the militia to general-in-chief of the defense forces. He was then appointed governor of the province of Concepción. However,



when the Chilean forces were defeated at the hands of the royalists, O'Higgins was replaced as commander. In October 1814 the Chileans were badly mauled at the Battle of Rancagua and the royalists occupied most of Chile.

Several thousand Chilean nationalists, or patriots, as they became known, including O'Higgins, were forced to flee across the Andes into western Argentina, where they drew up plans for a subsequent invasion of Chile. Over the next three years, the Chileans and Argentines were drilled and trained at Mendoza, and José de San Martín prepared them to cross the Andes. With Argentina independent from July 9, 1816, the soldiers of San Martín and O'Higgins were reinvigorated, and on January 24, 1817, the two took the 3,000 infantry, 700 cavalry, and 21 cannons through the passes at Gran Cordillera. They were met on February 12–13 at the Battle of Chacabuco. On the first day of the battle, O'Higgins led his men in an early morning move where they prevented the Spanish from withdrawing. San Martín then attacked and routed them. On February 15 O'Higgins took the Chilean patriots back into Santiago, and O'Higgins was elected as interim supreme dictator. Chile's independence was proclaimed on February 12, 1818.

During his six years as supreme dictator, O'Higgins overhauled the administration. With Chile at peace, he set about establishing a navy with the flagship called *O'Higgins* and founding the Chilean Military Academy, as well as instituting the new Chilean flag. He also mounted a major military expedition into Peru, where royalists were still threatening Chilean independence. However, although he was a good military commander, O'Higgins was not a good politician. An admirer of democracy, he wanted to abolish the titles of the nobles and introduce liberal reforms.

O'Higgins alienated the Roman Catholic Church and the aristocracy, followed by the business community. A constitutionalist, he had no political base, and once there was no threat of attack from the Royalists, it was not long before O'Higgins was eased from office. His government was implicated in the assassination of four political figures, José Miguel Carrera, his two brothers in Argentina, and a friend Manuel Rodríguez. O'Higgins resigned under pressure on January 28, 1823, unable to fulfill his ambitions for independence for all of Latin America.

O'Higgins went into exile in Peru in 1823, spending half of his time at a farm he bought and the other half of his time in Lima. He never married but did have a son, Pedro Demetrio O'Higgins, who remained with

him for all of his life. He died on October 23, 1842, in Peru. In his will he left money for the establishment of an agricultural college in Concepción, a lighthouse in Valparaíso, and the Santiago Observatory. In 1869 his remains were brought back to Chile and put in a mausoleum facing the Palacio de la Moneda, the government palace. The main street in Chile's capital, Santiago, is Avenida Bernardo O'Higgins, in which there is a large statue of him.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN; FREEMASONRY IN NORTH AND SPANISH AMERICA; SUCRE, ANTONIO JOSÉ DE.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Olmsted, Frederick Law

(1822–1903) *U.S. architect and urban planner*

Gentleman farmer, antislavery journalist, gold mine supervisor, and U.S. CIVIL WAR official, Frederick Law Olmsted is today best known for his design and implementation of New York City's Central Park. He and the partners and sons who carried on his work were ultimately responsible for thousands of important urban and suburban projects that reshaped and beautified North America, from the U.S. Capitol grounds to Niagara Falls to Montreal's Mount Royal. His multifaceted career epitomizes what a man of means, intellect, and enthusiasm could achieve in 19th-century America.

Olmsted was, as one biographer put it, the "eager and undisciplined" son of a successful Hartford, Connecticut, merchant. He entered Yale University, but never graduated. Fond of the outdoors, he apprenticed as a surveyor and endured a year aboard a square-rigger involved in the China tea trade, before taking up scientific farming in then-rural Staten Island, New York.

As the slavery issue began to boil over in the late 1840s, Olmsted, although no abolitionist, raised money for Free-Soil causes and became an early supporter of the new Republican Party. Hired by the *New-York Daily Times* (now the *New York Times*), the young correspondent undertook a series of trips through the slave-owning South to write influential articles revealing slavery's economic and social impact.

Olmsted's involvement with Central Park was almost accidental. On the recommendation of a well-

placed friend, Olmsted was named superintendent of the proposed 800-acre park in 1857. Months later, Olmsted teamed up with Calvert Vaux, a protégé of Andrew Jackson Downing, America's first professional landscape designer, to win the park design competition with a proposal titled "Greensward." Central Park was the first of many Olmsted projects that would meld natural features and human artifice to create a peaceful yet energizing "balanced irregularity" that seemed to appeal to people of every class and condition. It was an immediate success, despite serious cost overruns.

In 1859 Olmsted married Mary Perkins, widow of his beloved brother John, adopting his two nephews and a niece. (They would have four children together.) As the Civil War erupted, Olmsted, as first general secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, used his considerable organizational talents to save lives by improving medical care for Union soldiers and others endangered by the war. Eager to repay his father's many loans and captivated by northern California's natural beauty, Olmsted in 1864 accepted the post of manager at Mariposa Estate, a productive but troubled gold mining operation. While in California, Olmsted helped to promote "Yo Semite" and its huge sequoias as a future national park.

By 1868 Olmsted had resumed his landscape and planning career with Vaux and others. Major projects of these post-war years would include a park system for Buffalo, park designs for Chicago before and after the 1871 CHICAGO FIRE, and the site plan for Chicago's 1893 World Columbian Exposition. Olmsted designed a campus for Stanford University in California and pursued projects at other major universities including Cornell and Yale.

Olmsted suffered from bouts of depression and endured dementia in his final years. His central role in shaping and improving so many cities faded from public recollection. Not until the 1980s, as New York City began to refurbish its dangerously neglected Central Park, would Olmsted's "People's Park" and the genius of its creator reemerge to astonish a grateful public.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Omani empire

The Omani empire in East Africa, which dominated the East African coast between Somalia and northern Mozambique, entered a new phase after 1800. It faced new challenges as Britain, the United States, France, and Germany abolished the slave trade in the 1800s. Yet, in the 19th century, the Omani empire was centered at Zanzibar, and was known as Zanzibar because it was the center of a vast rich empire, based on trade in spices and slaves.

The suzerains of the empire had been traders for many centuries and used Zanzibar as their main port, originally for slaves and ivory. However, in 1812 it was discovered that cloves grew very well in the south of Zanzibar and the neighboring island of Pemba. The demand for cloves and other spices was high.

Sultan Seyyid Said of Oman saw the possibilities in this trade and began to invest in clove plantations starting in 1820. In order to maximize production of cloves, he used slaves from much of east and central Africa. Ultimately most of Africa between the East African coast and the Congo River basin, or an area of over 1 million square miles, was affected by the slave trade which persisted to the 1890s. In order to gain cheap labor, the Omani Arabs, beginning with Seyyid Said, encouraged African tribes to turn on each other so as to provide slaves through prisoners of war. By the 1820s 8,000 slaves a year were brought to Zanzibar and Pemba. This was opportune as the market for slaves was drying up because of pressure from Europe. (By 1873 before the British forced the end of the slave trade by sending a naval squadron, the number of slaves brought to Zanzibar/Pemba to work the plantations had reached 30,000 per annum.) Slavery was not abolished until the British made Zanzibar a protectorate in 1890.

The sultan repeatedly promised to end slavery and the slave trade, but never kept his promise. He also used slave labor to transport ivory. He buttressed his position by getting rid of his only rivals, the Mazrui family of Mombassa, Kenya, in 1837. Moreover, he signed huge commercial treaties with America, Britain, and France. He maintained his position by playing America, Britain, and France against each other. He enforced his authority through wholesale purchases of European and American arms, a navy of 15 ships, and a force of 6,500 soldiers.

Sultan Seyyid Said moved his headquarters from Muscat, Oman, to Zanzibar between 1832 and 1841. In the latter year Zanzibar became the capital of the Omani empire both in Africa and Arabia. The profits

from investments in cloves made the sultan and his entourage very rich. Cloves had become so dominant that many other crops in Zanzibar were cleared away to grow them. The sultan decreed in the 1840s that three clove trees should be planted for every coconut palm. Any landowner failing to do so would have his property confiscated.

By 1841 the sultan appointed his elder son to rule in Oman while he concentrated on Zanzibar. By 1850 Zanzibar/Pemba accounted for 80 percent of world's clove production. In 1856 the sultan died of dysentery. On his death, his younger son was proclaimed sultan as the new ruler of Zanzibar and the East African coast while the older brother ruled Oman. The Omani empire had ended, but the Omani dynasty continued until 1890, when Britain took over Zanzibar as a protectorate. The heritage of the Omani empire of East Africa in the first half of the 19th century was a depopulated East and East-Central Africa. The advent of independence in 1964 saw the overthrow of the oligarchy that had grown rich during the heyday of the clove trade.

See also SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Omdurman, Battle of

At the Battle of Omdurman the British, led by Horatio Herbert Kitchener, the sirdar or commander in chief of the Egyptian army, decisively defeated the Mahdist forces led by the Khalifa 'Abdullahi. Kitchener's force

of about 25,000 mostly Egyptian soldiers with British officers met the Mahdist forces, also known as dervishes in Europe, of some 50,000 men, on the battlefield of Karari outside the Mahdist capital of Omdurman. To facilitate the movement of troops and supplies Kitchener had had the railway from Cairo to southern Egypt extended to the northern Sudan. He also had armored gunboats. Armed with machine guns, Kitchener's forces easily killed over 10,000 attacking Mahdist forces, many of whom were armed with spears. At least another 20,000 Mahdist soldiers were wounded and many of those subsequently died from lack of medical care.

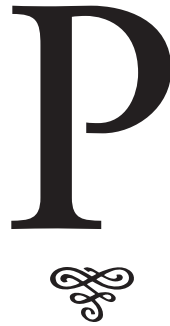
Kitchener's gunboats also fired on Omdurman, destroying the imposing tomb of the Mahdi whose remains were scattered by the victors. The Khalifa managed to escape but was ultimately killed in battle some months later by British forces led by F. (Francis) Reginald Wingate who had been director of military intelligence and Kitchener's subordinate.

Kitchener was appointed governor general over the Sudan, and Khartoum, a city on the other bank of the Nile River from Omdurman, became the new Sudanese capital. However, Kitchener only held the position for a short time before he was dispatched to assist in the British military efforts during the Boer War in South Africa. Wingate succeeded him as the new governor-general in 1899 and went on to consolidate British control over the Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the rather cumbersome arrangement the British devised to legitimize their rule over the country.

See also SUDAN, CONDOMINIUM IN.

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JANICE J. TERRY



## Pacific exploration/annexation

From the time that the Spanish navigator Vasco Núñez de Balboa stood and gazed in silence at the vastness of the Pacific Ocean in 1513, explorers from around the globe have been fascinated with its mysteries and sheer size. The discovery of the Pacific Ocean opened up new areas of exploration and eventually led to the settlement of the New World, which forever changed life on the planet as it existed in Balboa's time. Exploration of the Pacific also provided cartographers with the information needed to chart the entire globe more completely than had ever been done before. In the beginning, the Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese had led the way in exploring the world. However, as exploration of the Pacific became both more urgent and profitable, Britain and France also financed expeditions. Each new voyage added to existing maritime knowledge of tides, currents, and wind patterns and helped to discover new navigational guides that made exploration safer and more productive for ships and their crews.

Seven years after Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean, Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães) of Portugal became the first navigator to circumnavigate the globe and cross Balboa's ocean, which he named the Pacific to honor its serenity. The path that Magellan traveled, which bears his name, is now known as the Strait of Magellan. Thus, Magellan became the first known explorer in the history of the world to travel the waters of the South Pacific. Scientists of his time believed that in order for the balance of the Northern Hemisphere to

be maintained, an undiscovered continent, which they had named Terra Australis Incognita, would have to be located in the furthest areas of the Southern Hemisphere. Over the next 250 years, countless explorers attempted to find this mysterious southern continent.

By the 18th century, the question became how soon new lands could be claimed by nations looking for colonies with rich resources. This new emphasis on exploration and annexation arose out of the massive changes that were taking place in Europe. After Sir Isaac Newton introduced the notion that science was better suited than philosophy to explain the world, educated Europeans became hungry for any knowledge that broadened their understanding of the world in which they lived. As a result, the ENLIGHTENMENT brought about new social and political orders that were accompanied by a desire to learn more about non-Western societies. At the same time, the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION was creating increasing demands for raw materials and new products that could be exploited for trade. Recent discoveries in the field of navigation, such as the chronometer and the *English Nautical Almanac*, provided navigators with more exact methods of computing longitude and latitude in open water, making voyages of discovery safer and more productive. In the 18th century all of these changes came together to fuel the desire to explore the Pacific Ocean.

### ENGLAND AND THE PACIFIC

In August 1766 aboard the H.M.S. *Dolphin*, Captain Samuel Wallis sailed from Plymouth, England, with

orders to find the Great Southern Continent and claim it for Britain. He was accompanied by Captain Philip Carteret in the H.M.S. *Swallow*. On June 28, 1767, after navigating the Strait of Magellan, the *Dolphin* discovered the island of Tahiti, where they were met by hundreds of Tahitians in canoes. After establishing friendly relations with the curious Tahitians, Wallis docked in Matavi Bay. However, the natives decided they were under attack and began pelting the ship with stones. Wallis responded with gunfire, destroying at least 50 canoes. Afterwards, the Tahitians brought out young girls to entice the sailors back to the beach. Satisfied that the danger was past, trading began in earnest, with the English trading nails for young girls, chicken, fruit, and hogs. Wallis was forced to confine his men to the ship to keep them away from the girls. In May 1768 officials in London learned of Wallis's discovery of this new tropical paradise.

### CAPTAIN COOK

Of all British explorers who traveled the Pacific in the 18th century, CAPTAIN JAMES COOK was the best known and most respected. In 1768 King George III chose Cook to lead a geographical and scientific expedition in which the Royal Society planned to observe an upcoming phenomenon that involved the planet Venus passing between the Earth and the Sun. Scientists predicted that observations of this phenomenon would provide the information needed to calculate the exact distance from the Earth to the Sun. Since Tahiti was believed to be an ideal spot for observing the event, Cook traveled there.

He was also charged with exploring the coast of New Zealand and continuing the search for the Great Southern Continent. Consequently, Cook became the first navigator to explore the area of the Pacific Ocean that lies between New Zealand and South America. He made three separate voyages to the Pacific between 1768 and 1779, and his accomplishments include disproving the existence of the mythical southern continent, discovering the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, claiming parts of Australia for Britain, charting the 300-mile area from Oregon to beyond the Bering Strait, and providing the first comprehensive map of the Pacific.

On his first journey to the Pacific as captain of the *Endeavour*, Cook worked for half pay because he was not as experienced as other navigators who had sought the assignment. Cook's entourage was made up of 119 individuals, including 11 passengers. The most amazing thing about Cook's journey was that he did not lose a single individual to scurvy, which was considered the plague of long oceangoing voyages. Avoiding the mistakes of earlier navigators, Cook stocked the *Endea-*

*avour* with a variety of foods that included portable soups, sauerkraut, onions, evaporated milk, vinegar, lemon juice, and all sorts of vegetables and fruits.

Initially, Cook followed the path established by previous navigators, traveling along the Strait of le Maire to sail between Tierra del Fuego and Staten Island. From there, Cook sailed westward. By the time, the *Endeavour* reached Tahiti, Cook and his passengers had traveled some 5,000 miles. On June 3, 1769, with the assistance of three telescopes, the scientists were able to observe Venus as it crossed between the Earth and the Sun.

Cook remained in Tahiti for three months and then sailed south into unknown territory, eventually hoisting the flag over the Society Islands. Over a six-month period, Cook and his crew navigated the coast of New Zealand, charting a 2,400-mile area while being besieged by hostile aborigines and severe storms. On April 28, 1770, the *Endeavour* anchored at Botany Bay in Australia, allowing Cook to chart and name the area's various islands and bays. When they reached the 80,000-square-mile area known as the Great Barrier Reef, which reached from the tropic of Capricorn to the coast of New Guinea, the *Endeavour* struck a reef. After repairing the ship, Cook set out for the East Indies. Thirty-eight members of the crew were lost to malaria and dysentery over the coming months. Nevertheless, by the time Cook returned to England, he had added a considerable amount of land to the British Empire.

On July 13, 1772, Cook again set sail with orders to circumnavigate Antarctica and settle the question of whether or not another continent existed. The *Resolution* and the *Adventure* set out together, and Cook's plan was to continue sailing southward after traversing the area between Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope. This was the first voyage to circumnavigate the Earth from west to east. Cook also became the first navigator to cross the Antarctic Circle, discovering thousands of islands along the way. His journey included extensive explorations of Easter Island, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, the Marquesas, and the Isle of Pine. The *Resolution* arrived at Spithead on July 30, 1775. In honor of his explorations, Captain Cook was named Commander Cook.

After Captain Cook's exploration of the southernmost continent laid to rest the question of whether or not an unidentified continent still existed, Cook shifted his focus north and renewed his attempts to find the elusive Northwest Passage, which could decrease travel time between Britain and the East Indies. On July 12, 1776, the *Resolution* again set sail with instruc-

tions to travel from west to east, reversing the routes of earlier expeditions. After spending time in Tahiti, Tasmania, and New Zealand, the *Resolution* turned north in December 1777, leading to the discovery of the Channel and Sandwich Islands, which were part of the kingdom of Hawaii. By April 26, 1778, Cook had reached the northernmost point of North America, which he named Cape Prince of Wales. When the ship traveled through the Bering Strait, Cook met solid walls of ice. With winter coming on, he decided to turn around and head back toward the Hawaiian Islands. This was to be the last lap of his final voyage. In Kealahou Bay, on February 14, 1779, a dispute with locals ended in Cook's being murdered. However, his influence did not end with his death. Other navigators chose to explore the waters of the Pacific and complete Cook's unfinished work.

It was another English explorer who ultimately succeeded in finding the Northwest Passage. This was accomplished during a search for members of a lost expedition led by Sir John Franklin who had been trying to force his way through the Arctic from Baffin Bay to the Beaufort Sea to discover the passage. Exploring the relevant area from 1850 to 1854, Robert John McClure became the first person to traverse the Northwest Passage, although he traveled part of the way by sledge. McClure's ship was ice-bound for three years around Banks Islands, but he and his crew were rescued at the point of starvation by a party led by Sir Edward Belcher. It was not until 1906 that Norwegian Roald Amundsen in the ship *Gjoa* succeeded in traversing the Northwest Passage entirely by ship.

### FRANCE AND THE PACIFIC

By the late 18th century, France had developed a strong interest in the Pacific Islands, which it believed to be filled with uncivilized but noble savages. The government was convinced that these islands would open up new avenues of trade and provide philosophers and scientists with new subjects for study. Most important, France wanted new colonies to make up for those that had been lost in North America and India. As a result, in November 1766, three months after Captain Wallis sailed from Plymouth, England, Chevalier Louis-Antoine de Bougainville set sail on the *Boudeuse*, charged with discovering and claiming for France the southern continent that was believed to exist in the uncharted areas of the South Pacific. Two scientists and a crew of 200 accompanied Bougainville.

In April 1768, two years after Wallis's discovery of Tahiti, Bougainville and his crew rediscovered and

claimed the island, which Bougainville named Nouvelle Cythère, or New Cythera, after the Greek mythological Utopia. The Tahitians again offered their young girls in trade, with the result that the French left numerous cases of venereal disease behind when they left the island. When they returned to France, they were accompanied by the Tahitian Shurutura. Bougainville's books about his voyage became an instant best seller in France.

When LA PÉROUSE set sail in August 1828 to explore the Pacific Ocean, he was determined to seek his own path. Instead of traveling east as Cook had done, he mimicked the actions of previous navigators and traveled west. In June of the following year La Pérouse arrived at the point in Alaska where Cook had turned back in 1776. The Frenchman explored the area between Alaska and Monterey, California, and then headed for Macao in the South China Sea, where he charted the East Asian coast of the Pacific. By the summer of 1789 La Pérouse had begun his journey up the Pacific coast of Asia. Between 1837 and 1840 French naturalist Jules Dumont d'Urville explored the Southwest Pacific, claiming Antarctica for France. D'urville's careful charting of the atolls and reefs in the Pacific was immensely valuable for future navigators.

### NORTH AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC

During the last half of the 18th century, European settlers began colonizing Australia, New Zealand, and the major Pacific islands. The United States and Canada entered the fray in 1780, establishing trading routes that netted silk, spices, and other products from distant lands. First with whaling ships and later with steamships, explorers traveled the entire Pacific Ocean. One of the most notable of those explorers was Alexander MacKenzie, a Scot who emigrated to Montreal, where he became a fur trader. After discovering the MacKenzie River in 1788, this explorer became the first North American to traverse the continent and helped to establish Britain's claim to the Canadian West.

Increased knowledge of the Pacific also led to a period of inland exploration in the United States and Canada during the early 19th century. As areas became more settled, there was a push to explore western boundaries and to find more direct routes to areas outside North America. In the early 19th century, France owned most of the land beyond the Mississippi River. In 1803 THOMAS JEFFERSON purchased the Louisiana Territory for around \$15,000,000, annexing all land north of Texas and westward toward the Rocky Mountains. The newly purchased area included what is now Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, South

Dakota, North Dakota, most of Oklahoma, Kansas, Wyoming, Montana, most of Minnesota, and part of Colorado. The following year, Jefferson acted on his dream and financed the LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. On November 7, 1805, the expedition reached the Pacific Ocean, completing the charting of the United States from east to west.

See also AUSTRALIA: EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT; LOUISIANA PURCHASE; MANIFEST DESTINY.

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ELIZABETH PURDY

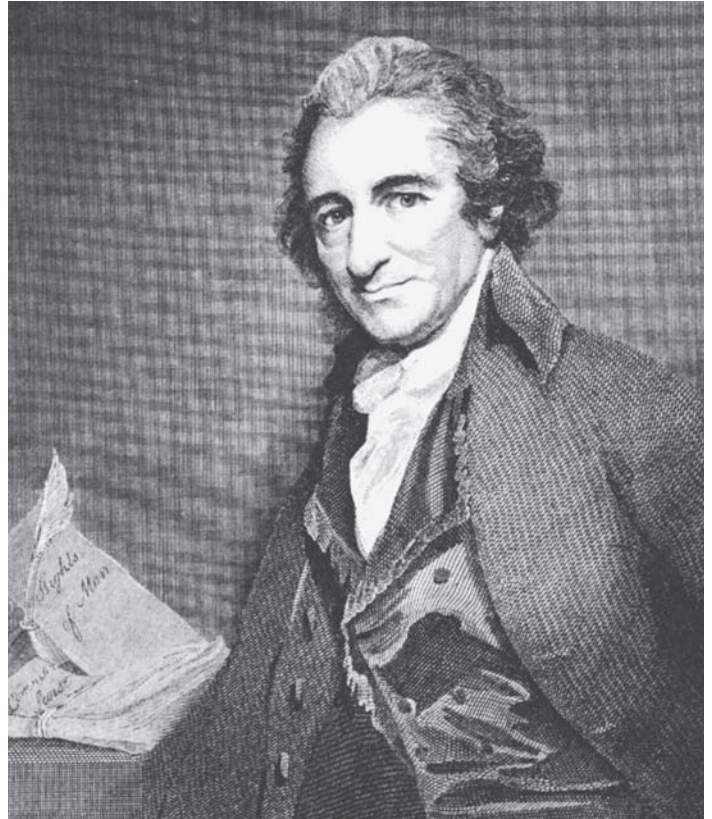
## Paine, Thomas

(1737–1809) *revolutionary journalist and activist*

Thomas Paine, the English pamphleteer who helped spark the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and later played a central role in the FRENCH REVOLUTION, remains a controversial figure, hailed by many as an “Apostle of Freedom” but disparaged by others as a drunken atheist and radical troublemaker.

Paine was born in Thetford, an English country town, where his Quaker father, Joseph Pain [sic] was a corset maker. Tom was well read, but his formal education ended at age 13, and his early efforts as teacher, tobacconist, tax collector, and even husband mostly ended in failure. In 1772 Paine met BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, then Pennsylvania's colonial representative in London. Armed with letters of introduction, Paine set sail for Philadelphia in October 1774. Although a novice writer, Paine was hired by *Pennsylvania Magazine*, where his essays boosted the monthly's circulation.

As tensions between Britain and rebellious colonials escalated, Paine began formulating his own long-held ideas of freedom and tyranny, inspired by such ENLIGHTENMENT figures as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, was a huge best seller. Written in simple,



Born in England, Thomas Paine was a central figure in both the American and French revolutions.

forceful language and modestly priced, his passionate attack on hereditary monarchy and support of human freedom was read by perhaps a fifth of all Americans and inspired the Second Continental Congress's DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE that July.

As hostilities commenced, Paine wrote *The American Crisis*, a series of articles intended to bolster patriot resolve. GEORGE WASHINGTON used Paine's opening salvo, “These are the times that try men's souls,” to inspire his poorly equipped troops on the eve of a Christmas Day, 1776, victory. By 1781 Paine was employing his pen to promote French-American alliance and secretly publicizing Washington and other leading Americans to earn desperately needed funds. In 1785 Congress granted Paine \$3,000, and New York officials deeded him a New Rochelle farm.

Always restless, Paine traveled widely in the late 1780s, trying unsuccessfully to finance construction of his patented design for a new kind of iron bridge. He also found time to pick political fights with both sworn enemies and allies in the United States, Britain, and

France. In an outburst of political activism, beginning with his February 1791 publication of *Rights of Man*, a human rights manifesto, Paine became a principal defender of France's ongoing revolution. This would result in his 1792 election to the French National Convention, where he arrived in September, steps ahead of an arrest warrant issued by Parliament for "diverse wicked and seditious writings." Found guilty in absentia, Paine would never again visit his native land.

Although he never spoke fluent French, Paine was acclaimed a national hero by adoring crowds and soon was helping devise a constitution for the new French republic. Meanwhile, as the Terror deepened and thousands fell victim to revenge killings, Paine audaciously opposed plans to execute KING LOUIS XVI of France. In December 1793 he was imprisoned in Luxembourg, a palace-turned-jail, where he would remain under constant threat of execution for 315 days. His health broken by incarceration, Paine nonetheless wrote *The Age of Reason*, his greatest attack on official religion.

Paine returned finally to his adopted homeland in 1802, after long-time admirer THOMAS JEFFERSON became president. In his final years, Paine regularly attacked Federalists as opponents of liberty and endured accusations of atheism that alienated him from many old friends. At his death in New York, he was almost as poor as he had been on arriving in America 35 years before. Even after death, this citizen of the world remained notorious. In 1819 an English admirer removed Paine's bones from his New Rochelle grave. To this day, no one knows where Tom Paine rests.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## papal infallibility and Catholic Church doctrine

The dogma of papal infallibility was proclaimed at the VATICAN I COUNCIL in 1870. The council fathers taught that when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, as pastor and teacher in an absolute final and irrevocable way concerning faith and morals, he receives the divine assistance that was promised to Peter, the leader of the Twelve Apostles and his successors, and, therefore, speaks infallibly. Such proclamations are "irreform-

able" of their own nature and not dependent upon the church's consent. As a dogma, papal infallibility is held to be divinely revealed and binding on all Catholics.

This theology was controversial at the time and has not been accepted by non-Catholic churches to this day. Opposition to such a definition was strong in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland throughout the 19th century whenever it was proposed for discussion, even among the Catholic bishops. Most of them, however, accepted the teaching and saw it as necessary for the unity of the church. Upon its overwhelming approval in a vote at council on July 18, 1870, the vast majority of opposition among the council fathers ceased and they supported the dogma. Laity in those German-speaking states who could not accept the decision eventually broke away from Rome to form the Old Catholic Church, securing their own apostolic line of authority through orthodox bishops.

The Catholic Church teaches that support for papal infallibility may be found both in Scripture and in tradition. Primarily the church looks to Christ's promise to Peter in Matthew 16:18: "Upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Peter's successors, therefore, lay hold of the same promise. It is not Peter's faith of which Jesus speaks, but his official position, and, therefore, those who accept the same office are heirs of the promise. In other words, Peter's authority to defy the gates of hell amounts to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical infallibility that the First Vatican Council recognized.

Tradition also indicates that early church fathers such as Clement and Irenaeus were in support of the primacy of Rome. St. Augustine once declared that Rome had replied on the matter "and now the case is closed." Similar sentiments are reflected in decisions made by the council fathers at Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople 3 and 4, and later at Florence in 1445. Certain objections that Popes Liberius, Honorius, and Vigilius had made errors in their doctrinal statements have never been proven to the satisfaction of many scholars.

The Second Vatican Council further addressed the dogma in *Lumen Gentium* saying: "Although the individual bishops do not enjoy the prerogative of infallibility, they can nevertheless proclaim Christ's doctrine infallibly." They are required, however, to maintain unity with Peter's successor. That authority is manifest when they gather together in council. Traditionally, an infallible pronouncement only occurs in matters of faith and morals and usually when it is clearly understood that the majority of Catholics already agree with the papal position. Such "infallible" pronouncements are not easily or



frequently made and only after much prayer, reflection, consultation, and the believed prompting of the Holy Spirit. The most recent infallible statement was made by Pope Pius XII on November 1, 1950, declaring Mary's assumption into heaven.

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WILLIAM J. TURNER

## Paraguayan War (War of the Triple Alliance)

One of only a handful of major wars fought among the newly independent nation-states of 19th-century Latin America, the five-year war between landlocked Paraguay and an Argentine-Brazilian-Uruguayan alliance resulted in devastation for Paraguay while transforming the states of the three allies, especially Brazil, in important ways. The roots of the conflict lay in the territorial ambitions of Brazil and Argentina combined with the recklessness and hubris of Paraguay's CAUDILLO dictator Francisco Solano López. In September 1864 Brazil sent troops into Uruguay to support the *colorados* (reds) in their fight against the *blancos* (whites), Uruguay's two main political parties. Uruguay had been created in 1828, largely through British mediation, as a kind of buffer state between Argentina and Brazil. In response to the Brazilian incursion, Uruguay's *blancos* solicited the assistance of Paraguay's Solano López. The Paraguayan caudillo responded by starting a two-front war, sending troops north into Brazil and southwest into Argentina's northern interior provinces. Cementing an alliance in early 1865, Brazil and Argentina struck back and were joined by Uruguay in May 1865 after a *colorado* political takeover.

The war, which took place mainly on Paraguayan soil, proved exceptionally destructive. Despite overwhelming odds, the Paraguayan troops fought with great skill and tenacity, inflicting high casualties on the invading forces. The allied armies, first commanded by Argentine president BARTOLOMÉ MITRE, then by the seasoned Brazilian military strongman Marshal Caxias (Luiz Alves de Lima), took Paraguay's capital city of Asunción in December 1868. Still, Solano López

fought on, until his own death in battle on March 1, 1870. The belligerents finally signed a peace treaty in June 1870.

The treaty forced Paraguay to relinquish roughly 40 percent of its national territory (about 140,000 square kilometers, most divided between Argentina and Brazil). It also created a provisional government, inaugurating a prolonged period of political instability in the ravaged and defeated country. For many years, historians estimated Paraguay's wartime deaths at between half a million and 1 million. More recent scholarship shows a decline from around 407,000 in 1864 to 231,000 in 1872, a death rate of around 43 percent, with only about 28,000 males of military age surviving the conflict. The war destroyed Paraguay's isolated protosocialist autocracy forged under the dictatorship of José Rodríguez de Francia, leaving the country not only decimated and impoverished but riven by factional strife. It also destroyed the country's landowning class, opened the Upper Río de la Plata basin to commerce, and facilitated capitalist expansion into the interior.

The war had other important long-term effects for the allied nations, especially Brazil. Two in particular stand out. First, the war brought the issue of slavery to the fore, with many thousands of black Brazilian troops securing their freedom in compensation for military service. In combination with broader antislavery trends in the Atlantic world and the cessation of further slave imports in 1850, the war intensified abolitionist sentiment across the country. The combination of pressures compelled Brazilian emperor PEDRO II to support the Law of the Free Womb in 1871, ensuring slavery's eventual disappearance. Second, the war substantially enlarged the Brazilian army while catapulting into positions of political authority and power a new generation of military officers, more modern in outlook and disenchanted with the country's increasingly archaic political system. Scholars consider Brazil's final abolition of slavery in 1888 and the fall of its empire in 1889 directly traceable to the social and political changes set in motion by its victory in the Paraguayan War. For Argentina, the war added substantially to the national territory while accelerating the centralization and consolidation of the Buenos Aires-based national state. Smaller in scale but similar in effect were the war's consequences for Uruguay.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Paris Commune

The Paris Commune was the name given to an uprising that lasted from March 18, 1871, to May 28, 1871. The Commune symbolized for anarchists, socialists, and communists an early 19th-century example of a heroic workers' revolution. For forces of the Right, the Commune represented rebellion against property, individuals, order, and the state.

The Commune arose following France's defeat, while under the leadership of NAPOLEON III, in its war with Prussia in 1870–71. The Prussian armies occupied northern France, then surrounded and laid siege to Paris. Led by Louis-Adolphe Thiers, who would later become president of the Third Republic, the French negotiated a peace agreement with the Prussians, and an armistice was signed on February 28, 1871. Following this cease-fire the French national government moved from Bordeaux to Versailles outside of Paris.

Parisians, angered by the defeat, became increasingly defiant and refused to accept Prussian victory. For Thiers and the national government, their position was impossible without control of Paris. The government needed order and a return to normalcy to build national confidence. They also required money to pay Prussia indemnities so that Prussian troops would withdraw from French soil.

It was in this context that the Commune of Paris was proclaimed on March 18. The Parisian National Guard, or citizen's militia, which controlled cannons within the city, gave their support to the Communards. Government troops under the command of General Claude Lecomte arrived on March 18 to seize these cannons and suppress any rebellion. Lecomte's troops refused to fight and he and his officers were taken prisoner. In turn, 600 barricades were erected throughout the city to resist further attack.

The Commune set up offices at the Hôtel de Ville, adopted revolutionary red banners, and called for municipal elections. These elections led to the creation of a Commune government on March 28. The

Commune leadership numbered 80 to 90 and were young and inexperienced. In addition, the Commune lacked direction and a dominant leader. Its makeup was varied and included old radicals tied to the revolution of 1789, Blanquists (followers of the radical Louis Blanqui), anarchists, and those representing the socialist labor movement. The policies that were enacted were more moderate than radical and included free education, an end to conscription, working-hour restrictions, and unemployment and debt relief.

The threat posed by the Commune led the national government on April 2 to end the rebellion. The suburb of Courbevoie was taken and the National Guard's counterattack on Versailles was handily defeated. The Commune was isolated, and it lacked cohesive leadership; further, the local neighborhoods did not have a citywide plan of defense. On May 21 a gate in the western part of the city was breached, and the government forces began their reconquest of Paris. What followed is known as the *la semaine sanglante* (the bloody week) as the national army moved from west to east crushing all resistance. At 4:00 on the 28th the last barricade at the rue Ramponeau in Belleville fell to the forces of Marshal Patrice MacMahon, who proclaimed the Commune rebellion over.

The suppression of the Commune was bloody and without mercy. Both sides committed atrocities, which led to additional retaliation. Prisoners who survived were often shot. The week of May 21 saw more killed than in the entire FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR or in any previous French massacre.

Official estimates are 19,000 Communard deaths against national losses of approximately 1,000. Some have suggested that the death toll in the fighting was far higher and closer to 30,000 killed. Another 50,000 were arrested or executed, with 7,000 prisoners exiled to New Caledonia in the Pacific. Paris remained under martial law for the next five years.

The immediate consequences of the Commune were fear of substantial social reform and a limitation of democratic rights in French society. It created a suspicion among classes that has lasted to the present. For the Left, the Commune became an inspiration for revolutionary change, even though the social agenda of the Commune was hardly revolutionary, and the uprising itself ultimately killed workers and failed to liberate them. Twentieth-century communist propagandists saw the Commune as a useful event for exploitation.

See also SECOND AND THIRD REPUBLICS OF FRANCE; SOCIALISM.

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THEODORE W. EVERSELE

## Pedro I

(1798–1834) *Brazilian ruler*

Pedro I, or Dom Pedro, was the son of King João VI of Portugal. His family fled to the Portuguese colony of Brazil when NAPOLEON I threatened to invade Portugal in 1808. The arrival of the Braganza (Bragança) family, the royal family of Portugal, in the only major Portuguese colony in South America, created a national identity for Brazilians. João VI ruled both Brazil and Portugal from South America until 1821 and did not want to return to Portugal. He liked Brazil and was afraid another European country would try to seize it if he left to return to Europe.

As a father of a future monarch, King João VI was negligent. An unattractive man, he ignored his handsome and high-spirited son. Pedro spent much of his early years in the company of servants in the royal household without parental or other responsible supervision. He received no training for the life that was to be his destiny.

In 1821 King João left his son as regent of Brazil and returned to Portugal. José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, who had studied in Paris at the time of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, became Pedro I's main adviser. However, the handsome, vivacious, and dishonest Pedro had not been raised to listen to wise advice. Pedro backed the party of Brazilians who advised King João to return to Portugal.

When João VI arrived back in Portugal, the Portuguese government began a plan that restricted the sovereign powers of Brazil, returning it to colony status. Pedro I was to be little more than governor of Rio and the southern provinces of Brazil. Although he was irritated by these maneuvers, Pedro hesitated to assert his authority in defiance of the Portuguese assembly, the Cortes, because he did not want to give up his claim to the throne of Portugal.

High-handed orders from the Portuguese government in Lisbon irritated the Brazilians as well as their future ruler, Pedro I. On January 9, 1822, Pedro I refused an order to return to Portugal, saying: “*Fico!*” (“I shall stay”). Today, January 9th is a holiday in Brazil called Dia Do Fico (I Shall Stay Day). Finally Pedro and the Brazilian party threw Portuguese officials out of Rio de Janeiro and other provinces. However, not all Brazilian provinces supported the move toward independence. Pedro made a tour of the provinces to gain support and hired a British admiral to help drive the Portuguese forces out of Brazil. Pedro managed to persuade most Brazilians they would be better off as an independent country.

Pedro was popular with members of Brazil's aristocratic upper class who resented Portuguese-born government officials and were glad to see them leave. In September 1822 Pedro declared Brazil's independence from Portugal and soon after was crowned Emperor Pedro I of Brazil. He convened the first constituent assembly of Brazilians.

Meanwhile, José Bonifácio urged Pedro to develop a constitutional monarchy in Brazil. Others in Brazil wanted a traditional monarchy. The new emperor did not wish to lessen his own royal authority. He told the Brazilian assembly he would consider no documents he deemed unworthy. Pedro also appointed many Portuguese-, not Brazilian-, born ministers. Pedro I sent his advisers, including Bonifácio, into exile. The aristocratic party wanted Pedro to separate completely from his royal family in Portugal, and the Portuguese party within Brazil's commercial classes wanted him to maintain his family ties.

In 1824 a new constitution gave Pedro I almost absolute authority. The assembly could be overruled, and Pedro I even decided which papal decrees would be publicized in Brazil. Instability followed in Brazil. A revolt in Recife in the state of Pernambuco created the Confederation of the Equator. Pedro's forces soon put down this revolt. Portugal recognized Brazilian independence, but Brazil had to repay a loan Portugal took from England.

This greatly increased the national debt the Brazilians had to repay. Also, during this year the people in the area that was to become the country of Uruguay with the help of Argentina threw off Brazilian rule and became an independent country. Pedro I, against the Brazilian constitution, claimed the throne of Portugal when João VI died in 1826. The Brazilians saw in this action an attempt once again to make Brazil a colony of Portugal. When Pedro's wife, Maria Leopoldina, died,

rumors circulated that Pedro had mistreated her so that he could marry one of his mistresses.

Meanwhile in Portugal, Pedro's brother Miguel had tried to take control from his father. The people of Portugal called for Pedro to return home. Pedro renounced the crown of Portugal, giving it to his daughter, Maria II.

Having failed to maintain the loyalty of the people of Brazil, Pedro I abdicated in 1831 and returned to Portugal, leaving his five-year-old son as regent of Brazil. He sailed for Portugal with all the loot he could carry. It was said there was not one silver spoon for PEDRO II to use in the entire palace. Pedro I suffered from tuberculosis, and after fighting his brother Miguel for the right of his daughter to the throne of Portugal he died in 1834.

To some, Emperor Pedro I is regarded as a hero and founder of the nation of Brazil. But others see him merely as a reactionary leader who failed to show initiative in leadership.

See also BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE TO REPUBLIC IN.

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NANCY PIPPEN ECKERMAN

## Pedro II

(1825–1891) *Brazilian ruler*

Emperor Pedro II, or Dom Pedro II, as he was commonly known, was related to most of the royal families of Europe. His father was PEDRO I and his mother was Maria Leopoldina of Austria. Ironically, despite his royal pedigree, Pedro II is called the Citizen Emperor of Brazil. On April 7, 1831, five-year-old Pedro II was left by his father with his two younger sisters in Brazil. Pedro I was forced to leave Brazil due the corruption of his government and his desire to remain an heir to the crown of Portuguese throne. He fought his brother Miguel in Portugal to secure the Portuguese

crown for his daughter, Maria II, who was Pedro II's older sister.

The flight of Pedro I from Brazil left Pedro II with neither father nor mother to guide him. Three regents were to rule for Pedro II until he came of age; he was crowned emperor in 1841. Pedro was calm, serious, and intelligent. He was interested in the study of languages, religion, and science. He studied life in other countries, especially the United States, and began to industrialize Brazil. He created railroads between major cities and had a transatlantic cable placed in Brazil. He encouraged Brazilians to grow coffee. Charles Goodyear's vulcanization of rubber created another important new export for Brazil. The motto of his reign was "Union and Industry."

Politically, Pedro ruled with care. He alternated the parties in power and listened to advice while maintaining the power of the monarchy. However, Pedro II was caught between the conservative upper class of Brazil and the Brazilian liberals to whom he was more closely allied. Conservatives did not like Pedro's attempts to do away with slavery in Brazil. Like some slave owners in the United States, Brazil's elite families could not envision life without slavery. The slave trade was banned in 1850, and gradual emancipation was granted in 1871. In 1888 Pedro II's daughter signed the act eliminating slavery in Brazil. To replace this manpower, Pedro II encouraged Italians, Poles, and Germans to settle in Brazil. The liberals, on the other hand, found that having an emperor as their champion, no matter how liberal his actions, was a contradiction to liberalism.

Pedro II wanted to make education part of every Brazilian's life. He suggested that instead of erecting a statue of him commemorating his victory in the PARAGUAYAN WAR, more primary schools should be built. He also refused to allow repairs to the royal palace while there were not enough schools for the children of Brazil. He even said that if he had not been destined to be an emperor, he would have chosen to be a teacher. He traveled to the United States and visited the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 and used one of Alexander Graham Bell's first telephones. He was so impressed that he became the first investor in Bell's company.

Although Pedro II had earned the affection of many of his people, several groups of Brazilians were unwilling to remain under his control. The military that Brazil built up during the Paraguayan War produced officers and soldiers who were not willing to go back to their life in the lower classes of Brazilian society. They



A progressive leader who helped modernize Brazil, Pedro II was exiled by forces allied against his reforms.

sought new positions in the power structure of Brazil. The church was upset because Pedro II supported the Masons against several church ordinances. The urban middle class also joined with the military against Pedro II, whom they saw as a tool of the rural landowners. In addition the coffee growers, whom Pedro had always encouraged, joined other dissatisfied groups against the monarch. Despite his popularity among the lower classes, the military forced Pedro II to leave Brazil in 1889.

Pedro II left Brazil without bitterness, hoping that Brazil would have a prosperous future. He died in Europe and was buried there. Eventually, his remains and those of his wife were returned to Brazil.

See also BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE TO REPUBLIC IN; COFFEE REVOLUTION.

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NANCY PIPPEN ECKERMAN

## Perry, Matthew

(1794–1858) U.S. naval commander

Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy was responsible for the opening to Japan. During the late 18th and 19th centuries, European and American commercial interests were directed to the Pacific as Asian countries offered large trading markets. Perry's actions ended Japan's policy of isolationism and exposed the inability of the TOKUGAWA military regime (*bakufu*) to defend Japan against foreign encroachments.

The United States was determined to open up Japan to American trade. In 1853 Matthew Perry arrived in Japan with four warships of the U.S. Navy. His orders were to persuade Japan to establish trading relations with the United States. Perry told the Japanese that he would return to Japan in 1854 to receive their answer. He invited officials to board his warships where they were shown American products as well as the powerful weapons his naval vessels were armed with. The ultimatum from Perry created a debate among Japanese officials; some favored fighting the Americans while others favored compliance.

When Perry returned to Japan the following year with eight warships, the Japanese signed an agreement that complied and opened the ports of Hakodate and Shimoda to American trade, promised to treat sailors well, and allowed an American consul to take up residence in Shimoda.

The U.S. government followed up by sending TOWNSEND HARRIS to negotiate trade treaties with the Japanese in August 1856. Harris demanded that Japan establish a fixed low tariff for U.S. imports and that U.S. citizens be granted extraterritorial rights in Japan. These demands created another debate in Japanese political circles between members of the emperor's court and the *bakufu*, which favored compliance because the French and British fleets had just defeated the Chinese in the Arrow War and were rumored to be traveling to Japan to force the Japanese to accede to their demands. Thus they wished to placate the Western powers. A treaty was signed in 1858 that allowed Americans to trade at three more ports, with an additional two ports to be opened within a

stipulated time. These privileges were soon extended to England, France, the Netherlands, and Russia in similar agreements.

The government was severely criticized for allowing Japan to be humiliated by the Western powers. Critics advocated a stronger leadership loyal to the emperor and committed to repel Western encroachments. A slogan, “Honor the emperor, expel the barbarian,” became a popular rallying cry.

Two feudal lords of Choshu and Satsuma especially denounced the Tokugawa Shogunate as too weak to handle the problems afflicting Japan and led the movement to change Japan. In 1868 these two regional lords, who had undertaken to modernize their armies, led a successful uprising that captured Edo, seat of the shogun. It ended the Tokugawa Shogunate and resulted in the MEIJI RESTORATION.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Pius IX

(1792–1878) pope

Pope Pius IX was born Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti at Sinigaglia on May 13, 1792, and died in Rome on February 7, 1878. As a young man, he desired to be a member of the papal noble guard, but was refused admission because he suffered from epilepsy. He instead studied for the priesthood and was ordained a priest in 1819 and archbishop of Spoleto in 1827. He was moved to the diocese of Imola and made a cardinal in 1840.

Mastai-Ferretti was elected pope on June 16, 1846. He had many domestic challenges in Italy that occupied his early papacy. King VICTOR EMMANUEL II defeated the papal army in 1860 and 10 years later seized Rome and made it the capital city of a united Italy. Problems with most of the nations of Europe compelled Pius IX to use diplomacy to fight against the expulsion of

Catholic clergy and a general feeling of anti-Catholicism throughout the continent. His lifelong devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary compelled him to circulate letters to the world’s bishops in regard to the subject of her immaculate conception.

On December 8, 1854, he promulgated the Marian dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. He convoked the VATICAN I COUNCIL, which declared the dogma of PAPAL INFALLIBILITY that establishes that the pope, when speaking on matters of faith and morals, is infallible in his teachings. At 32 years, his pontificate is the longest in history. He was beatified on September 3, 2000, by Pope John Paul II.

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Pope Pius IX convened the Vatican I Council and was the first to declare the dogma of papal infallibility.

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JAMES RUSSELL

## Poland, partitions of

The three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which took place in 1772, 1793, and 1795 resulted in the end of independent Poland and the incorporation of its lands into Prussia, Russia, and Habsburg Austria.

In the early 18th century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was undermined by various European powers, especially through the Polish parliament, the Sejm, where a single member could exercise the right of veto and block any measures being introduced by the body. This had allowed the commonwealth to remain neutral during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–63), although it sympathized with France and Austria, allowing Russian soldiers to cross its territory to fight the Prussians after Russia entered the war as an ally of the French and Austrians.

At the end of the war, FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA wrecked the Polish economy and sought to undermine the country. In 1768 the Russians were involved in fighting the Ottoman Empire and won such easy victories over the Ottomans that the Austrians were nervous that the victorious Russians might attack them. Frederick II decided to refocus the Russian attentions on Poland.

On February 6, 1772, representatives of the Prussian and Russian governments, meeting at St. Petersburg, the Russian capital, decided to annex large parts of Poland, with the agreement of partition signed 13 days later in Vienna, and the Austrian government also gaining part of the country. The annexation took place on August 5, 1772. Some parts of Poland resisted with Tyniec holding out until March 1773 and Kraków falling on April 28—the garrison of the latter being exiled to Siberia.

Essentially the result of the partition was that the Austrians took over areas around Kraków and Sandomir (but not Kraków itself), as well as Galicia. The Prussians took the area around Danzig (Gdańsk) and areas of western Prussia, along with control of some 80 percent of the total pre-partition foreign trade; with the Russians annexing the parts of Livonia they had not already seized, as well as Vitebsk, Polotsk, and Mstislavl, in modern-day Belarus. The Polish sejm

was forced to accept the partition, which it did on September 30, 1773.

The Poles had hoped to get the support of Britain and/or France, but their plans came to nothing. The new Polish government, having lost large amounts of territory and most of its foreign revenue base, signed the Polish-Prussian Pact of 1790. This effectively allowed the next partition to take place and when the new Polish Constitution of 1791 enfranchised much of the middle class, the Russians were angry and regarded the action as aggressive, coming so soon after the French Revolution. On January 23, 1793, the Second Partition took place with Prussia and Russia seizing more land—the former taking Danzig.

The Poles under Tadeusz Kościuszko led an uprising that lasted from March until October 1794. This forced the Russians and the Prussians into a closer military alliance, and they decided, along with Austria, that it was easier to annex the remainder of Poland. This was achieved on October 24, 1795, when the Third Partition took place, ending Poland's independence.

NAPOLEON I tried to restore Poland during the Napoleonic Wars, forming the Duchy of Warsaw, but as he started losing, the entity was dismembered and the lands of the three partitions were returned to Austria, Prussia, and Russia, respectively, formed into the Republic of Kraków, the Grand Duchy of Posen, and the Kingdom of Poland. Poland did not regain its independence until after World War I.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Polish revolutions

The central European nation of Poland spent much of its history between the 17th and 20th centuries struggling for the right to exist as an independent nation. Yet, throughout this period, the rebellious spirit of the Polish people was never completely eradicated. In a series of agreements negotiated in the late 18th century, the neighboring nations of Russia, Prussia, and Austria partitioned Poland, with each country adding parts of

the country to its own territory. It was not until 1918, at the end of World War I, that Poland established its own independence, only to be invaded by Germany and the Soviet Union during World War II.

After the war, Poland became a Soviet satellite, although it was more tolerantly governed than was common. The Solidarity movement of the 1980s paved the basis for a turn toward democracy in the 1990s when the Soviet bloc was dissolved.

In 1807 France created the Duchy of Warsaw out of land it had taken from Prussia and enlarged the territory in 1809 by taking land from Austria. However, French expansion into Polish territories was halted in 1815 by the defeat of the French in the Napoleonic Wars. As part of the war spoils set out in the Treaty of Venice, Russia was granted control of the Kingdom of Poland. Initially, Czar Nicholas I allowed Poland to exist in a semiautonomous state. However, in 1830, he made the decision to call up the Polish army to assist in his efforts to halt the move toward democratization in Belgium and France. His actions gave rise to a new wave of Polish nationalism, and a newly awakened sense of rebellion led to the first Polish revolution. The revolution was in large part a response to the French and Belgian revolutions and to the emergence of democratic socialism in Poland.

Hostilities began on the night of November 29, 1830, when a group of civilians attacked Belweder Palace. Their aim was to kill the first viceroy of Poland, the Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich Romanov. Constantine was the grandson of CATHERINE THE GREAT of Russia. Ironically, Constantine had organized the Polish army and was a strong supporter of the Poles. He considered himself more Polish than Russian and had married a Pole, Johanna Grudzinska, in May 1820. In the confusion that accompanied the attack, Constantine managed to escape. Because he was hesitant to attack those whom he considered his own people, he refused to order his troops to counterattack.

Simultaneously with the attack on the palace, cadets from Warsaw Military College overwhelmed Russian forces along the Austrian and Prussian borders. The cadets captured a number of generals, executing those who refused to join the revolutionary movement. The revolution gained strength as it spread to Lithuania, where the revolt was spearheaded by Emilia Plater. Plater, who died a heroine, was representative of the many women who took up arms to fight for Polish independence. Convinced that victory was within their grasp, the revolutionary government expelled Russian garri-

sons, deposed the ROMANOV DYNASTY, and established its own government.

Ultimately, Russian forces, which initially outnumbered the Polish forces 10 to one, overwhelmed the Poles and Liths who were weakened by indecisive military leaders, and recaptured Warsaw in September 1831. Without mercy, Russia apprehended more than 25,000 prisoners and exiled them to Siberia. The leader of Polish romanticism, poet Adam Mickiewicz, was one of those sent into exile. Although he was not exiled, the composer Frédéric Chopin left Poland at this time but continued to express his despair over the Polish situation in his musical compositions.

After the war, the czar began the Russification of Poland with the intention of eradicating any remaining tendencies toward Polish nationalism. He was unsuccessful, however, and only caused Polish rebels to go underground as they waited for a new opportunity to rid themselves of the Russian invaders. A subsequent uprising in 1846 in the Free City of Kraków and in those cities along the Austrian border was halted by the quick and brutal action of Austria and her allies.

When Alexander II ascended to power in Russia in 1855, he exhibited more tolerance toward Poland and reinstated the semiautonomous state that had existed before the first revolution. While the majority of the Polish people were delighted to regain some of the ground that had been lost, revolutionary groups stepped up their efforts to incite rebellion. When the government attempted to draft the rebels into the army, insurrections broke out in January 1863 and again spread into Lithuania and into what was known as White Russia.

This conspiracy that developed into the second Polish revolution originated at the School of Fine Arts and the Medical Surgical Academy in Warsaw in 1861. Most revolutionaries split along ideological lines into the radical Reds who seized control of the revolution through the Central National Committee and the more moderate Whites. Members of the Whites, generally the landowning and bourgeoisie classes, saw alliances with Britain and France as more likely avenues toward eventual independence than taking up arms against the powerful Russian government and military. Splinter groups also surfaced. When the revolt began, Poland was operating without an organized army and was forced to depend on guerrilla fighters to engage Russian forces.

By the mid-19th century, the Kingdom of Poland had become home to large numbers of Ukrainian peasants who did not share the Polish desire for



independence. This lack of unity within Poland provided Russia with excellent opportunities to undercut Polish efforts toward independence. Among the Polish population, participation was widespread. Out of a population of some 4 million people, an estimated 200,000 individuals took up arms at some point in the second Polish revolution.

When Russian forces prevailed in May 1864, the czar was determined to wipe out all elements of Polish nationalism. Once the Russian administration was entrenched in Poland, all Polish children were required to learn Russian. The Roman Catholic Church, which was seen as instrumental in keeping Polish nationalism alive, came under close scrutiny. In order to exert its right to control Poland, the czar also confiscated a good deal of land and curtailed Polish autonomy. Even though the Poles had been defeated, the desire for independence had been roused in many young people, particularly university students. It was those individuals who kept Polish nationalism alive during the following decades.

See also BALKAN AND EAST EUROPEAN INSURRECTIONS.

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ELIZABETH PURDY

## political parties in Canada

As the British Empire regrouped after the shock of losing 13 of its North American colonies in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, Canadian politics began to evolve from rudimentary local and regional councils almost entirely dominated by royal governors-general and their lieutenants to genuinely competitive political parties that contested specifically Canadian problems and issues.

At the outset, Canadian politicians identified themselves as Tories or Whigs, in emulation of Britain's parliamentary division of the late 18th and 19th centuries. Canada's Colonial Office and its royal governors worked closely with members of local or provincial rul-

ing elites who had the most to gain by toeing the imperial line. Religious leaders (including Roman Catholics in French Canada and Church of England clerics in Ontario) and wealthy merchants were often part of this Tory oligarchy.

After Britain's WAR OF 1812 with the United States, during which Canada survived American invasion, new voices of political reform began to emerge in opposition to this decidedly nonrepresentative system of power. French-Canadian Louis-Joseph Papineau, a lawyer and French nationalist, in 1815 was elected speaker of the Lower Canada assembly, in defiance of the Chateau Clique's previous stranglehold on that body. This was an early indication that British governors were losing their ability to shape and manage local legislatures. In Upper Canada, businessman turned journalist William Lyon Mackenzie put forth a strong reform agenda and collaborated with Papineau. Despite having his presses smashed by Tory opponents, by 1828 Mackenzie, an admirer of the U.S. political system and its incoming president, ANDREW JACKSON, won a seat and joined a new reform majority in Upper Canada's assembly.

The reformers were poorly organized and faced powerful opposition. The so-called Family Compact—Tory leaders in Upper Canada supported by the British governor and Colonial Office—blocked reform proposals targeting patronage and tax policies, and, by 1831, had regained control. Even though Britain's Whigs managed in 1832 to implement major electoral reforms at home, Canadian reformers still despaired of change without radical action. For Canada, the 1830s were a period of political confusion and rising conflict, culminating in the Rebellion of 1837.

It was a year of desperation, caused largely by crop failures and a serious economic depression afflicting both Canada and the United States. In Québec, Papineau seemed to incite his supporters to boycott British trade and adopt some American political practices. Mackenzie encouraged farmers to rally in Toronto to overthrow the existing Ontario government. British-led troops put down both schemes with minimal bloodshed but almost 100 arrests and several executions; both Papineau and Mackenzie fled temporarily to the United States.

Militarily the uprisings were a fiasco, but they caused Britain to look much more seriously at Canadian unrest and its potential threat to Britain's colonial system. In 1838 John Lambton, earl of Durham, was sent by London's Whig government to restore order and recommend new political arrangements that would ultimately establish Canadian self-government. Lord Durham's groundbreaking *Report on*

*the Affairs of British North America* did not instantly solve Canada's political malaise but helped Canadian politicians plan strategies for local self-rule. Most immediately, the Durham Report paved the way for a single legislative assembly for what was now called the Province of Canada, in which both Upper and Lower Canada were equally represented. This move strengthened the importance of the two most populous regions of Canada, but also raised new concerns about French versus English political power: issues that have continued to roil Canadian politics.

New sectional and ideological parties began to appear in the 1840s and '50s, as Canadians extended their autonomy. In Québec, a new Parti Rouge espoused French cultural supremacy while attacking its own Catholic clergy. Canadians in the growing western region, feeling underrepresented by traditional politics back east, in the 1850s formed the Clear Grit Party that focused on agrarian interests, free trade, and more democratic voting rights. It took a young politician from Kingston, Ontario, JOHN A. MACDONALD, to revitalize Upper Canada's hidebound Tory tradition by accepting moderate reform and reaching out across the English-French cultural, religious, and political divide. Soon Macdonald's new Liberal-Conservative party was winning elections with its French partner, Parti Bleu.

With the coming of CANADIAN CONFEDERATION, the Liberal-Conservatives governed Canada from 1867 to 1896, except for 1874–78 when the Reform, or Liberal Party, headed by Alexander Mackenzie won control of Parliament. A Scottish-born stone mason not related to William Lyon Mackenzie, Alexander Mackenzie benefited from a Pacific railway bribery scandal that forced Macdonald's resignation. During their tenure, the Liberals created the Canadian Supreme Court and instituted the secret ballot, among other electoral reforms. Winning support almost exclusively in Ontario, the Liberal party lost badly in the 1878 general election. Not until Wilfrid Laurier became his party's leader and, in 1896, Canada's first French-Canadian prime minister, would the Liberal party truly become a competitive Canadian political institution.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## political parties in the United States

From the nation's earliest days U.S. leaders struggled over how to deal effectively with political disagreements. Many Americans feared that faction—what today would be called special interests—would distort the new republic, setting citizens against one another and encouraging attacks by hostile foreign powers.

In April 1789 GEORGE WASHINGTON, elected unanimously, became America's first president. Within months, sharply opposed political coalitions were arguing inside Washington's own cabinet. Treasury Secretary ALEXANDER HAMILTON had founded the Federalist Party, reclaiming the name given supporters of the CONSTITUTION. In 1792 Secretary of State THOMAS JEFFERSON organized the Democratic-Republican Party, completing what came to be called the first party system.

Federalists and Republicans (as Jefferson's party soon called itself) had very different views of America's future. Would it be an agricultural nation or a commercial and industrial power? Should individual states exercise power or the federal government prevail? Was France or Britain America's trusted ally? Partisan newspapers criticized even Washington; his successor, John Adams, the first and only Federalist president, faced harsher attacks for his Alien and Sedition Acts.

Jefferson won the vicious 1800 election, outpolling fellow Republican Aaron Burr and three Federalists, including Adams.

One result of this political shakeup was the Twelfth Amendment, ratified in 1804 to fix a constitutional defect. Instead of making the electoral runner-up vice president, whether or not he shared the president's views or even his political party, candidates would now run as a slate. This change elevated the importance of party over individual ambition.

Hamilton's death in an 1804 duel with Vice President Burr cost the Federalist Party its most dynamic leader, accelerating its decline despite continuing strength in New England. Federalist opposition to the WAR OF 1812 was decried as treason by political foes. The last Federalist ran (and lost) in 1816.

### FADING PARTISANSHIP

During Republican James Monroe's two terms, partisanship briefly seemed to fade. In fact, the Republican Party was splitting internally between national Republicans and states-rights Republicans. Monroe's Era of Good Feeling evaporated in 1824, when four

candidates, all nominally Republican, vied for the presidency. ANDREW JACKSON of Tennessee, a states-rights Republican, won a plurality of the popular vote but lost the election when national Republican rival Henry Clay transferred his votes to John Quincy Adams, son of the second president. Jackson supporters never forgave this “corrupt bargain.” When Jackson won easily in 1828, he became the first president not from Massachusetts or Virginia. His victory initiated the second party system.

Jacksonians in 1844 renamed themselves the Democratic Party and benefited from the growth of universal white male suffrage. Among Jackson’s innovations was patronage—awarding jobs and favors to supporters to cement their party loyalty. Democrats also pioneered national political conventions.

Clay’s national Republicans in 1834 reinvented themselves as Whigs, named for the British political party that had backed the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Whigs favored national improvements, the BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, proindustrial policies, and middle-class values.

Clay never achieved his presidential dream. Only two Whigs were elected president, despite campaign strategies (borrowed by rivals) that significantly increased voter turnout. The 1840 William Henry Harrison campaign included marches, bonfires, and copious helpings of hard cider. Whigs even encouraged women (who could not vote) to attend campaign events. War of 1812 hero Harrison, the first Whig president, became ill at his inauguration and died shortly thereafter.

### DISSIDENT THIRD PARTIES

Although the U.S. political system has historically generated success for only two major parties, in the 1830s, dissident third parties began to tackle major issues, including growing opposition to slavery and southern political power and increasing immigration. In 1844 James G. Birney, a slaveholder turned abolitionist, was the Liberty Party’s presidential nominee. In 1848 amid sharp regional divisions caused by the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, former president Martin Van Buren campaigned for the Free-Soil Party.

As politics in the 1850s fractured along sectional lines, the new American, or “Know-Nothing,” Party, founded in 1849 in New York, became a major factor in the Whigs’ demise as a functional political organization. Nativist, secretive, and anti-Catholic, Know-Nothings were strong in New England and the Mid-Atlantic, even attracting some slave-state voters. Former president Millard Fillmore in 1856 won

22 percent of the vote for the Know-Nothings. Third-party success explains more about the political chaos of the 1850s than it does about campaign skill. Amid a series of failed compromises, growing distrust between North and South splintered any political party hoping to appeal to both sections. Whigs fielded their last presidential candidate in 1852. Northern Whigs joined Free Soilers and antislavery Democrats and Know-Nothings to create a new Republican Party (not to be confused with the party by then known as Democrats). Former Whig ABRAHAM LINCOLN became the nation’s first Republican president in a four-way race.

Democrats remained strong in the North during the CIVIL WAR. Those nicknamed Copperheads were especially critical of Republican leadership. To aid his 1864 reelection, Lincoln chose a Democratic running mate—Senator Andrew Johnson, a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Nor did Republicans always support their president.

The radical wing of the party complained that Lincoln was too slow to end slavery. Other Republicans preferred to focus on postwar reunification and their northern war party’s future.

The RECONSTRUCTION began shakily after Lincoln’s assassination as now-President Johnson struggled with radical Republicans for political domination. Although Republicans would win six of eight presidential elections between 1865 and 1900, their commitment to Reconstruction and reform wavered. Boss politics held sway in many American cities. ULYSSES S. GRANT’s administration was riddled by corruption, undercutting his ability to protect African-American voting rights.

In 1877 deals made after the closest election in U.S. history (prior to 2000) put Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in office with a tacit promise to leave the former Confederacy alone. With white-dominated southerners voting solidly Democratic and Congress narrowly split, the nation experienced a politics of dead center.

Amid GILDED AGE inertia, new third parties emerged. In its first presidential campaign in 1872, the Prohibition Party attracted many female TEMPERANCE advocates to its crusade against alcoholic beverages. The Greenback-Labor Party, founded in 1878, focused on farmer debt relief and worker rights. Populists in 1892 carried four western states and parts of two others. In 1896 Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan appropriated much of the populist agenda but lost to William McKinley.

See also NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADA.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## prazeros

The *prazeros* arose from Portuguese expansion in the late 15th century. Operating from the mercantile principle that wealth equals power, the Portuguese concentrated on a search for precious metals, especially gold and silver. After Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal

to India in 1498, Portugal sought to gain control of the gold trade in East Africa. Before this time the Swahili city-states located between what is now Somalia and Mozambique had acted as intermediaries for the output of the gold mines of the Shona empire of Monomotapa, which is located in what is now eastern Zimbabwe and western Mozambique.

Portugal seized the Swahili city-states between 1506 and 1512 and, although the northern city-states slipped out of their control between 1648 and 1729, maintained control of the southern city-states, especially Sofala. By the mid-17th century Portugal, a relatively small country of perhaps 1 million, decided to maintain some degree of control through the *prazero* system in its African territories. Concentrated in Mozambique, the hinterland of Sofala and the site of some of the goldfields, the *prazero* system was to last until approximately 1940 and, in part, reflected the lack of firm Portuguese control in its overseas African colonies.



The *prazeros* were Portuguese landholders in East Africa. This system enabled the Portuguese to continue to export large amounts of precious metals from Africa, allowing the relatively small Portugal to maintain its empire on an equal footing with larger nations.

The *prazeros*, holders of leases from the Portuguese Crown, were similar to the holders of the *latifundia* in Latin America but held a larger number. In practice, they were basically independent from 1650 to 1900. Nominally required to defend Portuguese interests, they also derived rights from the loosely organized Shona states of Monomotapa and its successors. By 1700 they were functioning as local African leaders. They had taken African wives, although they continued to emphasize their Portuguese roots by sending their wives and children to Portuguese schools. By 1800 the *prazeros* were more or less African-Portuguese and were actively engaged in the local slave trade. At the height of slave trading in Mozambique, the *prazeros* dominated trade and were involved in the export of perhaps 15,000 slaves per year.

The beginning of the end of the *prazeros* as a privileged class arose from two factors between 1850 and 1890, the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY and the scramble for Africa, which endangered Portugal's position in Africa. The latter directly affected the economic base when Great Britain, in order to forestall the German attempt to connect German Southwest Africa (now Namibia) and German East Africa (now Tanzania), occupied the major goldfields of the Shona states.

The final end of *prazero* power came between 1880 and 1914 when Portugal sought to reassert control in its attempt to preempt British and German ambitions. Europeans were anxious to use African labor, materials, and markets for their increasing factory production. When the Portuguese embarked upon the reassertion of their authority in the Zambezi Valley, they utilized three chartered companies, particularly the British-controlled Zambesia Company, which controlled labor and markets and expanded Portuguese control indirectly by, along with the other companies, establishing military posts and building roads, ports, and the transterritorial railroad. Labor was mobilized to work on the newly developed plantations, especially in cotton and sugar, which were exported through the port of Beira. In the process most holdings of the *prazero* class were absorbed by the companies. By 1940 the *prazeros* had virtually disappeared as a dominant class.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## public education in North America

Public education has undergone a process of significant change because of religion, politics, economics, and immigration. The limited educational system in America led the first settlers, beginning in the New England colonies to push for an educational system similar to that of England. The northern, middle, and southern colonies thought about education differently. An organized and cohesive educational system was needed from the colonial period through the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, in order to better the country as a whole.

### THE COLONIES

In the northern colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, the first colonial textbooks and required reading in schools started with Benjamin Harris's *New England Primer* of 1690, published in Boston. The first primer became required reading in both school and church and was used into the 19th century. It was a combination of the hornbook (paddle-shaped boards with paper attached used to teach children capital and lowercase letters, syllables, the benedictions, and prayers) and catechism. The idea behind the primer was that it provided a combination of religion and learning so that students would gain salvation as well as knowledge.

The first public schools began in Massachusetts and eventually arose in most of the other northern colonies. Education in the north was predominately sponsored and supported by Puritans who fostered the teaching of their beliefs. Dorchester, Massachusetts, established the first public school, Boston Latin School, funded by state taxes. By 1750 mandates were set in place for children who did not attend public schools to learn a trade under an apprenticeship.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony also required towns to set up schools, depending on their size; one elementary school in towns of 50 families or more and one grammar school in towns of 100 families or more. The other northern colonies followed with similar laws, except Rhode Island. The first state board of

education was established in Massachusetts in 1837. In Boston the integration of African Americans into public schools occurred in 1885.

Horace Mann was the first secretary of state for Massachusetts's first board of education. During his tenure he made vast developments for education—schools to train teachers, free public libraries, state aid for schools, public education supported through taxation, education mandates for every child, and secular education not supported through taxation. Efforts to establish state boards of education throughout the colonies began to spread.

The middle colonies—Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York—approached education more slowly than the north. By 1750 a child was required to be able to read and write by age 12, enforceable with a £5 fine. The Quakers founded the Friends Public School in Philadelphia, now the William Penn Charter School, to assist in educating children. Those who were interested could attend an academy to seek further education. In 1753 BENJAMIN FRANKLIN chartered a nonsecular academy in Philadelphia, which eventually became the University of Pennsylvania. Academy attendance varied depending on the school; while some schools only attracted local students, others had students from many areas.

In 1834 a state-funded public system for education was set into place. Around 1840 state public education began to develop, stretching from Connecticut to Illinois, but the southern states were a bit behind. Several factors contributed to the slow development of public education in the South. First, the south was less populous than the North. For about 100 years in Virginia, free schools had already been established, but public education did not become common in the south until after the CIVIL WAR. Puritan New England emphasized educating students about religion in the classroom, while in the south members of the Anglican Church saw education and religion as separate.

The southern elite also took in private tutors from Europe or sent their children to England to seek an education; private tutors and education in the home were commonplace throughout the colonies. Public education also posed a threat to whites; the potential existed for slaves to become literate and gain enough knowledge to organize and revolt. It was punishable by law to teach a slave to read or write. When African Americans were educated, it was usually with the help of Anglicans, Quakers, or other religious groups. In the early part of the 18th century, French immigrant

and minister Elias Neau opened the first school for blacks. In 1782 Quakers also founded the Philadelphia African School, which was a free school. In the early part of the 18th century, other religious groups sought to educate African Americans as well as other poor Americans.

### IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Education in North America continued to evolve during the Industrial Revolution, which lasted from the late 18th through the early 20th century. Children often worked as cheap labor under precarious conditions. There was nothing to regulate these conditions where children were viewed as miniature adults, capable of providing for themselves and their families. During this period, there was a rise in the growth of the middle class. From this middle class emerged reformers who pioneered the idea that childhood constituted a separate stage of development from adulthood and needed to be treated as such. Part of this treatment included education and leisure time.

During the early part of the Industrial Revolution, compulsory education was designed for work, whether in the factories or on the land, and geared toward factory work and labor. The compulsory education of early schools eventually had students who were several years apart in grade and age in one room. Students would be taught the same lessons but the instruction was differentiated and modified based upon the students's learning needs, ability, and learning style.

In early colonial America, students wanting a university education had to travel to England to attend Cambridge or Oxford, which could be unsafe and expensive. It became imperative to establish a university system of education, much like the universities the first settlers had attended before arriving in the colonies. With several colleges founded during the early colonial period—Harvard in 1636, College of William and Mary in 1693, and Yale University in 1701—the trend toward post-secondary education continued from the mid-18th century to the 1900s. Columbia University was first chartered as King's College in 1754, and Dartmouth was founded in 1769. By the end of the 18th century, there were more than 350 colleges in North America.

### SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

During the 1830s there was an influx of immigrants to North America, and by the middle of the 19th century over half of the urban populations were immigrants.

Many foreigners were attracted to New York and New Orleans with new industrialization and economic opportunity.

Many issues began to arise in both the North and South around Catholic education, which led Governor William H. Seward and Bishop John Hughes of the New York diocese to become involved. At the time, the principles of Protestantism dominated North American society. Consequently, little progress was made in enabling Catholics to attend Protestant schools, ultimately leading to private Catholic education.

The private Catholic school system developed because schools only received state funding if they incorporated Protestant teachings into their curricula. Catholics refused to have their children attend Protestant schools because they used the King James translation of the Bible, a Protestant translation undertaken during the 17th century. If

Catholics were to attend public schools they would have to follow Protestantism within the school, and Catholics were afraid of losing support from the Catholic Church if they did so. Catholics eventually gained permission to open their own schools, which were not funded through state aid or taxation.

#### SPREAD OF STATE-FUNDED EDUCATION

With the influx of poor immigrants to the colonies, kindergarten was started to instill the basic social needs of children between the ages of three and seven. In 1890 junior high schools began opening with the purpose of preparing students for high school by distinguishing their needs and determining what they would pursue when they went to high school. Many educational developments were impeded during the mid-18th century up through the early 20th century because of cultural,



*In British North America, educational institutions first developed in the northern colonies, where the first colonial textbooks were used in schools, starting with Benjamin Harris's New England Primer of 1690, published in Boston.*

religious, and economic differences in American society. The need for public education could not be ignored if North America wanted to have unity and prosperity, both in its economic and social conditions.

See also LINCOLN, ABRAHAM; MADISON, JAMES.

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NICOLE J. DECARLO







## Qajar dynasty

After ruling much of what is now Iran since 1501, the Safavid Empire was largely destroyed and occupied by invading Afghan tribes, who captured the imperial capital of Isfahan in 1722. Two years later, subsequent invasions by the Ottoman Empire and the Russians effectively ended centralized Safavid rule and ushered in a period of tribal conquest throughout the region. The Afshars under Nadir Khan conducted a series of brilliant military campaigns that drove the Ottomans and the Afghans out of Iran and led to the recapture of the cities of Mashhad, Isfahan, and Shiraz and the capture of the city of Herat in western Afghanistan between 1726 and 1729. In 1736 Nadir deposed the last Safavid shah, Abbas III, and declared himself shah, ruling until his assassination in 1747 by members of his own court.

The Zand tribe, under its leader, Karim Zand Khan, replaced the Afshar tribal polity in 1750 and ruled much of Iran from their capital city of Shiraz. During Karim's lengthy reign, which lasted until his death in 1779, Iran enjoyed over a quarter century of relative peace and prosperity. However, a dynastic civil war severely weakened Zand power following Karim's death and led to the dynasty's overthrow by the Turcoman tribal leader Agha Muhammad Khan and the establishment of the Qajar dynasty with Tehran as its capital in 1786.

Under Karim, Agha Muhammad had been imprisoned in Shiraz by the Zand tribe, though many sources suggest that he was relatively well treated and even con-

sulted by Karim on issues of governance. After Karim's death, he escaped from Shiraz and went to Mazandaran, where he fought other tribes for supremacy until 1786 when Qajar forces captured much of northern Iran. Over the next several years, Agha Muhammad solidified and expanded his territorial holdings, occupying the old Safavid capital of Isfahan in 1787 and leading campaigns to subjugate Azerbaijan in 1791.

In 1795 Qajar forces entered Georgia, which had once been a client state of the Safavids, after its ruler, Heraclius, refused to begin paying tribute to them, and sacked the city of Tiflis. The next year Agha Muhammad was crowned the ruler of much of Iran. He spent the remainder of his reign in the field with his army, campaigning to assert Qajar authority over the province of Khurasan and fending off attacks from the Russian Empire. While in Georgia, Agha Muhammad was murdered on June 17, 1797, by two slaves who had been sentenced to death for some minor infraction. Under him, the central government in Tehran was tenuous and the importance of tribal affiliations, both within the Qajar tribe and Iran's other tribal groups, remained an important aspect of political life. The bureaucracy that would coalesce later in the Qajar period was not yet formed, and Agha Muhammad relied on a rather decentralized government apparatus to rule his fledgling state.

Upon the death of the first Qajar monarch, Agha Muhammad's nephew, Fath Ali Shah, the governor of the province of Fars, assumed the throne. Under its new ruler, who had been trained in the art of politics while in



*Ahmad Shah Qajar of Iran. Shah Ahmad did not address his country's problems and was marginalized.*

his previous post, the Qajar dynasty began to shift from a tribal polity into a more centralized state. Fath Ali, unlike his uncle, was a great patron of scholarship and art, and it was under him that the administrative structures of government were refined. Iran's other tribes were kept in check because many of their leaders were required to reside in Tehran, and the Qajars frequently attempted to sow rumors among them in order to prevent alliances from forming that might endanger their control of the country. The Qajar administration was run by a new class of bureaucrats, the *mirzas*, and the support, or at least acquiescence, of Iran's Shi'i clergy, the *ulema*, was sought by the shah. The state benefited from periods of relative peace, though Fath Ali's military expeditions against both the Ottomans and the Russians in the Caucasus led to a series of wars.

During the Napoleonic Wars, which pitted various European powers against the French Empire under NAPOLEON I, the Qajars were treated as pawns. In

1801 they signed a treaty of cooperation with Great Britain, in which the British promised to supply the Qajars with military assistance against possible attacks on British India from French forces or Afghan tribes that might come through Iran. However, in 1804, having failed to receive any British aid in their war against Russia, since those two nations were now working jointly against the French, the Qajars aligned themselves with Napoleon.

In 1807 the Qajars and France signed the Treaty of Finkelstein, in which the French agreed to assist Iran in regaining Georgia if in turn the Qajars assisted the French against the British. The French sent officers to train the Qajar army and prepare for an invasion of India, but two years later, the French and Russians signed the Treaty of Tilsit, and Iran was again left without a reliable ally. Finally, Fath Ali and Great Britain entered into another agreement, which included British promises to aid Iran during wartime, particularly during the continuing conflict with Russia. British military officers were sent to Iran in order to assist in the modernization of the Qajar army, which was overseen by the heir to the throne, Abbas Mirza.

To finance his war with Russia over the control of Georgia, Fath Ali increased the level of taxation and began the Qajar practice of appointing some government posts, including vacant provincial governorships, to the highest bidder. The state also granted tax-free landholdings to those who joined the army. Qajar princes were often named to important governorships, and many of them rivaled the shah in power and influence, which led to internal struggles within the dynasty. Despite earlier efforts to centralize the government, the Qajar polity still lacked a cohesive national army or bureaucracy.

The war with Russia ended in 1813 with the signing of the Treaty of Gulistan, which granted control over much of the disputed land to the Russians. When reports of Russian suppression of Muslims in the Caucasus reached Iran in 1825, the *ulema* pressured Fath Ali to declare war on Russia. The next year the shah acquiesced to their demands but was soon defeated because the British refused to aid the Iranians, despite the renewal of their treaty in 1814, since the Qajars had started the conflict. In 1828 Fath Ali signed the Treaty of Turkmanchai, ending the war and agreeing to cede additional territories to Russia and pay an indemnity for starting the war, which included trade concessions to the Russians.

Abbas Mirza, the crown prince, led an invasion of Afghanistan shortly after the end of the war with

Russia, driving toward the city of Herat, but died in 1833 before the conquest could be completed. A year later Fath Ali also died, and the Qajar throne passed to Muhammad Mirza, who was challenged by two other Qajar tribal leaders, Husayn Ali Mirza and Ali Mirza Zill al-Sultan. With the aid of Russian and British troops, who escorted him from Tabriz to Tehran, Muhammad Mirza took power. The reliance on foreigners to prop up the ruling dynasty became steadily more apparent during his reign, which lasted until his death in 1848. The new shah ruled in name only after four years, due to ill health, and the Qajars came under Russian influence.

### NEW PROPHETIC REVELATIONS

On September 4, 1848, with the death of his father, Nasir al-Din Shah became the new Qajar monarch. During his reign, the government bureaucracy was built up and centralized further. The influence of the ulema over the government remained during Nasir al-Din's reign, and the government actively suppressed the nascent Baha'i, a religious movement founded in Shiraz in 1844 as an offshoot of Shi'ism under the leadership of a messianic preacher, Sayyid Ali Muhammad, who radically reinterpreted several Shi'i tenets. Sayyid Ali declared that he was the *bab*, an individual capable of delivering new prophetic revelations. After a joint conference of Sunni and Shi'i ulema met in Ottoman-held Baghdad and declared the new religion to be deviant and Sayyid Ali an apostate, the Baha'i leader was arrested and executed in 1850.

Under the leadership of Amir Kabir, who served as the shah's first prime minister from 1848 to 1851, the Qajar tax system was reformed and the growth of indigenous industries, including armaments factories, was encouraged. Iranians were sent to Russia and countries in western Europe to receive technological training and to observe the workings of foreign governments. Despite his positive impact on the state or perhaps because of it, Amir Kabir was deposed by the shah in 1851 and exiled to the city of Kashan, where he was murdered the next year.

In 1870 the shah named Mirza Husayn Khan as prime minister, and the new premier began a series of reforms, which included the further centralization of the state's power, the curbing of the authority of provincial governors, and the formation of a cabinet and a consultative assembly. In 1872 the prime minister granted a trade concession to Baron Julius de Reuter, a Briton, that granted him a 75 percent share of all Iran's mines, except those with precious minerals, and

the exclusive right to oversee the construction of railroads in Iran. The next year, when the concession was made public, the shah was pressured by the ulema, who opposed many of its provisions, to remove the prime minister from office, which Nasir al-Din reluctantly did. Mirza Husayn, however, was not exiled but returned to the inner circle of the shah's advisers, where he remained until his dismissal in 1880. His reforms and attempt to modernize Iran by emulating western Europe were opposed by the ulema and many in the Qajar government who resented the attempt to limit their authority. Thus many of the reforms ended after his dismissal from office and subsequent retirement from politics.

The conflict between the state and the ulema came to a head again in 1890, after the shah granted a trade concession to a British company that allowed them to monopolize the tobacco trade in Iran. The clergy condemned the shah's decision and called for the public to oppose the concession. Protests and riots broke out across Iran, and in December of that year Grand Ayatollah Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the world's senior Shi'i cleric, issued a juridical opinion (*fatwa*) that declared the use of tobacco illegal because of the trade concession; his ruling was obeyed by the majority of Iran's population, including the wives of the shah and Iran's non-Shi'i population. In early 1892, under intense public pressure, the shah rescinded the concession. Nasir al-Din was assassinated four years later while meeting with petitioners at the royal court.

### LAVISH LIFESTYLE

The monarchy's woes continued under the new shah Muzaffar ad-Din, who faced widespread opposition among the ulema, the merchant class, and the general public in late 1905 when he put in place new, restrictive economic laws and granted trade concessions to European powers in order to finance his family's lavish lifestyle. A constitutionalist movement, which opposed the concessions, led to the formation of a representative assembly, the Majlis, in 1906. The shah died the next year, and his successor, MUHAMMAD ALI SHAH, cancelled the agreement in June 1908 and ordered an attack on the Majlis building and implemented martial law.

Muhammad Ali used the army to put down popular revolts that erupted following the closing of the Majlis, and constitutionalist forces fled to Tabriz, where they withstood a siege by the shah's army for months. By the summer of 1909 a coalition of constitutionalist and other anti-Qajar forces captured Isfahan and marched

on Tehran, forcing Muhammad Ali to abdicate on July 16. The deposed shah went into exile in Russia and two years later attempted to reclaim the throne by invading Iran, but was again defeated.

The outbreak of the World War I in 1914 and the violation of Iran's declared neutrality by both the Central Powers and the Triple Entente led to the country becoming a battleground as Ottoman and German invasions were matched by British counterattacks. The war was also marked by the signing of new agreements between Great Britain and the Qajars guaranteeing British influence over the country.

Reeling from the aftershocks of the war, Iran was beset with invasions by Russian Bolshevik forces in 1920, the continued presence of British troops, and sectarian revolts by the country's Kurdish and Azeri minority communities.

The inability of Shah Ahmad to address the country's mounting external and internal problems led to his being marginalized by Reza Khan, a commander of the Persian Cossack Brigade, who formally put an end to the Qajar state and established the Pahlavi dynasty in 1926 after quelling revolts and successfully implementing a new authoritarian political order in Iran.

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CHRISTOPHER ANZALONE

## Qianlong (Ch'ien-lung)

(1711–1799) *Chinese ruler*

Emperor Qianlong was the fourth ruler of the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY. He abdicated after 60 years on the throne so that his reign would not be longer than that of his revered grandfather Emperor Kangxi (K'ang-hsi). The Qing dynasty reached its zenith under him, as he was a brilliant and hardworking ruler, but many

problems developed during his later years that forebode dynastic decline.

Born in 1711, the fourth son of Emperor Yongzheng (Yung-cheng), he was named Hongli (Hung-li) and was rigorously educated in the Confucian classics, history, literature, rituals, administrative techniques, and military skills. His school day lasted from dawn to midafternoon, with only five holidays per year. He was taught that a good ruler must have "the ability and desire to discover, select, and use ministers of high talent . . . and to exhaust their talent in the service of the state." Age 24, when he ascended the throne, he inherited a prosperous empire at peace, a full treasury, and able counselors who had served his father.

Qianlong traveled widely on six tours of inspection to the south, four to the east, and five to the west. He had a splendid military record and led several campaigns personally. In the 1750s his army finally and conclusively ended independent nomad power in Central Asia, and he annexed all lands in what is now China, plus present-day Mongolia, the Ili Valley of Kazakhstan, and parts of Siberia. This was a feat comparable with the achievement of the most successful previous dynasties. The distance his armies traveled exceeded the distance of Napoleon's failed march to Moscow in his Russian campaign. The Qing dynasty moreover continued to control these extensive territories for over a century by maintaining large garrisons and administrators throughout the pacified territories. His other campaigns, though less momentous, included the subjugation of Burma, Annam (Vietnam), and the Gurkhas in Nepal, bringing into or retaining these areas in the Qing tributary system. Dozens of states in addition, ranging from Korea, Siam, and Central Asian khanates such as Bokhara, Khokand, and Badakshan, also paid tribute.

The domestic achievements of the Qianlong reign were equally striking. He was a great patron of all the arts and learning, which he demonstrated in many ways. In addition to the regular exams for recruiting civil servants he held special examinations to recognize men of great learning and invited famous scholars to join the government. He was also an avid collector of paintings, calligraphy, and fine works of many genres of art. Thousands of pieces of art in the national museums of both Taipei and Beijing were collected by Qianlong. His lavish patronage of art and crafts stimulated high-quality workmanship throughout the empire. Qianlong was also a calligrapher, painter, and poet and spent his spare time in literary pursuits. He boasted of composing a grand total of 43,000 poems in his lifetime.

More important, Qianlong sponsored great literary projects, including the compilation of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* that contained 36,000 volumes arranged into four categories as follows: classics, history, philosophy, and belles lettres. Its catalog listed 10,230 works. Seven complete sets of the Four Treasuries were printed and deposited in libraries in different parts of the empire. Qianlong also had an ulterior motive in sponsoring this project—to exercise censorship over works that he considered derogatory to the Manchus, which he then destroyed. As many as 528 titles met that fate. The social and political stability that he inherited and prolonged produced a significant population increase, to approximately 300 million by his reign's end. New crops introduced from the Americas, promotion of irrigation, and the opening up of virgin lands increased food-producing capacity, feeding the increase in population. He also reduced land taxes and maintained granaries that relieved famine.

For all his splendid achievements, historians have not judged Emperor Qianlong kindly, in part because his reign was the watershed between the successful era of the early Qing and the precipitous decline that set in during the 19th century. The very success of his reign brought problems, the most difficult being the unprecedented expansion of Chinese agriculture and population.

Pressure for land led to internal colonization by Han Chinese of land held by minority ethnic peoples that would lead to tribal rebellions and peasant unrest. Large-scale commercial expansion and export-oriented enterprises begun during the early Qing initially resulted in very favorable balance of trade for China. However, by the late 18th century, Great Britain, China's major trading partner, had found an item that would redress its unfavorable balance of trade: opium. Initially a legally imported medicinal item, opium later became popular as a recreational drug. While addiction to opium was at its infancy during his reign, it would later explode to cause a national and international crisis.

Qianlong's judgment became seriously flawed as he got older. Around 1775 he met a young, handsome guardsman named Heshan (Ho-shen) whom he rapidly promoted to the highest offices of the empire; he even married his youngest daughter to Heshan's son.

Heshan was openly and massively corrupt and promoted cronies who colluded with him to extort money. Although Qianlong retired in 1795, he nevertheless continued to exercise power behind the scenes. Thus it was not until Qianlong's death in 1799 that his son and successor Emperor JIAQING (Chia-ch'ing) could

arrest and execute Heshan and confiscate his ill-gotten wealth, estimated at \$1.5 billion.

Qianlong's long reign began brilliantly and proceeded on a steady and successful course. The personal decline that set in during his old age would become the beginning of dynastic decline. In 1793 Great Britain's first ambassador, Lord Macartney, arrived in China, coinciding with the emperor's birthday celebrations. Macartney's account noted the emperor's remarkably fit physical condition for a man of his age, but assessed the outwardly magnificent Qing Empire as decaying from within. His words proved prophetic.

See also MACARTNEY MISSION TO CHINA; QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty in decline

The Qing dynasty (1644–1911) was the last of 24 dynasties in Chinese history and one of the most successful. The transition from its predecessor the Ming dynasty, was one of the least disruptive in Chinese history. In the territory it controlled the Qing was the second largest in Chinese history, after the Mongol Yuan dynasty. The Qing is also called the Manchu dynasty, after the ethnic origin of the ruling house. The Manchus were frontier people from northeastern China; they were originally nomadic but as frontier vassals of the Ming had learned agriculture and Chinese ways before 1644. Although the Manchus maintained a privileged status for their people, they nevertheless gained the support of their majority Han Chinese subjects by upholding Chinese institutions and assimilating to Chinese culture. China enjoyed a century and half of prosperity under three capable and long reigning early Qing emperors, Kangxi (K'ang-hsi), Yongzheng (Yung-cheng), and QIANLONG (CH'IEN-LUNG).

Qing dynastic fortune began to decline toward the end of the Qianlong reign partly due to the emperor's failing ability as he aged, allowing corruption to

flourish. There were, however, longer-term reasons beyond Qianlong's or anyone's control that led to the turn of dynastic fortunes. One was the demographic disaster. Over a century of peace led to an unprecedented explosion in population, which tripled in two centuries from approximately 150 million in 1650 to about 450 million in 1850 while arable land rose from 5.27 million *qing* (*ch'ing*) in 1661 to 7.9 million in 1812 (1 *qing*=15.13 acres). Thus food production did not keep up with population increase despite the introduction of new crops—maize, sweet potatoes, and peanuts—and improved farming techniques. The result was the decreasing size of farms and the migration of poor farmers to cities, where there were no factories to absorb them. This domestic crisis was made worse by the opium problem. Other causes of dynastic decline included the corruption and loss of martial spirit of the once powerful Manchu banner army. Mounting domestic problems that overwhelmed the later Manchu rulers fueled a revival of anti-Manchu sentiments that had never died out, especially in southern China.

From before the common era trade between China and the West had been primarily overland, across Eurasia via the Silk Road. Portuguese traders who first arrived on the coast by sea in the 16th century supplanted the overland trade, and China accumulated a surplus due to European demand for Chinese silks, tea, and porcelain. Westerners eventually found a profitable item to sell to the Chinese: opium. By the 18th century Great Britain had gained primacy as China's trading partner and primary seller of opium, which the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY produced in Bengal, India. Increasing Chinese addiction to opium, and the government's inability to prohibit its import created an unfavorable balance of trade for China, in addition to moral and public health crises. The incompatible Chinese and Western views of the world order, diplomatic relations, and international law resulted in wars between China and Great Britain and France, called Opium Wars by China, in the mid-19th century. Defeats led to the signing of dictated treaties that opened up China on Western terms and the imposition of extraterritorial rights for Westerners in China, plus territorial losses and indemnities.

Belatedly, the Qing government responded with limited adoption of Western-style reforms beginning in

the 1860s. Loyalists and reformers saved the dynasty by defeating serious rebellions (the TAIPING REBELLION, the NIAN REBELLION, and the MUSLIM REBELLIONS being the most threatening) and inaugurating modernizing schemes such as the TONGZHI RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT. But the reforms were inadequate due to the lack of central leadership and massive corruption under the dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi) who held the reins of power between 1862 and 1908. Her reactionary policies aborted the dynasty's last chance for survival through the HUNDRED DAYS OF REFORMS in 1898, and her xenophobia resulted in the disastrous BOXER REBELLION in 1900. A revolution led by Western-educated Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911 ended the dynastic era in Chinese history.

Although the decline of the Qing dynasty preceded negative Western influences, its inability to adjust and respond effectively accelerated its decline and fall. Additionally the nature of the Western impact changed the traditional pattern of the dynastic cycle because, unlike previous invading groups who had prevailed over China, the Westerners enjoyed technological superiority backed by a highly advanced civilization. The clash of traditional Chinese with modern Western civilizations would result in a radical and difficult transformation of China that would persist into the 21st century.

See also ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WARS.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

# R



## Raffles, Thomas

(1781–1826) *British colonial administrator*

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the son of an English sea captain, joined the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY as a clerk in 1795 and was sent to Asia in 1805. When the Netherlands became part of NAPOLEON I's empire, Dutch overseas possessions became a prize in the Anglo-French struggle. In 1811 a British naval expedition of over 100 ships set sail to conquer Java and other Dutch possessions in the East Indies. Upon its conquest, Commander Lord Minto appointed his secretary, the 30-year-old Raffles, as lieutenant-governor of Java. Raffles immediately began thorough reforms based on liberal principles, overturning the oppressive Dutch plantation system that forced the people to cultivate and deliver export crops—primarily sugar, coffee, tea, indigo, and cotton—that greatly profited the Dutch East India Company. Raffles implemented a free market system and completely reformed the internal administration of the islands. He was also interested in the local culture and history, wrote a history of Java that became a classic, and ordered the first survey of the magnificent Buddhist monument at Borobodur.

Raffles had hoped that Java would become a permanent British colony. However, at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Netherlands was awarded its former possessions in the East Indies, and most of Raffles's reforms were rescinded by the returning Dutch administration. Raffles returned to Britain in 1816 due to ill-health, was knighted, and came

back to Asia as lieutenant-governor of Bencoolen in western Sumatra in 1818. To offset the loss of Java, Raffles negotiated the purchase of Singapore, a sparsely inhabited island at the tip of the Malay Peninsula from the Sultan of Johore in 1819, assuring the British government that its location made it “the most important station in the East,” adding that as a result of this acquisition, the Dutch “are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the eastern seas.” It had a population of 1,000 inhabitants.

Singapore was strategically located at the tip of mainland Southeast Asia and had a superb deep-sea harbor. Modern cosmopolitan Singapore is the result of policies begun by Raffles: city planning, free trade, orderly government, and imposition of law and order. The city became a magnet for Asian and European shipping and immigrants of many nationalities, mainly Chinese, but also Indians and Malays. Raffles granted the right of Muslim legal practices to the Malays but instituted English laws modified to suit local circumstances for other peoples. He also abolished slave trade and slave status for anyone who had come to Singapore after the establishment of British rule in 1819, much before the abolition of slavery in the British Empire and other nations.

The Netherlands had opposed the establishment of British Singapore but was forced to accede in the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London in 1824, in return for Britain's total retreat from Sumatra. In 1867 Singapore, Penang, and Malacca (also British possessions) were joined to form a crown colony called the Strait Settlements. British



involvement in the petty and unstable Malay states to the north resulted in the formation of the Federated Malay States in 1895 when four states came under the supervision of a British resident general. In 1914 the remaining five Malay states also came under indirect British rule when they formed into a union called the Unfederated Malay States. These steps established British rule throughout Malaya.

Raffles returned to Britain in 1824 due to ill health, founded the Royal Zoological Society, and died in 1826. Modern Singapore would not have come into being save for Raffles's vision.

See also MALAY STATES, TREATY OF FEDERATION AND THE (1896); SMITH, ADAM.

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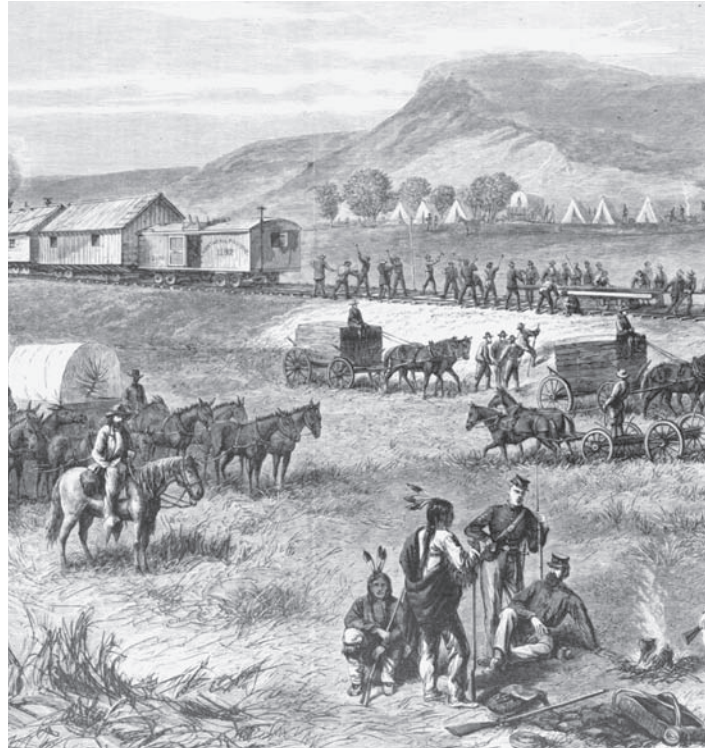
JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## railroads in North America

The impact of railroads on the economic, political, social, and cultural history of North America was immense. These iron horses propelled by steam locomotives along ribbons of steel were integral to the 19th-century transportation revolution and the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, binding together geographically disparate regions of the United States, Canada, and northern Mexico.

Railroads provided fast, cheap transportation for people and goods; facilitated the growth of markets, industries, migration, and organized labor; promoted westward expansion in the United States and Canada; integrated the regional mining and ranching economies of northern Mexico with U.S. markets; and, by the late 19th century, provided an important organizational model for emergent corporations. They were also key to the emergence of the populist movement and the era of progressive reforms and were not displaced as the principal means of mechanical conveyance until the automobile became an object of mass consumption in the 1920s.

In the United States, the transportation revolution began in the 1790s–1820s with a frenzy of road and



*An illustration published in 1875 of crews laying track on the Great Plains. Soldiers and Native Americans rest in the foreground.*

turnpike construction, continued in the 1820s–1840s with a frenzy of canal building, and reached a culmination in the 1840s–1890s with a rush of railroad building. Railroads engendered a revolution in transport arguably not supplanted until the construction of the interstate highway system in the mid-1950s. Like the interstate highways, the railroads were built only through the active intervention of state and federal governments via massive public subsidies, tax breaks, land grants, and other major incentives to ensure their timely construction.

The first working railroad in the United States was a 13-mile stretch completed in 1830 by the Baltimore & Ohio Company. In 1836 total railroad mileage in the United States stood at around 1,000; in 1840 3,000; in 1860 30,000. In 1864 Congress mandated a standard track gauge (width) for the projected transcontinental railroad, though the standard gauge of 4 feet, 8½ inches did not become the U.S. standard until 1886. By 1900 nearly 200,000 miles of railroad track crisscrossed the length and breadth of the country. Densest in the industrial and agricultural heartland of the Northeast and Midwest, sparsest in the West, railroads linked all the country's major cities and tens of thousands of towns

and communities. Emblematic here was the emergence of Chicago as a major rail hub in the nation's midsection integrating rail and water transport. Towns along railways prospered; those bypassed floundered. The transcontinental railroad, linking the east and west coasts and built mainly by immigrant Irish and Chinese laborers under exceedingly hazardous conditions, was completed in 1869. Two decades later, another six major lines crossed the continent east to west, with termini in Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

A parallel development unfolded in Canada, where a canal boom from the 1820s and 1830s was followed by a railroad boom from the 1850s. Here, too, public subsidies, activist government, and abundant immigrant labor made railroad construction possible. The transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway, linking the eastern provinces to the Pacific port city of Vancouver, British Columbia, was completed in November 1885, with dozens of spur lines linking major cities and towns and crisscrossing the southern border with the United States in both the urban and agricultural East and prairie West.

The same happened in northern Mexico, where from the 1880s the burgeoning ranching and mining economies prompted a spate of railroad construction during the period of the Porfiriato. By the early 1900s a dense network of railroads linked northern Mexico's ranching and mining districts with the U.S. Southwest and industrial centers of the East, South, and Midwest. Like railroads elsewhere in Latin America, funneling into port cities from Peru to Argentina, northern Mexico's were geared mainly to export production.

This was in contrast to the United States and Canada, where railways, in addition to funneling goods to seaports for export, played a key role in integrating internal markets and facilitating migration to the interior. From the mid-1840s telegraph lines followed the rail lines, generating a revolution not only in transport, but in communications. Another revolution occurred in timekeeping: today's standard time zones, first implemented on November 18, 1883, by rail companies in the United States and Canada, resulted directly from the need to synchronize rail schedules.

Among the largest concentrations of private capital in the world in the late 19th century, U.S. railroad companies also pioneered important new forms of business organization. Most notable here was their pursuit of horizontal and vertical integration, in which a single company integrated "horizontally" by controlling firms

engaged in the same industry (in this case, other railroad companies), and "vertically" by controlling the subsidiary industries involved in the primary industry (in this case, coalfields, iron and steel factories, and even cotton fields and textile mills for passenger car seats and draperies).

By the 1870s railroad monopolies and corruption had become the object of much popular wrath, most tangibly expressed in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, and later, in the Populist Movement of the 1890s. Many Progressive Era reforms from the 1890s, especially anti-monopoly and antitrust legislation, found a primary target in the nation's giant railroad monopolies. For these and many other reasons, one would be hardpressed to exaggerate the centrality of railroads in the economic, political, social, and cultural history of North America.

See also MANIFEST DESTINY.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Rama V (1853–1910) *Thai king*

Rama V, commonly known as Chulalongkorn, was one of the greatest Thai monarchs, noted for his foreign policy and modernization. The fifth king of the Chakri dynasty was born to King Mongkut and Queen Debsirinda in 1853. Mongkut was an enlightened ruler who employed Anna Leonowens to be an English governess for his children; the story is told in the book *Anna and the King of Siam*, later adapted to the musical *The King and I*. Chulalongkorn also studied in a Buddhist monastery for two years and succeeded to the throne on October 1, 1868.

His reign began under the regency of Prime Minister Chao Praya Srisuriyawongse, as he was too young to rule. He visited Penang, Singapore, Java, Burma, Calcutta, and India during this period and got firsthand knowledge of Western colonial administrations. He also visited Europe twice, in 1897 and 1907.

Mongkut and Chulalongkorn kept up with the times. It was because of the endeavors of the father-and-son duo that Thailand preserved its independence

and became a modern state. His 42 years of liberal rule saw reforms with far-reaching consequences for Thailand.

The administrative structure of Thailand was changed in 1882 with the introduction of a cabinet system with ministers responsible to the king. The archaic feudal administration was changed with the division of the kingdom into provinces and districts.

The king's administrative reforms touched almost every aspect of the state. In 1884 state schools were established and were open to girls and boys. The newly established government printing press published the textbooks. State scholars were sent abroad and later modern universities were established in Thailand. The traditional lunar calendar was replaced by a Western one with Sunday as a holiday in 1899.

Chulalongkorn was instrumental in developing a modern army. The first railroad opened in 1896 from Bangkok to Ayudhya and, in 1905, the first foreign loan from Britain to meet expenses for its building was received. A benevolent monarch, he traveled throughout the kingdom to see the condition of his subjects. Thailand became a viable, stable, and modern state because of the reforms of Chulalongkorn.

### PRUDENT POLICIES

Thailand survived without becoming a colony of either Britain or France, unlike its neighbors, thanks to prudent policies of the king, although Mongkut and Chulalongkorn both signed unequal treaties of friendship and commerce with the Western powers that allowed them extraterritoriality rights.

Aware of the limitations of his military, Chulalongkorn made land concessions to France and Britain that kept Thailand as a buffer state between the two. In 1893 Thailand gave up its claim on the territories of the left bank of the Mekong River, covering most of the area of modern Laos to France. In 1904 the Anglo-French treaty designated the respective spheres of influence of Britain and France. In exchange for 25 kilometers of neutral zone along the Mekong's west bank, Thailand gave Champassak and Sayaboury provinces to France in 1904 and 1907. By the Anglo-Thai Convention of 1909 Thailand gave up its rights over the four southern states of the Malay Peninsula: Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu, while Britain recognized Thai control over the Muslim-dominated Pattani Province. The convention thus fixed the present existing boundary between Malaysia and Thailand, which has become one of the factors for the rise of Islamic terrorism in Thailand.

When Chulalongkorn died on October 23, 1910, in Bangkok, he left a modern Thai state to his successor, Rama VI. To commemorate the reign of Chulalongkorn, October 23 is observed as a national holiday.

See also ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT ON SIAM (1897); CHAKRI DYNASTY AND KING RAMA I; SIAM-BURMESE WAR.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Reconstruction in the United States

The era of Reconstruction was from 1865 to 1877 when Americans tried to reunite a nation shattered by CIVIL WAR. It generated bitterness and controversy. The people who lived through Reconstruction viewed it from sharply different perspectives. Many white southerners saw it as a devastating experience, a time when vindictive northerners humiliated the South and delayed reunification. Northerners argued that forcible federal intervention was the only way to stop the old southern aristocracy from returning and subjugating their former slaves and to keep die-hard Confederates from restoring southern society to the way it had been before the war.

Many considered Reconstruction significant for other reasons. They saw it as a small but important first step to putting former slaves on the path to claiming their civil rights and accumulating economic power.

Reconstruction did not bring African Americans enough legal protection or material resources to assure them anything resembling equality, and when it ended in 1877 the federal government abandoned the freed slaves to a system of economic serfdom and legal subordination. The African Americans who continued to live in what came to be called the New South could only produce token resistance to the new southern system for the remainder of the 19th century.

### THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

Emancipation had stripped many white southerners of their slaves, and they had no capital and almost no

personal property for rebuilding their lives and fortunes. Towns were gutted, plantations burned, fields grown to weeds, and bridges and railroads destroyed. Many white southerners faced starvation and homelessness. More than 258,000 Confederate soldiers died in the war and thousands more came home wounded or sick. The Legend of the Lost Cause, romanticizing the South as its citizens remembered it in the days before the War, became a unifying point of hope for southerners.

Southern blacks faced the same stringent conditions as their white neighbors. Nearly 200,000 of them had fought for the Union, and 38,000 had died. These African Americans envisioned a life free from the injustices and humiliations of slavery with the same rights and protections as white people enjoyed. African Americans disagreed among themselves on how to achieve freedom. Some demanded that economic resources like land be redistributed, and others just wanted legal equality, confident that if they had the same opportunities that white people had they would earn places in American society.

White southerners had a different view of freedom. To them, freedom meant the ability to control their own destinies without the North or the federal government interfering. In the aftermath of the Civil War, they tried to restore southern society to the way it had been in the antebellum period.

Leaders of both parties believed that readmitting the South to the Union would reunite the Democrats and weaken the Republicans. Republicans disagreed among themselves about the proper approach to Reconstruction. Conservative Republicans insisted that the South accept the abolition of slavery but did not suggest any other conditions for readmission of the states that had seceded. Radical Republicans, following the lead of Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, demanded that Confederate civil and military leaders be punished, that many southern whites be disenfranchised, that black legal rights be protected, and that the property of wealthy white southerners be confiscated and distributed among the freedmen. Moderate Republicans rejected the vengeance of the Radicals, but desired some concessions from the South, including African-American rights.

#### TEN PERCENT PLAN

Sympathizing with the moderate and conservative Republicans, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN pursued a lenient plan for Reconstruction that he announced in

December 1863. He wanted to quickly readmit southern states into the Union in good standing and with a minimum of retaliation. He proposed what he called a 10 percent plan: whenever 10 percent of the number of voters in 1860 took the oath in any state, those loyal voters could set up a state government.

Using this formula, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee reestablished loyal governments in 1864. President Lincoln also wanted to extend suffrage to African Americans who were educated, owned property, and had served in the Union army. He created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands and insisted that the new freedmen would have equal rights. African Americans in the Freedmen's Bureau were sent to farming plantations in the Sea Islands of South Carolina that the army had seized, but they never became owners of the land that they worked.

History and Reconstruction would undoubtedly have taken a more positive turn if southerner John Wilkes Booth had not assassinated President Lincoln on April 14, 1865. The assassination extended and deepened the bitterness of the Civil War on both sides. Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, did not fit the compromising or conciliatory pattern. A tactless and intemperate man, Johnson, a Democrat from Tennessee, resented the freed slaves and refused to support any plans that gave them civil or voting rights. Soon after he took office, he revealed his Reconstruction plan, or as he called it, his Restoration plan, which he implemented in 1865 during the congressional recess. As Lincoln had done, he offered amnesty to southerners who would take the oath of allegiance. He appointed a provisional governor for each state and instructed the governor to invite qualified voters to elect delegates to a constitutional convention. To be readmitted to Congress, a state had to revoke its ordinance of secession, abolish slavery, ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and repudiate the Confederate and state war debts. As a final restoration step, each state had to elect a state government and send representatives to Congress. By the end of 1865, all of the seceded states had formed new governments and were prepared to rejoin the Union when Congress recognized them.

Many northerners were disturbed at these Reconstruction results. They were dismayed that southerners were reluctant to free the slaves and astonished that states claiming to be loyal to the United States would elect leaders of the recent Confederacy. The Democratic Party, proclaiming itself the party of white men, supported Johnson. In response to recalcitrance, the Radical Republicans blocked the readmission of the

rebellious states to the Congress in fall 1865. Congress also renewed the Freedman's Bureau, but Johnson vetoed it.

Reconstruction under President Andrew Johnson's plan, sometimes called presidential Reconstruction, progressed only until Congress reconvened in December 1865. After it reconvened, Congress refused to seat representatives of the "restored" states and created a new Joint Committee on Reconstruction to work out a new Reconstruction policy. This began the era of congressional, or Radical, Reconstruction.

### RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Constitutional amendments, far-reaching legislation, and restrictive Black Codes were enacted during the next years of Reconstruction. In 1865 and 1866 the governments of white ex-Confederates quickly instituted Black Codes that limited freedmen to second-class civil rights and no voting rights. Southern plantation owners wanted to dominate their African-American labor force and prevent them from attaining equal rights. The Mississippi and South Carolina Black Codes said in part that if African-American workers ran away from their tasks they forfeited their wages for the year and fugitives were to be arrested and carried back to their employers. Codes in other southern states prohibited African Americans from owning or leasing farms or taking any jobs other than plantation or domestic workers.

Three new constitutional amendments were adopted as a result of the Civil War. The Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery was ratified in 1865. Proposed by the Joint Committee on Reconstruction in April 1866, the Fourteenth Amendment granted federal civil rights to every person born in the United States as well as to naturalized citizens, providing the first constitutional definition of American citizenship. It guaranteed repayment of the American war debts and repudiation of the Confederate debts. The Fifteenth Amendment stipulated that the right to be vote could not be based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 to create and protect black civil rights in the South. This led to a decisive break with President Andrew Johnson, who vetoed the bill. Congress overrode it.

The 1866 congressional elections were fought over the Reconstruction question. The southern states had not yet been readmitted to the Union and were not allowed to vote, so the Republicans gained solidly in Congress. President Johnson actively campaigned for

conservative candidates, but the voters overwhelming returned a Republican majority to Congress. Radical Republicans under Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner gained full control of Congress and formed a plan of their own and implemented it, even over President Johnson's veto.

Early in 1867 the radical Republicans passed three Reconstruction bills, overriding President Johnson's vetoes. Under the radical Reconstruction plan, after ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, Tennessee was readmitted to the Union, but Radical Republicans rejected the Lincoln-Johnson governments of ten other Confederate states and combined them into five military districts: Virginia; the Carolinas; Georgia, Alabama, and Florida; Arkansas and Mississippi; and Texas and Louisiana.

### MARTIAL LAW

Under direct control of the U.S. Army, these military men and their soldiers reconstituted southern state governments with little or no fighting. A state of martial law existed where the military closely supervised local government, supervised the elections, and protected the officeholders from violence. Blacks were enrolled as voters as well as white males who had not participated in the rebellion. These Republican governments met the congressional conditions for readmission to the Union, including ratifying constitutional amendments.

Republicans won every state except Virginia in the 1867 elections. They were organized into clubs called Union Leagues, and the Republican coalition in each state was made up of freedmen, African Americans who came from the North, recently arrived white Northerners, and local white Republican sympathizers called scalawags. In most elections, the Republicans won the state government, the state was readmitted, the congressional delegation seated, and most soldiers were removed. The old political elite of the Democratic Party, mostly former Confederates, were left out of power. Republicans took control of all southern state governorships and state legislatures, leading to the election of numerous African Americans to state and national office, as well as to the installation of African Americans into other positions of power.

By 1868 seven of the 10 former Confederate states had fulfilled the requirements and had been readmitted to the Union. Conservative whites delayed the return of Virginia and Texas until 1869 and Mississippi until 1870. To check President Johnson, the Radical Republicans passed two laws in 1867, the Tenure of Office Act

forbidding the president to remove civil officials, including his own cabinet, without Senate consent, and the Command of the Army Act, which stopped the president from issuing military orders except through the commanding General of the Army.

### IMPEACHING PRESIDENT JOHNSON

The Radical Republicans wanted to impeach President Johnson, and in 1868 they found a reason to do so when President Johnson dismissed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton over congressional objections. On March 5, 1868, senators formed a court of impeachment to hear the charges against the president, and they introduced a resolution containing 11 articles of impeachment. The Senate tried the case through April and May of 1868.

William M. Evarts served as President Johnson's counsel, basing his defense on a clause in the Tenure of Office Act that stated that the current secretaries would hold their posts throughout the term of the president who appointed them. President Lincoln had appointed Stanton so the president's counsel claimed that the applicability of the act had already run its course.

The Senate held three votes. On all three occasions, 35 of the senators voted "guilty" and 19 "not guilty." Seven Republicans joined the Democrats and Independents to vote for acquittal. The vote was one short of the constitutional two-thirds majority to convict the president.

In 1868 voters were tired of the political turmoil of the Johnson administration and they turned to popular Civil War hero general ULYSSES S. GRANT. Grant had his choice of either the Democratic or Republican nomination. He accepted the Republican nomination because he believed that Republican Reconstruction policies were more popular in the North. Grant's victory over Democratic candidate Horatio Seymour of New York proved to be a narrow one. Without the 500,000 new African-American voters in the South, Grant would have lost the popular vote.

By 1870 all southern states had been readmitted to the United States, with Georgia the last on July 15, 1870. When President Ulysses S. Grant signed the Amnesty Act of 1872, all but 500 sympathizers were pardoned.

The white southerners who lost power re-formed themselves into conservative parties that battled the Republicans throughout the South. The party names varied somewhat, and by the late 1870s they called themselves simply Democrats.

Despite his lack of political experience and scandals in his administration, President Grant won a substantial

victory in 1872. One scandal after another marked his second administration.

### END OF RECONSTRUCTION

In some states, where African Americans were the majority or the populations of the two races were almost equal, whites used intimidation and violence to keep African Americans from voting. Started in 1866 and led by former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Ku Klux Klan gradually absorbed some of the smaller organizations and expanded to create terror in black communities across the South. In 1870 and 1871 the Republican Congress passed two Enforcement Acts, also known as the Ku Klux Klan Acts. These acts empowered the federal government to supersede the state courts and prosecute violations of the law, the first time the federal government had ever claimed the power to prosecute crimes by individuals under federal law.

By 1870 the Democratic-Conservative leadership ended its opposition to Reconstruction as well as to black suffrage. The Democrats in the North concurred. They wanted to fight the Republicans on economic grounds rather than race. But not all Democrats agreed. A group of hard-core Democrats wanted to resist Reconstruction to the bitter end. Finally a group of Democrats called Redeemers wrested control of the party in state after state by forming coalitions with conservative Republicans, emphasizing the need for economic modernization.

President Grant accepted responsibility for the panic of 1873, and state after state fell to the Redeemers. In the 1874 elections, the Republican Party lost 96 seats around the country, and President Grant decided not to run for reelection. Most Democrats and Northern Republicans agreed that the Civil War goals had been achieved and further federal military interference would be an undemocratic violation of historic republican values. In 1875 Rutherford B. Hayes won a hotly contested Ohio gubernatorial election, indicating that his policy toward the South would become Republican policy. It became Republican policy the next year when he won the 1876 Republican nomination for president.

After Rutherford B. Hayes won the disputed presidential election of 1876, the South agreed to accept his victory if he withdrew the last federal troops from its territory. He did so in a political move called the Compromise of 1877, and the South was redeemed. The end of Reconstruction marked the reduction of many civil, political, and economic rights and opportunities for African Americans. African Americans would legally and

socially remain second-class citizens until change began with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

After the end of Reconstruction, the South reestablished a segregated society, and the U.S. Supreme Court overturned much of the civil rights legislation. The Court suggested in the 1873 Slaughterhouse Cases, then held in the 1883 Civil Rights Cases, that the Fourteenth Amendment only gave Congress the power to outlaw public, rather than private, discrimination. In 1896 the Court announced in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that state-mandated segregation was legal as long as the law provided “separate but equal” facilities.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE UNITED STATES.

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DELIA GILLIS

## revolutions of 1848

The revolutions of 1848 were transitory events that erupted throughout Europe and collapsed as quickly as they arose. For a brief moment they promised much in the way of democratic and social reform, but without direction and steady leadership delivered little. The forces opposing revolutionary change and radical reform were far more formidable and better organized, so that repression was easy to achieve.

The backdrop for these revolts revealed a range of causes tied to industrialization and changing economic conditions. Rising prices tied to poor harvests, depressed industrial conditions, increased unemployment, radical and moderate political ideas, and nationalism all combined to create a climate that challenged the old regimes that were characterised by aristocratic and monarchical dominance. Society was changing, and the hotbeds for these revolutions were Europe’s cities, which had witnessed sweeping changes. The still most populous section of Europe’s population, the peasantry, was largely

witness to, but not participant in, the revolutions of 1848. It was in the cities that the bourgeoisie and the emerging working classes most wanted liberal political and economic reform such as an expanded franchise and workers’ rights.

As with many such events, the “Spring Time of the Peoples” began in France and spread to the German Confederation, Prussia, the Habsburg Empire, Italy, and Poland. In the initial February French revolt the middle class and working class combined interests and demanded constitutional change. However, disagreements soon emerged, and the ending of a system of national workshops for the unemployed led the Parisian workers to raise a more radical agenda of class conflict and resistance. By June the provisional government, supported by the military, had brutally suppressed the workers. There soon followed a presidential election in December, which saw NAPOLEON III take charge of this SECOND REPUBLIC. In 1852 Napoleon, by exploiting French nationalism, seized total power and replaced the Second Republic with the Second Empire.

In Prussia a constitutional monarchy was proposed for Frederick William III, and in the rest of the German Confederation the revolutionaries drew up the liberal Frankfurt constitution proposing a greater Germany and a liberal constitutional monarchy. Through Prussian resistance, the Frankfurt assembly broke down into factionalism, and by 1851 the old order was re-established throughout the German areas.

In the Habsburg Empire revolts broke out in Vienna, Budapest, Venice, and Milan. Emperor Ferdinand dismissed the unpopular prince CLEMENS VON METTERNICH who had overseen Austrian affairs since 1815. Metternich then sought exile in London. With its many nationalities, revolution could mean the end of the empire. Hungary, led by Louis Kossuth, proved initially more successful in gaining independence from Vienna; however, the central government eventually crushed all ethnic revolts, including revolts in northern Italy, and put in place martial law, although some economic reforms did last.

In Italy the revolutionary flames spread throughout the politically fragmented Italian Peninsula. The Piedmontese unsuccessfully arose against the Austrians, and additional revolts challenged the established regimes throughout Italy.

These included revolts against King Ferdinand II of Sicily and insurrections in Bologna and Rome, where the prime minister of the Papal States was assassinated. Rebel leaders like GIUSEPPE MAZZINI and GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI proclaimed a Rome of the People. French

intervention ended the Rome uprising, and in April 1849 the pope returned to power. Mazzini fled to England and Garibaldi to the United States.

The revolutionary spirit spread to Poland, where the people of the Grand Duchy of Poznan rose against an occupying Prussian army. However, internal divisions split the leadership, and the revolt failed by May 1848. Russia and Britain remained free of the 1848 unrest. The oppressive Russian state, with its nonindustrial feudal base, was far removed from the conditions of the rest of Europe, and Britain, a more advanced industrial state, had secured a degree of reform in 1832, and with a freer political atmosphere there was less support for more radical change.

The revolutions of 1848 dramatically failed, and Europe remained autocratic, with national elites in power, although the monarchies after 1848 were sometimes described as constitutional. The pressing economic, political, and social problems remained: rapid industrialization, a rising urban population, a dissatisfied bourgeoisie denied political influence, and idealistic university students desiring change.

In Germany and Italy, a drive for national unification, built upon the romantic nationalist forces unleashed by the 1848 revolts, emerged. Within 20 years of the 1848 revolt, national unification occurred in Italy in the form of the *Risorgimento*, and in Prussia, OTTO VON BISMARCK created a German empire by 1871. The European working classes, inspired by many socialist voices, most important KARL MARX, moved toward a class-based politics.

See also GERMAN UNIFICATION, WARS OF; POLISH REVOLUTIONS; SECOND AND THIRD REPUBLICS OF FRANCE.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

## Rhodes, Cecil

(1853–1902) *British businessman and imperialist*

Cecil John Rhodes was born the son of a vicar of the Church of England (Anglican) in Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire in 1853. Rhodes coincidentally was born

in the year that the eighth Kaffir War, between the British and Africans of the Xhosa tribe, came to a conclusion. These wars were a prolonged battle by the African people against the intrusion of Europeans, finally ending with the annexation of the Xhosa territories by the Cape Colony, as well as the incorporation of the Xhosa people.

After the deposition of the Xhosa paramount, Sandile, in 1851, this territory was reserved, apart from the British military outposts, for occupation by Africans. Resentments in British Kaffraria, however, resulted in the eighth and most costly of the wars. Once again the Xhosa resistance was immensely strengthened by the participation of Khoisan tribesmen, who rebelled at their settlement of Kat River. By 1853 the Xhosa had been defeated, and the territory to the north of British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape Colony and opened to white settlement.

Rhodes was afflicted with poor health most of his life but seemed to compensate with a mighty will. The army or navy were obviously out of the question because of his diminished physical capabilities. Like many young Victorian men, he went out to the colonies to seek his fortune, as many Americans of his generation went to the Wild West. Rhodes went to join his oldest brother, Herbert, in Natal, in eastern South Africa.

Natal Province had been settled centuries earlier by the Zulu people, as part of the great Bantu migrations, which had been caused by the growing desertification of the sub-Saharan region of Africa. Cattle herders, the Bantu sought the grasslands of southern Africa for their home. They fought bitter wars with the Boers, descendants of Dutch settlers who arrived in what became Cape Town in the 17th century.

In Natal, Herbert and Cecil Rhodes attempted cotton farming, but like the British who settled in the high country of Kenya in East Africa some 50 years later with the expectation of establishing vast coffee plantations, met with mixed success. With their plans for cotton farming proving a failure, the two Rhodes brothers decided to seek out the diamond fields. The next 15 years saw a tremendous increase in South African diamonds. More stones were recovered in this period than had been mined in the previous 2,000 years in India. Coincidentally, this outpouring of wealth came at a time when Brazilian deposits were starting to be depleted. The rise in wealth around the world, particularly in the United States, ensured that diamond prices stayed steady, something they had not done when Brazil overproduced diamonds for the demand in the 1730s.





*A cartoon of Cecil Rhodes, who was instrumental in the British 19th-century colonization of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)*

By 1869 diamonds were found far from any stream or river, first in yellow earth and below in hard rock called blueground, later called kimberlite after the mining town of Kimberley. In the 1870s and 1880s Kimberley, encompassing the mines that produced 95 percent of the world's diamonds, was home to great wealth and fierce rivalries, most notably that between Rhodes and Barney Barnato, English immigrants who consolidated early 31-foot-square prospects into ever larger holdings and mining companies

While Cecil and Herbert Rhodes became involved in the growing diamond industry around Kimberley, Cecil made continual trips back and forth to England. He managed to be awarded a degree from Oxford in his younger years and went on to become perhaps the best-known spokesman for imperialism in his time. Although very much a believer in free enterprise, he realized the need for the imperial factor. Essentially, he needed the imperial government to protect his holdings and interests in the diamond fields.

Although intent on building his private empire within the British Empire, Rhodes also became convinced that Ireland, England's oldest colony, ought to have home rule, a degree of autonomy from the home government of London. In this he followed the policies of WILLIAM GLADSTONE, the head of the Liberal Party.

Rhodes's views on the native Africans were equally complex. His treatment of the indigenous people was often contradictory. On one hand, in his speech he was often derogatory of Africans and essentially created the apartheid system that separated his African workers from white society and the rest of the world. On the other hand, Rhodes appears to have had significant interest in both the languages and cultures of the native people, an interest and respect that was surprisingly liberal for the time.

Back in South Africa, Rhodes singlemindedly pursued his consolidation of his hold on the Kimberley diamond bonanza. Upon his return, Rhodes formed DeBeers Consolidated Mines Limited in March 1888. Rhodes controlled the company with some of the diamond barons he had formerly considered rivals. These served as life governors of the company. By March 1890 DeBeers made a substantial profit on diamond sales, with estimates reaching as high as £50 of profit on every £100 pounds sold. By 1891 DeBeers had created a monopoly on the production of diamonds in Kimberley and, because of this, controlled virtually every other commercial venture and activity in the entire South African region.

Not content with his effective monopoly on South African diamond production, Cecil Rhodes continued to look for new opportunities for wealth and power. In 1890, mainly due to his economic position in the Cape Colony, Rhodes became the colony's premier. Of the many projects he envisioned, the one that was his most publicized was the creation of a railway to run from Cape Colony through the entire African continent, ending in Cairo. His premiership of Cape Colony allowed him to pursue goals such as this on a much grander scale. As premier, he lobbied for the annexation of Bechuanaland, a goal that was rebuffed due to a general lack of will in the Colonial Office.

Prevented from this goal by political means, Rhodes instead created a new company in an effort to claim lands in the African interior. The British South Africa Company gained a royal charter in 1889. Following this, the company managed to gain access to the lands of the Matabele and the Mashona, as well as other indigenous people. In his drive for empire,

Rhodes created what is today Zimbabwe when the British South Africa troops under Major Patrick Forbes raised the flag of the company over Bulawayo in November 1893, having defeated the Ndebele people. The region was first called Rhodesia in 1891.

With Rhodes's backing, Jameson, the administrator of the conquered Mashonaland, invaded the Transvaal. Rhodes cautioned Jameson to delay, but Jameson, disregarding the request, sent as many as 600 men on horseback into the Transvaal. This force was defeated at Krugersdorp on January 1, 1896, and the next day, surrendered. Jameson was handed over to the British by the Boers; he was tried in London, convicted, and served several months in prison. The others in the raiding party were held for a time by the Boers, and were eventually released, thanks to a large payment.

The diplomatic repercussions from the raid were significant. Rhodes was forced to resign his premiership of the Cape Colony. Undaunted, in 1896, Rhodes rode alone and unarmed into the Matopo Hills. There he spoke with the Matabele chiefs who had rebelled. This effort forestalled another war, at least for a few years. Within three years, the Second Boer, or Second South African, War began in 1899, as a direct result of the tensions that had been growing from Jameson's ill-fated expedition. Rhodes helped to coordinate the defense of Kimberley when it was besieged by Boer forces. However, Rhodes would not live to see the end of the war, for he died of heart disease and was buried in April 1902 in the Matopo Hills. His estate initiated the Rhodes scholarships that educate aspiring scholars from all over the English-speaking world at Oxford University.

See also SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Riel, Louis

(1844–1885) *fighter for Métis rights in Canada*

Louis Riel, a man of mixed Native American (Ojibway) and French descent (Métis), sought to preserve Native

land rights against an expanding Canadian government. The Canadian government wanted to assert its authority over the territory acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869. This agenda conflicted with the aspirations of the Métis, as they attempted to assert their right to self-government through the Council of Assiniboia, established in 1835 by the Hudson's Bay Company and a Métis provincial government that assumed power in 1869. The legacy of Riel is a difficult one to ascertain as he has been depicted by historians as both a traitor of and a martyr for Native rights.

Riel was born in 1844 into a family that was well respected and possessed a history of protesting injustices committed against Natives. Jean-Louis Riel, Louis Riel's father, led a protest against charges imposed on Pierre-Guillaume Sawyer, a man of mixed descent, for the illegal trading of furs. Even though Sawyer was found guilty by a jury, he escaped punishment for this crime, partially due to Riel's protests.

Louis Riel studied at the Collège de Montréal a curriculum similar to that used in 17th-century France. He ended his pursuit of the priesthood in 1864, in part because he fell in love with Marie Guernon, whom he married on June 12, 1866.

Riel continued his father's policies in fighting against infringements on Métis rights by protesting against surveys conducted on local land. In 1869 Riel followed up his protests against the Canadian government by confronting surveyors sent to André Nault's farmland. The Council of Assiniboia questioned the wisdom of Riel and the Métis, but Riel professed his loyalty to the council.

Riel and the Métis followed up with armed force, taking Upper Fort Garry, a fort controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. Riel and others created a list of rights that demanded that an elected body of Métis people be able to formulate and enact local laws, possess the right to veto, and the right to approve all laws passed by the Canadian government. This list proposed that the Métis be entitled to elect representatives to the Canadian parliament.

On December 7, 1869, Riel and a band of Métis took possession of a store owned by Dr. John Christian Schultz and imprisoned Schultz and 48 other individuals in Fort Garry. Riel dissolved the Council of Assiniboia and formed a provisional government, assumed the presidency, and attempted to open talks with the Canadian government regarding the entrance of the Red River settlement. Riel was able to use the authority of the provisional government to keep the English and the French mixed bloods together in order to maintain unity and order in the Red River region.

Riel continued to follow a policy of aggression as he executed Thomas Scott, a prisoner involved in the Orange Order, on March 4, 1870. It is difficult to assess the impact that Scott's execution had on the Canadian government, but it acceded to many of the Métis's demands. The talks between the Métis representative and the Canadian government resulted in 1870 in the passage of the Manitoba Act, which provided 1,400,000 acres for the Métis and guaranteed bilingualism in the province. The government refused to give amnesty to Riel and the others involved in the execution of Scott. Riel left for the United States when Colonel Garnet Wolseley approached Fort Garry to take possession of the fort.

JOHN A. MACDONALD, the prime minister of Canada, intended to keep the Métis calm until he could send enough settlers out to the Red River area to assimilate them. The Métis only received 500,000 acres of the land they were promised. More settlers from eastern Canada started to settle in these regions, leading to further land surveys. The Métis in the Qu'Appelle settlement attempted to seek redress from the government by issuing demands for representation in the Canadian parliament and reforming the land laws. These demands were followed by a bill of rights, but the Métis requests were turned down by the Canadian government. Concerned for the future of Métis settlements, the Métis asked Riel to return to Canada to represent their interests, which he did in 1884.

Riel acted on his decision to use armed conflict and demanded the surrender of Fort Carleton in March 1885, but Superintendent L. N. F. Crozier refused. This led Gabriel Dumont, an ally of Riel, to confront a small detachment of mounted police moving toward Fort Carleton. This action forced Crozier to confront the Métis at Duck Lake. A short battle ensued in which the numerically superior Métis forced the mounted police to withdraw from the area. MacDonald was eager to put down this resistance, which led to further armed conflict in the area. A brief battle ensued at Batoche, as 800 Canadian soldiers overwhelmed 200 Métis, leading to the capture of Riel.

Riel was formally charged with treason on July 6, 1885, despite the fact that he possessed American citizenship. His execution on November 16, 1885, had a tremendous impact on the unity of Canada and the Quebecois's perception of him. The French-Canadian and the Métis depicted Riel as a martyr who fought against the attempts of Anglo-Saxons to control the country.

See also NATIVE AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Rivadavia, Bernardino

(1780–1845) *Argentinian president*

One of the major figures who led Argentina to independence, Bernardino Rivadavia became the country's first president with his belief in a nation focused on the capital, Buenos Aires. He was also the creator of many of the major institutions of the country.

Born in Buenos Aires, Rivadavia grew up under the last years of Spanish rule. NAPOLEON I's occupation of Spain in 1808 led to many of Spain's colonies establishing their own governments as the ties between them and Madrid were severed. This essentially resulted in the start of the breakup of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate, an area encompassing what is now Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Taking advantage of this and eager for a new market for British goods that could not be sold in Europe owing to Napoleon's control of the continent, in 1806 some British soldiers attacked and captured Buenos Aires. Rivadavia was among the inhabitants of the city who fought the British, eventually driving them out. He also became active in the political debates that started to raise the question of Argentine independence for the first time on May 25, 1810. Rivadavia became secretary of the triumvirate that ruled the new country, and he had the task of organizing the militia and overhauling the Spanish legal system. He also used his position to end the slave trade and press censorship.

Although many people in Argentina did want independence—it was formally proclaimed in 1816—it was the nature of this new country that was to cause recurring problems throughout Rivadavia's political career.

Some political figures saw it as a loose confederation of states, with Buenos Aires as the capital, but with each state having the right to raise its own taxes and maintain its own militia. Others such as Rivadavia envisioned a unified country centered on Buenos Aires, with a central government that would erode the power of regional juntas and CAUDILLOS.

Rivadavia had first risen to prominence opposing the British, but as secretary of the triumvirate he was eager to agree to allow British goods to be imported to Buenos Aires. He felt this would encourage British acceptance of Argentine independence and bring greater wealth to Buenos Aires. In 1812 the triumvirate was overthrown, and Rivadavia went into exile in Europe, where he entertained the idea of some unitarists to establish a constitutional monarchy based in Buenos Aires. He also met many intellectuals and became greatly influenced by Jeremy Bentham.

Unable to find a member of the Spanish royal family eager to rule as a constitutional monarch, Rivadavia returned to Buenos Aires and became a member of the government of Martín Rodríguez in 1821. Just before this several caudillos had been successful in wresting much power from Buenos Aires, but they soon became involved in territorial disputes. This allowed the Buenos Aires government to exert its power. It was not strong enough, militarily, to bring renegade provinces into line, but it did control the River Plate and the Paraná River and thus could institute an economic blockade should the need arise. This took place, and Rivadavia, who dominated the political scene throughout the 1820s, in 1826 was elected president of the United Provinces, the official title of what was to become Argentina.

The reforms introduced by Rivadavia drew much from his experiences during his six years spent in Europe. He extended the franchise to all males from the age of 20 and reorganized the court system to guarantee individual and property rights, as well as freedom of the press. On the cultural scene, in 1821 he founded the University of Buenos Aires, provided generous funding for the national library, and established several museums. He also abolished religious courts, clerical immunity from taxation, and the compulsory tithe, massively weakening the power of the church and thus earning himself the enmity of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The 1820s also coincided with an "opening up" of the hinterland around Buenos Aires. Rivadavia had sought to encourage migration to Argentina from Europe, but this was not successful, and a few wealthy families

from Buenos Aires were able to establish considerable ranches destroying Rivadavia's plan for the formation of thousands of family farms. With the central government unable to keep up with the expansion of landholding, Rivadavia introduced the Roman system of *emphyteusis*, by which land taken over by farmers would be held by the government, with the farmers paying annual taxes for its exclusive use. With rent put at 8 percent for pastureland and 4 percent for cropland, the hope of the Rivadavia government was that this would move the tax base from Buenos Aires to the countryside.

This scheme was incredibly successful at changing the control of the land, but, as it did not place a cap on the land that could be alienated, and as people could take over land without paying any money, and only a small rent, speculators started registering massive claims. This focused land in the hands of a small number of the elite. Some 122 people and partnerships took control of 5.5 million acres, with 10 of them having more than 130,000 acres each. With a weak administration unable effectively to monitor the land, few paid much in the way of taxes, which was never to exceed 3 percent of total government revenue.

In Buenos Aires, the economic life of the city was also dominated by a small number of merchant groupings. Many Britons took control of the import-export businesses as Rivadavia, eager for British investment, opened up the economy to foreign capital. This was to lead to Rivadavia's most controversial move: He negotiated a massive loan from Britain's Barings Bank. Although this was used to establish the Banco Nacional (national bank) in Buenos Aires, speculators made fortunes from the heavy discounting of the loan. In return for going into debt to the tune of 1 million pounds, Baring Brothers furnished less than half of it in cash, the rest going to middlemen and speculators who underwrote the loan. It was a massive political scandal in Argentina, and payments continued until 1904.

However, Rivadavia's concerns were not only financial. In 1822 Brazil had declared its independence and was eager to exert its control over the eastern bank of the River Plate. This area was largely controlled by Argentine ranchers, and the two countries headed to war, with Brazil blockading Buenos Aires and forcing the government to default on the Barings loan. At this juncture, several provinces decided to form an alliance to oppose Rivadavia's newly enacted centralist constitution. In 1827, after being president for only 17 months, Rivadavia was forced to resign and left for exile in Europe. The constitution was nullified by his successor, but the war with Brazil did lead to a compromise:

the formation of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay as an independent country.

In 1834 Rivadavia returned to Buenos Aires to face charges brought against him and was sentenced to be exiled. He went to Brazil and then to Spain, where he died on September 2, 1845, in the port of Cádiz. In 1857 his body was brought back to Buenos Aires. In 1880 his birthday, May 20, was declared a national holiday, although it is no longer observed.

Rivadavia has long been honored by the Argentine government as one of the founders of the country, and in 1864 he was the first person to be featured on an Argentine postage stamp, and stamps commemorating him were produced regularly until 1951.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Romanov dynasty

Probably the most famous Romanovs besides Peter and CATHERINE THE GREAT were Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children, whom the Bolsheviks murdered in 1917. The legend of the survival of Anastasia, the youngest daughter of Nicholas and Alexandra, lingered into the 21st century, strengthened by the fact that her remains and those of her brother Alexei were still missing from the mass grave that covered her sisters, parents, servants, and pet spaniel, Jimmy.

The Romanov dynasty began in turmoil, which matched its end. Evil days followed each other in dreary succession in the Grand Duchy of Moscow after the death of Ivan the Terrible in 1584. Many arguments raged over the succession and ushered in a Time of Troubles and ultimately the accession of the Romanovs, who would rule Russia from 1613 to 1917.

The House of Romanov ruled Muscovy and the Russian Empire for five generations from 1613 to 1762, then combined with the House of Oldenburg, known as Holstein-Gottorp-Romanov, to rule Russia from 1762 to 1917. The Romanovs descended from two dozen Russian noble (boyar) families, with Andrei

Kobyla, attested as a boyar in the service of Semyon I of Moscow, as a common ancestor. A giant increase in the family fortunes occurred when a Romanov daughter, Anastasia Zakharyina, married Ivan IV of Muscovy in February 1547. When her husband became czar, she became the very first czarina. Her untimely and mysterious death prompted her husband to start a reign of terror against the boyars, whom he suspected of poisoning her. He became known as Ivan the Terrible.

The fortunes of the Romanov family rose and fell during the years of the Godunov dynasty, a branch of the Romanov line, until finally the Godunov dynasty collapsed in 1606 and the Russian Assembly of the Land offered 17-year-old Mikhail Romanov the crown of Russia. After receiving the offer, Mikhail burst into tears of fear and despair, but his mother finally persuaded him to accept the throne and blessed him with the holy image of Our Lady of Saint Fyodor. Never feeling secure on his throne, Mikhail asked the advice of the Assembly of the Land on important issues. This strategy proved successful, and the Russian population accepted the early Romanovs as relatives of Ivan the Terrible.

At first, the Romanovs did little to strengthen the Russian state. In the 1650s a reforming patriarch of the Orthodox Church nearly started a revolution when he ordered that the ritual and liturgy be revised to bring them closer to the original Greek text of the Bible. This order exasperated hundreds of uneducated people who believed the Slavonic texts were sacred. For many years after that, Old Believers (Russian Orthodox) resisted the government religious policy despite executions and exile.

Besides Old Believers, the Cossacks also revolted against the czar. *Cossack* comes from a Turkish word meaning “free men” and is used to designate a group of people who lived in wheat-growing communities around the Danube River. The Don Cossacks were the largest group and led colonizing expeditions to Siberia. As the czars extended their rule over Russia in the 16th and 17th centuries, they tried to integrate the Cossacks into Russia. Cossack men became eligible for military service, and the czars used them in wars against the Tartars in Crimea and the Caucasus.

The Cossacks jealously guarded their freedom and often rebelled against the czars. Revolts occurred in 1648 and 1662, but the 1670 to 1671 revolt gained the most notoriety. A Don Cossack named Stenka Razin, who became a hero of the common people, led this revolt. Eventually he was executed, but the Cossack rebellions helped Russia by leading the expansion into Siberia.

Throughout most of the 17th century, Russia often could not defend its frontiers against invading Swedes, Poles, and Turks. It did not have access to either the Baltic or Black Seas, although English merchants had contacted Moscow in the 1550s through the White Sea, and German merchants were active in Moscow. Russia absorbed some Western technology, especially military technology, but cultural changes in the rest of Europe left it relatively untouched. The Renaissance, reformation, and scientific revolution brought ferment to the West but scarcely touched the peoples east of Poland.

### PETER THE GREAT

In 1689 Peter the Great, one of the most remarkable Romanov rulers, assumed the throne at the age of 17. For the next 36 years, until 1725, he transformed Russia from a feudal country into a power in Europe. He strengthened the Russian throne, expanded Russia's borders, and Westernized Russia. He reformed the military, political, and social institutions of his country, borrowing ideas and techniques from France, England, the Dutch Republic, Brandenburg, and Sweden. His methods were often more casual, informal, brutal, and ruthless than those of his Western counterparts, but they worked in Russia. During his reign Russia became an empire, with Peter as its first emperor. The Russian Church became strictly subordinated to the state under a civilian official. Peter compelled the ancient hereditary nobility to serve the state, creating a "service nobility," and he tightened the bondage of the serfs so that more than a century would pass before they would gain their freedom.

In 1707 Peter moved his government to a new city that he had built on conquered territory at the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland. He named his new city in honor of his patron saint, Saint Peter, and Saint Petersburg symbolized his work in Russia. Unlike Moscow, it did not have roots in Russia's past, since it had been built by forced labor on Neva River marshlands.

Peter the Great's influence proved paradoxical for Russia. On one hand he linked Russia with Europe and the rest of the world, and from his time forward Russia was crucial in the European balance of power. On the other hand Peter's Westernizing policy stimulated a strong nationalistic and orthodox reaction in people, leaving the Russian psyche teetering between deep suspicions of everything foreign and ardent admiration of Western technology and power. Peter's methods are as important as his accomplishments because they created a tradition of dynamic autocracy. His

reign exemplified what a ruthless and determined czar could accomplish.

### CATHERINE THE GREAT

Catherine the Great ruled Russia from 1762 to 1796 and came to the throne with specific goals in mind. She sought to minimize Russian connections to Europe, but she also wanted to continue Westernizing Russia in the manner of Peter the Great. She wanted to bring the ENLIGHTENMENT to Russia and read authors like Voltaire, Diderot, and Montesquieu, incorporating their theories into her ruling methods. She encouraged the publication of numerous books and periodicals and embraced the arts.

During her reign Catherine the Great worked to increase education in Russia by creating elementary and secondary schools and universities. In 1763 she established a medical commission to improve medical conditions in Russia and led the way by being the first person in Russia to be vaccinated. She helped Russian expansion through two Russo-Turkish wars, one from 1768 to 1774, and the other from 1787 to 1792. She added Ukraine to Russia after a 1781 to 1786 war and gained portions of Poland through partition. She also gained the Crimea and most of the northern shore of the Black Sea for Russia. Catherine improved the lives of the nobility while decreasing the status and rights of the peasants and serfs.

The centuries after Catherine the Great saw several Romanov czars named Nicholas and Alexander ruling Russia. During the reign of Alexander I, Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812. The Russian winter and supply line problems forced Napoleon's armies to depart along the same route they had used to enter Russia.

Nicholas I came to the throne in November 1825, with an agenda of Russian Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationalism. He and others working with him published a *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire*, meant to make rulings more uniform throughout Russia. One of the departments he created he put in charge of monitoring subversive groups. This was a precursor to the modern FSB (Federal Security Service). During the reigns of Nicholas I and Alexander II some of the most important Russian writers, artists, and composers enhanced the arts. Fyodor Dostoyevsky wrote *Crime and Punishment* and other works. Alexander Pushkin produced his great novels; Tolstoi wrote *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. The composer Tchaikovsky wrote his scores for ballets and the *1812 Overture*. The CRIMEAN WAR, a military conflict between Russia and a coalition of Great Britain, France, the Kingdom of

Sardinia, and the Ottoman Empire, fought from 1853 to 1856 at the end of the reign of Nicholas I, made it obvious that Russia needed reform.

### ALEXANDER II

The next czar, Alexander II, the son of Nicholas I, helped Russia reform. Alexander ruled from 1855 to 1881 and became known as the czar liberator because he freed the serfs. Alexander II realized that forcing labor from the serfs was not an economical way for Russia to operate, and many nobles were also beginning to think that serfdom should be ended. Just before the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR began, Alexander II freed the serfs with the Emancipation Act of February 18, 1861. The Emancipation Act freed 52 million serfs, or about 45 percent of Russia's population, but it did not solve Russia's problem of peasant unrest. Only serfs who had been farmers were given land, excluding house serfs. Serfs had to continue working for estate owners for two years after being freed and had to pay over a 49-year period for the land that they had been given.

Alexander II also instituted other reforms. He changed the military and shortened the required time of service for peasants from 25 to six years. He created the legal profession, opening trials and instituting equal treatment under the law. Beginning in 1864 he instructed the Ministry of Education to create a national system of primary schools. As people, especially university students, became better educated they became more critical of the government. University students and the populace at large began to demand changes. On March 13, 1881, an agitator threw a hand-made bomb at Alexander's carriage. He got out of the carriage to see what had happened, and a second bomb exploded. The czar and his assassin, Ignacy Hryniewiecki, were killed.

Alexander III succeeded his father, and, fearful of his father's murderers, he tightened the autocratic rule in Russia, reversing many of the reforms that the more liberal Alexander II had pushed through. He renewed the policy of Russian Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationalism. Marxism began to grow during his reign, with Bolshevik and Menshevik groups forming, and leaders like Lenin, Plekhanov, and Pavel Martov emerging as revolutionaries.

Alexander's son Nicholas II began ruling Russia in 1894, after Alexander unexpectedly died of kidney disease at age 49. Industrialism had finally reached Russia, and a working middle class was emerging. Nicholas II did not want to allow workers to unite and form unions, as they were doing all over the world. After the czar created state-approved unions, he refused to meet a striking



*Russia's czar Alexander II was killed by an assassin's bomb on March 13, 1881.*

group from one of these and ordered his soldiers to fire upon it. The resulting massacre of hundreds of people, which came to be known as Bloody Sunday, set off a revolt in 1905 that motivated Nicholas II to endorse the October Manifest, which gave people civil liberties and created the Duma.

Russia went to war in 1914 to defend the Serbs when Austria declared war on Serbia, but the Russian armies had inadequate weapons and suffered from poor leadership. Nicholas II himself went to the lines to lead his armies, but the problems increased and many soldiers deserted.

These soldiers were instrumental in the February Revolution in 1917, which ended the Romanov dynasty. Nicholas II and his family were put under house arrest and taken to Yekaterinburg. Bolsheviks killed the last Romanov czar, Nicholas II, and his family

in the cellar of Ipatiev House in Yekaterinburg, Russia, on July 17, 1918. In a historical irony, the Ipatiev House had the same name as the Ipatiev Monastery in Kostroma where the Russian Assembly of the Land had offered Mikhail Romanov the Russian crown in 1613.

In June 1991 the bodies of Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and three of their five children were exhumed from their 70-year-old graves, and the exhumers discovered that two of the family were missing. The other two graves were found in 2007. After the bodies were exhumed, they languished for years in laboratories while Russians fought over whether they should be buried in Yekaterinburg or Saint Petersburg. Finally, a Russian commission chose Saint Petersburg, and the last Romanovs were buried with their ancestors.

The Romanov family still exists in the 21st century, with Grand Duchess Maria Vladimirovna of Russia having the strongest claim to the Russian throne. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and zealous campaigns by her supporters to recognize her as the constitutional monarch, it is not likely that she will gain the throne because there is little popular support for the resurrection of a Russian monarchy.

See also CRIMEAN WAR; RUSSO-OTTOMAN WARS; RUSSO-TURKISH WAR AND NEAR EASTERN CRISIS.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Rosas, Juan Manuel Ortiz de

(1793–1877) *Argentinian dictator*

Juan Manuel Ortiz de Rosas dominated the Argentine political scene from 1829 until 1852 as governor of Buenos Aires and then supreme chief of the confederation. Although professing federalism, Rosas was a centrist and a dictator, and his model of rule was to be followed by many of the Latin American dictators of the 20th century.

Born in Buenos Aires, Rosas's paternal grandfather, a career soldier, had emigrated from Burgos, Spain, in 1742. His mother's family was extremely wealthy, and Rosas's parents controlled one of the largest cattle ranches in Argentina. Rosas only spent a year in school—apparently his teacher told him that he would spend his life in farm management and need not be troubled by books. As a teenager, Rosas was an ammunition boy during the British invasion of 1806, and when his father died, instead of taking over the family property (he was the eldest son), he gave it to his mother to divide among the rest of the family. Rosas was determined to make his own fortune, which he did in a meat-salting plant in Quilmes, now a suburb of Buenos Aires.

In 1820 his business partner Colonel Manuel Dorrego, governor of Buenos Aires, put Rosas in charge of the provincial militia. By this time he had a loyal band of supporters gathering around him, and soon after the resignation of BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA, Dorrego became president. He was overthrown in 1828, and Rosas worked to bring down the new governor of Buenos Aires, Juan Lavalle.

At this time, Rosas was head of the Federalist Party, which sought to build up the power of the provinces against that of Buenos Aires. He managed to get the former legislature to reconvene, and on December 5, 1829, Rosas was elected governor, deposing Lavalle. In 1832 Rosas stepped down when his three-year term ended, but returned in 1835 with the promise that he would have dictatorial powers. At that time Argentina was in a perilous state, with strong regional warlords, or CAUDILLOS, seeking to wrest power from the government in Buenos Aires. Although he still professed federalist beliefs, Rosas gradually centralized power in Buenos Aires.

During the 17 years that Rosas was dictator of Argentina, he used police and spies to destroy his political opponents. His *mazorca*, the political police, arrested and tortured with impunity. His wife, Encarnación, also used the *mazorca* against her enemies, and a century later journalist Fleur Cowles, in her dual biography, *Bloody Precedent*, was to draw startling parallels between the ruthlessness of Juan and Encarnación Rosas and that of Juan and Evita Perón. Much is made of Rosas ordering his portrait to be displayed in public places and in churches.

Putting aside his treatment of political opponents, Rosas managed initially to achieve economic stability and massively increase the prosperity of Buenos Aires. The period coincided with an increase in the cattle industry, with tanning and salting works, and also a rise in migration from Europe to Argentina. Although



many French migrated to the city, their government was unable to gain for them the privileges afforded to the British, and they became liable for national service and high local taxes. This resulted in many French businesses moving their headquarters to Montevideo in neighboring Uruguay, and in 1838, a French fleet blockaded Buenos Aires.

As trade in Buenos Aires dried up, Rosas responded by tripling the amount of paper money in circulation; massive inflation resulted. It also led to regional caudillos to try to achieve regional autonomy. The British eventually persuaded the French to stop the blockade, and Rosas paid a token indemnity. Rosas was also forced to end the blockade he had been imposing on Paraguay, allowing that nation to start trading with Britain and other countries. In 1841 Rosas was able to destroy and then kill his main political opponent (and predecessor), Lavalle, who had been leading a small rebellion in the north.

In 1845 Rosas started his own blockade of the River Paraná in order to bring some of the provinces into line. The British and French sent in their navies to reopen trade but soon had to balance the small amount of commerce with these provinces, with far greater money to be made from Buenos Aires. After two years the blockade was abandoned, leaving Rosas triumphant. However, he had made many enemies. Paraguay was much angered by the seemingly cavalier fashion in which Rosas had been able to close the river, and it started to industrialize and then build its own arms industry. Brazil had been unable to send goods by ship to the Mato Grosso region of the country, and Uruguay became the place for many exiles from Buenos Aires.

When the blockade of the Paraná River started again in 1848, the governor of Entre Ríos, Justo José de Urquiza, who was actually placed in charge of a large part of the army by Rosas, launched a rebellion against Rosas. In May 1851 Urquiza opposed the reelection of Rosas as governor of Buenos Aires, forcing him to adopt the title supreme chief of the confederation. Urquiza then led his forces against those of Rosas and defeated them at the battle of Caseros on February 3, 1852. As Urquiza was about to enter Buenos Aires, Rosas fled onto a British naval vessel, leaving hundreds of his supporters to be massacred by Urquiza's men.

Rosas settled in England and took up farming near Southampton, Hampshire. He died on March 14, 1877, and was buried in Southampton. Despite his long dominance of Argentine politics, or possibly because of it, it was not until 1935 that he was featured on an Argentine postage stamp in a series that included all the famous

figures of 19th-century Argentina; the series also included Urquiza. A grandson, who shared the same name as the dictator, became governor of Buenos Aires province in 1910. In 1990 the family moved the body of Rosas from England back to Buenos Aires, and it was interred in the family mausoleum at Recoleta.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Roy, Ram Mohan

(1774–1833) *Indian reformer and scholar*

Raja Ram Mohan Roy exemplified the new English-educated class of Indians who emerged in the late 18th century. He came from a distinguished Brahman family in Bengal—the headquarters of the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY. Feeling somewhat alienated from his orthodox family, he eventually became an employee of the British East India Company.

After a few years, Roy left the company to pursue humanism and religious reform. Influenced by contemporary European liberalism, he challenged traditional Hindu beliefs. In 1803 he produced a tract that denounced religious superstition and segregation. By 1815 he had begun translation of ancient Sanskrit texts such as the Sutras and various Upanishads (philosophic writings) into modern Hindi and Bengali.

He was also the progenitor of many modern secular movements in India. He actively campaigned against suttee (the burning of widows). He also argued for reform of Hindu law, upholding the rights of women, freedom of the press, more just land laws, Indian participation in the government of India, and establishment of an English-style education system in India. He opposed the founding of Sanskrit College, which he viewed as too traditional.

Roy backed his writings and views with action. In 1815 he founded a publishing house that translated the New Testament into Bengali. In 1820 he published a work on the “Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness,” the beginning of a pantheistic approach that would combine Christianity and Hin-

duism, eventually adopting a Unitarian antitraditional position. In 1823 Roy founded two newspapers. In 1827 he founded the Anglo-Hindu School and a college in 1826. However, the act for which he is best remembered is establishing the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta in 1829. This society rejected idol worship and the multiple deities of traditional Hinduism. The emphasis was on a more nationalist monotheist interpretation of Hinduism.

Roy was famous for his learning and general erudition. He spoke several languages and was a scholar in both Sanskrit and Arabic. He was much admired by Western intellectuals for his breadth of knowledge and intellectual curiosity. He became one of the first Hindus to visit Europe in an official capacity. He came to England in 1831 as the ambassador of the Mughal emperor. In 1832 he visited Paris and then returned to England, where he died the following year.

His most enduring legacy, apart from the educational institutions he founded and his writings, were satellites of the Brahmo Samaj, which spread throughout India and then via Indian communities throughout the world. A believer in the Western method of living for India as the path for the future, Roy is considered by many Indian scholars as the founder of modern India.

See also ALIGARH COLLEGE AND MOVEMENT; MUGHAL DYNASTY (DECLINE AND FALL).

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Russian conquest of Central Asia

During the 19th century as European colonization continued to expand, czarist Russia launched a concentrated campaign to extend its own empire by annexing lands in central western Asia. In Central Asia, the Russians were particularly interested in the Uzbek oasis states of Kokand, Bukhara, and Khiva, all part of present-day Uzbekistan.

Although Bukhara and Khiva suffered devastating losses to their independence and cultures during the Russian conquest, Kokand ultimately paid the heaviest price when the Russians attempted to eradicate its existence.

While Russia was most interested in expanding its empire in order to compete with Western powers, the czar viewed Central Asia as a land of untapped resources with undeveloped potential as a major trading center. The invasion of the Muslim states of Central Asia also allowed the czar to add millions of new subjects to his already large citizenry. Until the mid-19th century, Central Asia had succeeded in repelling Russian advances.

However, as Russia's military grew stronger and more sophisticated, Central Asia was powerless to defend itself from encroachment. For some 50 years after the annexation, the invaders unsuccessfully attempted to Russify the Muslims of Central Asia. Despite this failure, the Russians succeeded in transforming Central Asian culture in a number of ways that included new economic and education systems and major overhauls of the communication and transportation sectors.

Czar Peter I launched an unsuccessful campaign to annex Bukhara and Khiva in the early 18th century in an effort to establish a trading route between Russia and India. When he sent armed troops to Khiva in 1717, the Khivans annihilated the entire expedition. Succeeding czars determined that they were more likely to make inroads in Central Asia by practicing diplomacy and promoting trade relations. However, little progress was made. As a result, another unsuccessful military attack on Khiva was launched in 1839–40.

At the same time that Khiva was attempting to stave off Russian attack, Bukhara established a relatively amicable relationship with the monarch. In 1847 the Russians erected a fort at the mouth of the Sir Darya, paving the way for eventual annexation of the surrounding area. The Russians spent the years between 1853 and 1864 plotting their strategy for annexing Central Asia, where the raw cotton that Russian textile factories so badly needed was readily available. The need for Asian cotton grew even more urgent when the American supply of cotton was halted by the outbreak of the AMERICAN CIVIL WAR in 1861.

By the time the Russians became a real presence in Central Asia, Bukhara and Khiva already had well-established cultures that dated back to the eighth century, and both were actively involved in trade. Both Muslim states were home to diverse ethnic groups and were relatively politically and socially stable. Neither Bukhara nor

Khiva had been exposed to Western thought and culture; therefore, neither khanate had developed the sense of nationalism that might have been used to unite the people against Russian invasion. After the annexation, the Russians allowed both Bukhara and Khiva a good deal of political autonomy. As a result, less modernizing and Russification occurred in these khanates than in other areas of Central Asia.

Bukhara was wealthier and more industrialized than Khiva, with a population that was predominately Muslim. The khanate was ruled by the emir, a hereditary monarch, although day-to-day affairs came under the province of a chief minister, a treasurer, and a tax collector. Each province of Bukhara was ruled by its own emir. Outside of Bukhara, the emir was viewed as the most powerful ruler in the area, and he was notorious for furthering his own interests at the expense of others.

When Czar Alexander II ordered his forces to attack Bukhara in 1868, the khanate was in the midst of internal strife. Tribal conflicts had accelerated, and the peasant class was ready to revolt in response to the levying of excessive taxes. The Muslim clergy, who strongly resented the Russian presence in Bukhara called for a jihad (holy war). Although Emir Muzaffar al-Din repeatedly attempted to negotiate terms with the Russians that were favorable to Bukhara, he was unsuccessful. The emir ultimately negotiated a treaty that essentially established Bukhara as a Russian protectorate while allowing him to continue ruling the khanate. The merchant class reaped the greatest benefits from the Russian presence in Bukhara because trade with the outside world opened up new avenues for amassing wealth. As this new cultural elite rose to power, the gulf between the peasants and the rest of the population expanded. Today, as one of the main cities of Uzbekistan, Bukhara is a major trading center and a popular tourist destination.

The population of Khiva was more ethnically diverse than Bukhara, with the Uzbeks making up 65 percent and the Turkomans 27 percent. Other minorities included the seminomadic Karakalpaks and the Kazakhs. The Khan of Khiva possessed powers similar to those of the emir of Bukhara, but in Khiva the government was highly centralized. Early in 1839 Czar Nicholas I announced his decision to attack Khiva, although his forces were disguised as a scientific expedition to the Aral Sea. By the end of the year, the expedition could no longer be disguised, and the attack took place.

It was not until 1869, however, that the Russians managed to surround Khiva on three sides and begin

the invasion. Russian forces encountered almost no resistance as they invaded Khiva on May 29, 1873. Three months later, the Khan signed a peace treaty. Because Khiva, unlike Bukhara, had been conquered by invasion, the Khan's power to rule was much more restricted than that of the emir of Bukhara. The rich history of Khiva and the preservation of much of the original khanate have made the modern-day city a magnet for tourists from around the world.

The invasion of Kokand was accomplished in 1866, and the government acted as a Russian ally against neighboring Bukhara. At this point, Kokand was allowed to run its own affairs in much the same way that Bukhara was operating. However, in 1875, civil unrest within Kokand surfaced in response to increased taxes, political repression, and a rising sense of nationalism. When tensions exploded into outright revolt in Ozgan in July 1875, all avenues of authority disintegrated. Khudayar Khan escaped to neighboring Tashkent and demanded Russian protection. His son, Nasrid-din Bek, ascended to the seat of power and quickly established relations with Russia. Nevertheless, on August 29, the Russians military arrived, putting an end to the possibility of Kokand's independence. On February 19, 1876, the Russians abolished the khanate of Kokand, replacing it with the region of Ferghana, which was placed under the authority of a military governor. Before the Russians arrived in Kokand, the khanate had been a significant trade and administrative center for the Ferghana Valley region. After the annexation, Ferghana was established as the center of Russian Turkestan and became the major cotton-producing area of the Russian Empire. In the 21st century, Kokand has regained its status as a trading center, specializing in the manufacture of fertilizers, chemicals, machinery, and cotton and food products.

See also ROMANOV DYNASTY; RUSSO-OTTOMAN WARS; RUSSO-TURKISH WAR AND NEAR EASTERN CRISIS.

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ELIZABETH PURDY

## Russo-Ottoman Wars

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Ottomans and Russians fought a series of wars over territory around the Black Sea and the Balkans. As the Ottoman Empire slowly declined, the Russians extended their control over former Ottoman territories around the Black Sea. Russia sought access to warm water ports and entry into the Mediterranean through the Ottoman controlled Dardanelles. Russian imperial ambitions in the Balkans also brought them into conflict with the Ottomans and Austria.

In 1696, while much of the Ottoman army was fighting against the Holy League led by Austria in the Balkans, Russia under Peter the Great took the port of Azov on the Azov Sea. Russia and the Ottomans signed a separate treaty in 1700 that reaffirmed the terms of the earlier Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, whereby the Ottomans lost territory in the Balkans and Poland moved into the Ukraine. Russia and Austria joined together to attack the Ottomans in the mid-18th century, but under the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 the Ottomans regained Belgrade, which they had lost in 1718. However, the Russians slowly realized their ambitions for access to Azov and then the Black Sea. Under the Treaty of Belgrade, Russia gained some land along the Azov, but they were forbidden to fortify the area.

Following their defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, the Ottomans under Sultan Mustafa III signed the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (in present-day Bulgaria), with Russia led by CATHERINE II. Under this treaty the Russians gained ports along the Crimean and territory in the Caucasus. The Ottomans were also forced to grant independence to the Crimean Khanate that Russia formally annexed in 1783. Russia also gained the right to serve as the so-called protector of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire, thereby increasing its involvement in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman state.

See also CRIMEAN WAR.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Russo-Turkish War and Near Eastern Crisis

The Balkans had been effectively under the rule of the Ottoman Turks since 1389, when the medieval Serbian kingdom was crushed at the Battle of Kosovo. However, beginning in the 17th century with the Turkish defeat at Vienna in 1683, the Turks were in almost a constant retreat. Wars with Russia that had ended in 1774 with the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji and in 1792 at Jassy had established Russia as a diplomatic presence in the Balkans and determined to make its presence felt. Moreover, German Chancellor OTTO VON BISMARCK had inaugurated the LEAGUE OF THREE EMPERORS with Russia and Austria in 1872–73, as a way of making palatable the sudden rise to prominence in Central Europe of a united Germany after the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR of 1870–71. The League of Three Emperors was a de facto diplomatic understanding, or demarche, that the future of the Balkans could be settled by Austria and Russia. Bismarck felt that Germany had no real interests in the Balkans, which, in his famous phrase, were “not worth the bones of a Pomeranian [part of Germany] grenadier.”

It turned out that the League of Three Emperors could not have come at a better time for Czar Alexander II of Russia. Freed from a concern over Austria and Germany as a source of danger, Alexander was able to modernize both his army and navy. Coincidentally, Alexander’s modernization of the Russian juggernaut came at the perfect time. In its years of decline since 1683, Turkish rule had veered from incompetent to brutal and back again, with a few efforts at enlightened reform that never lasted.

In June 1875 the Slavic Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina revolted against Turkey, and the Ottoman Turks retaliated in force. In spite of these reprisals, the rebellion against Ottoman Sultan ABDUL HAMID II spread in April 1876 to Bulgaria. Soon the entire Balkans had risen up against Abdul Hamid II, whom many of Ottoman subjects called Abdul the Damned. In 1876 Prince Milosh Obrenovich, although a vassal of Turkey, also declared war on the Ottomans. Like

Alexander II of Russia, he had recently modernized his armed forces. With the Serbs, the Montenegrins rose up against the Turks, turning the original Bosnia-Herzegovina revolt into an all out Balkan rebellion against Abdul Hamid II.

At the same time, the doctrine of Pan-Slavism animated the Russian people to come to the aid of the South Slavs in the Balkans. Pan-Slavism had its origin in the outburst of nationalism against NAPOLEON I of France and held that mystical, ancient bonds united all Slavs.

Because Russia was the most powerful Slavic state, it meant that it had an obligation to help the “little Slavic brothers” in the Balkans. Since this philosophy also provided a rationale for Russian expansion into the Balkans, it received the encouragement of the czarist government. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, author of *Crime and Punishment*, was also a great propagandist for Pan-Slavism. On April 12, 1877, Alexander II declared war on the Ottoman Empire.

In one of the great defensive battles of the 19th century, the Turkish general Osman Pasha managed to hold the Russians and their new Romanian allies for five months at Plevna (Pleven), but eventually the superior Russian force compelled him to surrender. As a mark of his heroism, he was treated with great courtesy by the Russian commanders.

Once the siege of Plevna was won, the Russians and their allies kept up the impetus of their drive to the south. It appeared that they were determined to go all the way to Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and end the Ottoman power once and for all. However, although the British public had been aroused by the Turkish atrocities in the Balkans, the British prime minister did not want to see the Russian Bear swimming in the Dardanelles, the gateway to the Mediterranean, which had been a British lake since the victory of Lord Horatio Nelson at Trafalgar in 1805. For the same reason, the British had intervened in the CRIMEAN WAR from 1854–56 on the side of the Ottoman Empire, to keep the Russians from conquering the empire and gaining access to the Mediterranean. In February 1878 the British Mediterranean fleet was put on a war footing and sailed to a position off Constantinople, a potent reminder that the Russians had advanced as far as the British were going to allow them to. QUEEN VICTORIA herself announced that “she would rather abdicate than allow the Russians to enter Istanbul [Constantinople].”

Alexander II was conscious that if a peace were not made with the Turks, the British, and also Austria, might intervene on the side of his enemy. Therefore, in March 1878, Turkey and Russia concluded the Treaty of San Stefano. The Russians sought to take full advantage of the Turks in their defeated state.

The treaty immediately aroused the envy and concern of Austria, which had its own plans for expansion into the Balkans, ultimately to the disadvantage of the Serbians. Bismarck began to realize that his League of Three Emperors was in a deep crisis as a result of the San Stefano treaty. Consequently, he invited the great powers of Europe to the CONGRESS OF BERLIN from June to July in 1878. Great Britain was reassured by the fact that the territorial integrity of the Ottomans in Europe was maintained, and the great harbor at Constantinople would not become a Russian naval base. Austria was allowed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it would later annex to its empire in 1908, causing great hatred among the Serbs, who also desired the territory.

Russia lost most of its conquests won in the war, although the Congress of Berlin did regain for Russia much of the territory given up at the Peace of Paris, which had brought the Crimean War to an end in 1856. However, because much of Bulgaria had had to be relinquished to the Ottomans, and Great Britain and Austria had coerced Russia into doing so, the Pan-Slavs considered the Treaty of Berlin as having robbed Russia of what it justly gained by right of conquest in the war. The Treaty of Berlin, although it attempted to avert a European war, only tragically succeeded in sewing the seeds for World War I 26 years later. In June 1914, precisely 26 years after the opening of the Congress of Berlin, the Serb terrorist Gavrilo Princip would kill the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in the streets of Sarajevo in Bosnia.

See also BALKAN AND EAST EUROPEAN INSURRECTIONS; GLADSTONE, WILLIAM.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.



## Salafiyya movement (Africa)

In its most popular form, the Salafiyya movement of Africa was a modern Muslim reform movement established by JAMAL AL-AFGHANI and Muhammad ‘Abduh at the turn of the 20th century. The term *Salafiyya* (also spelled Salafiyah) is derived from the Arabic root *salaf*, which means “predecessors,” and is often used to refer to the first three generations of Muslims (where a generation is equivalent to a century). The presumption is that the individual Salafis who make up the Salafiyya derive their understanding of Islam directly from the religion’s primary sources, such as the Qu’ran (Koran) and Sunnah (normative example of the Prophet Muhammad), instead of being bound to the traditions, customs, and ideas that were developed by later Muslims. As such, there have been numerous Muslim movements, both premodern and modern, that some historians have designated as *Salafi*.

One such premodern movement was established in Nigeria by USUMAN DAN FODIO, the revolutionary founder of the Sokoto Caliphate. Having been inspired by the WAHHABI (or *Wahhabiyah*) MOVEMENT, which was established by the 18th-century Arabian reformist Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab, Dan Fodio sought reform, unity, and a purification of Islam from its African syncretistic elements. Whether historians are actually justified in designating Dan Fodio as Salafi is debatable, especially given the latter’s connections to certain classical institutions, such as the legal school (*madhab*) system and Islamic mysticism (Sufism).

Either way, it is the modern Salafiyya movement that has come to define Salafism. This movement, which arose during a period of Western colonialism, is characterized by a desire to both reform Islamic thought and end the intellectual, political, moral, and cultural stagnation of the Muslim world. It strongly opposed the blind imitation of archaic religious decrees and advocated a revival of *ijtihad* (unmediated interpretation). It also explicitly emphasized the role of reason and science and asserted that Islam was indeed compatible with both. Perhaps what most separates this modern Salafiyya movement from that of its predecessors is precisely its modernist character, as is evident in the writings of both Afghani and ‘Abduh.

Afghani was probably of Persian Shi’i origin and had spent a considerable amount of time in Afghanistan during his youth. (Afghani himself claimed that he was an Afghan). After a brief stint in Istanbul, Afghani made his way to Egypt, where he taught at al-Azhar University and established a following. It was there that he would meet his young Egyptian disciple, ‘Abduh, who once described his master as “the perfect philosopher.” Following a period of fiery speeches against the British colonizers of Egypt, al-Afghani was expelled from Egypt in 1879. In 1884 Afghani was joined by ‘Abduh in Paris, where they published the pan-Islamic Arabic newspaper *al-Urwa al-Wuthqa* (The strongest link). Afghani would eventually pass away in Istanbul, where he had been confined during the last years of his life. On the other hand, ‘Abduh, who was arguably the most significant figure of the

modern Salafiyya movement, would return to Cairo to head al-Azhar and write his famous *Risalat al-Tawhid* (The message of unity). In their time, both Afghani and ‘Abduh were controversial to some (because of their heterodox teachings) and inspirational to others (because of their reform-mindedness).

And though Afghani and ‘Abduh would become the icons of the modern Salafiyya movement, there were others who would also play a major role. Most prominent among them was ‘Abduh’s famous student Muhammad Rashid Rida. Rida was especially instrumental in propagating Salafi ideas by way of his periodical *Al-Manar*, which was initially a joint effort with ‘Abduh before the latter’s death. It is notable, however, that the movement under Rida came to acquire a reputation of being more conservative, and his ideas have been considered a link between the reformism of Afghani and ‘Abduh and the activism of the famous Egyptian neorevivalist organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, which was established by Hasan al-Banna.

The ideas of the modern Salafiyya movement spread throughout North Africa and the Muslim world. In Algeria the reformist ‘Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis took a stance against Muslim mystical (Sufi) orders, focused much of his efforts on education reform in order to safeguard national identity (in light of the assimilationist policy of the French), and established the Association of Algerian Ulema (Scholars). In Morocco Wahhabi and modern Salafi ideals would be adopted by the reformist scholars Abu Shu‘ayb al-Dukkali and Muhammad ibn al-‘Arabi al-‘Alawi, both of whose ideas would influence Moroccan nationalist movements and their leaders, such as ‘Allal al-Fasi. In Tunisia modern Salafi thought would be adopted by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Tha’alibi, founder of the Destour Party, as well as by prominent scholars of al-Zaytuna University, including Bashir Safar, Muhammad al-Tahir ibn ‘Ashur, and his son Muhammad al-Fadil ibn ‘Ashur.

In light of contemporary Muslim scholarly discourse, it would appear that many of the ideas put forth by the modern Salafiyya movement are as relevant (and contentious) now as they were over a century ago.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

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MUHAMMAD HASSAN KHALIL

## Salvation Army

In 1878 in London, England, William Booth and his wife, Catherine, became the founders of a Wesleyan- and Holiness-oriented organization, which they called the Salvation Army. William, a discontented Methodist minister and then an evangelist, envisioned “a cathedral of the open air.” The couple had eight children, and all of them became major figures in this new organization, which developed a military structure and esprit de corps to serve better the spread of the Christian message and a welfare program based on the Gospels. William gave himself the title of “General,” which his wife and children were enjoined to use even at home. Catherine became known as the “Army Mother.” Converts and members were known as “Salvationists.” Within a decade, and particularly after the 1890 publication of William’s book, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, this new movement was well established not only in the British Isles but also throughout Europe, Canada, and Australia. Already, by 1880, the Salvation Army had “opened fire” on the United States, and one of the older children, Ballington, soon became the “Commander” of operations there.

The doctrine of sanctification, by which God’s grace and believers’s practical exercise of faith give rise to a host of virtues and a deep sense of love for humanity, is preminent in the ideology of the Salvation Army, functioning as a guiding force in members’ lives. While many other evangelical doctrines, including faith in the sacrificial atonement of Christ’s death, are of enormous importance for Salvationists, all mainstream Protestant sacraments and rituals were jettisoned as confusing and divisive, in order to streamline the Army’s evangelistic goals. In addition to the Booths’s evangelistic fervor for lost souls, demanding of all Salvationists, both Officers and Soldiers, that they sign the Army’s Articles of War on unbelief and poverty, the Salvation Army has always advocated humane treatment of animals and supported women’s rights. With respect to the latter, William and Catherine insisted that all three of their married daughters hyphenate their last names, long before the practice became more common.



*Evangeline Cory Booth posing with poor children. The Salvation Army has been a proponent of poverty relief and women's rights.*

However, it is the charitable nature of the Salvation Army that is so widely known and appreciated. The American organization has created day-care centers, summer camps, residences for senior citizens, programs for the homeless, rehabilitation centers for alcoholics and drug addicts, and relief collections, for which the red kettles and the ringing bells have become ubiquitous during the Christmas season.

The most vibrant mark on the American consciousness was made by the seventh of the Booth's children, Evangeline. With a strong will and a penchant for flamboyance, this remarkable administrator served as the U.S. commander from 1904 to 1934, bringing relief to many during World War I and the Great Depression. Of special note were her campaigns on behalf of unwed mothers and neglected children, acknowledged by the government and the public alike. Due to her work, today there are well over 1,000 Corps (local churches) in America,

many of which conduct evangelical services distinguished by exuberant brass band hymn singing. Before retiring in the United States, now boasting the largest organization and membership in the world, Evangeline returned to London in 1934 and for five years assumed duties as the fourth general of the Salvation Army.

See also WESLEY, JOHN (1703–1791) AND CHARLES (1707–1788); WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, RIGHTS AND ROLES.

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RICK M. ROGERS

## Santa Ana, José Antonio López de (1794–1876) Mexican president and caudillo

Dominating Mexican political life for most of the first three decades of the independent Mexican republic, Antonio López de Santa Ana is often regarded as a classic CAUDILLO—a shrewd political opportunist, beholden to neither principle nor ideology, who used his personal charisma, the fierce loyalty of his followers, dispensation of patronage, personal control of the means of organized violence, and glorification of his person to enhance his own political power at the expense of his adversaries and competitors. Generally unscrupulous and invariably self-serving, from 1833 to 1855 he occupied the country's highest political office at least 11 times (depending on how one counts and the criteria one uses). His extensive network of loyal clients and allies, combined with his keen political acumen made him one of the nation's most important political players throughout the early republican period, sometimes dubbed the "Age of Santa Ana."

Born in Jalapa, Veracruz, on February 21, 1794, Santa Ana joined the Spanish military at age 16, when he became an officer cadet in his home state's Fixed Infantry Regiment. After a stint in the north, he returned to Veracruz in 1815 as a sublieutenant conducting counterinsurgency operations against the various bands then harassing the Spanish forces. It was in Veracruz, among the criminals and vagabonds who filled the ranks of his regiment, that Santa Ana



began to hone his vaunted interpersonal skills. For five years, between 1815 and 1820, in the steamy jungles and rocky sierras of his home state, he conducted search-and-destroy operations against insurgent bands, gaining a large personal following and earning a reputation as an effective and charismatic military leader. With the formation of AGUSTÍN DE ITURBIDE'S "Army of the Three Guarantees" in 1821 Santa Ana abandoned his royalist allegiance and joined the independence movement. It was the first of several such about-faces that characterized his subsequent political and military career.

In 1823 two years after allying with Iturbide, he put himself at the head of the revolt that ousted the vainglorious emperor, his *Plan de Casa Mata* and successful uprising making him the darling of the liberals, who ruled Mexico for the next 13 years. The period of liberal dominance generated an accumulation of grievances on the part of the military, the Church, and other conservative elements. Sensing the impending backlash, Santa Ana was elected president as a liberal in 1833, retired to his Veracruz estate, and put himself at the head of the conservative revolt that followed.

From 1833 until his fall from power in the mid-1850s, his politics can be generally described as conservative and centralist, though mainly they were pro-Santa Ana. He accumulated fantastic wealth, and as head of state devised many elaborate rituals, ceremonies, and titles to honor his heroism and grandeur. His final fall from power came in the aftermath of Mexico's humiliating defeat in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR of 1846–48, despite subsequent attempts to resurrect himself and his brief return to power in 1853–55. Convicted of treason after the liberal "Revolution of Ayutla" that ousted him in 1855, he was sentenced to permanent exile, though was allowed to return to his homeland in 1874. He died a broken man two years later. Despite the central role played by Santa Ana in the political tumult of the new Mexican nation-state, scholars widely agree that he was more a symptom than a cause of the period's chronic political instability.

See also DÍAZ, PORFIRIO; MEXICO, EARLY REPUBLIC OF.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Santeria

Santeria (Santería), or "the way of the saints," is a syncretic religious practice that combines elements of Catholic and Yoruba faith; the practice originated in Cuba. It is often called La Regla Lucumi or La Regla de Ocha. *Santéria* was a derogatory term used by the Spanish to describe their slaves's inappropriate reverence of the saints. Priests of Santeria are called *santeros*; priestesses are called *santeras*.

A syncretic religion is one that combines and reconciles different belief systems—or significant elements thereof—into a new whole, quite often as the result of a mingling of two cultures. In the West, syncretic belief systems are more common in folk practice than at the institutional level, often originating among a conquered or enslaved people. In the Caribbean, syncretic religions are sometimes called Creole religions. Like Santeria, most Creole religions combine elements of Yoruba belief with the Catholicism of the European masters: VODOO in Haiti and Louisiana; Umbanda and Candomble in Brazil; Obeah in the West Indies; Kumina in Jamaica; and Palo Mayombe, Kimbisa, and Santeria in Cuba.

The Yoruba are a large ethnic group in West Africa, the land from which many slaves bound for the Caribbean came. In Cuba, the Spanish built *cabildos* (social houses organized according to ethnic group) for their slaves. In areas where the Yoruba ethnic groups predominated—and possibly in some where they did not but were an influential minority—the practices of Santeria began to coalesce in the *cabildos*, where slaves were allowed to gather on holidays and engaged in traditional practices. They had been forcibly baptized and were ostensibly Christians, but the days in the *cabildos* were intended to be an occasional outlet for their African culture; they provided a way to burn off steam, so to speak.

In Santeria, the gods of the Yoruba—the Orisha—are associated with, and revered as, Catholic saints. God becomes—or is the "true identity of"—Oloдумare or Olorun (specific correlations between Christian and Yoruba elements vary by tradition), and the other deities are redescribed accordingly. Ellegua, a trickster and psychopomp (a manifestation of death) and the god of travel and the crossroads, became Saint Anthony or Saint Michael. Chango, the god of thunder and ancestor of the Yoruba people, became Saint Barbara. Oshun, the goddess of love and beauty, was associated with Our Lady of Charity, the patron saint of Cuba—and Ogun, the god of war, with Saint Peter.

There was no real transformation here, as such; these joint Yoruba-Catholic entities were treated not as new deities or supernatural beings but as newly recognized manifestations. Much as different apparitions of the Virgin Mary—Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Prompt Succor—are revered as aspects of Mary rather than as independent entities, the Orisha were now venerated as aspects of the saints. Traditional Yoruba prayer could continue—and continue to develop. The Spanish, for their part, would hear only prayers to their own saints.

Traditionally a purely oral faith, Santeria has no official written records and no holy scriptures other than the Christian Bible. Like many Creole religions, its rituals are secretive, open only to the properly initiated. Ritual music and dancing are used in prayer, as they were in the days of the *cabildos*. Dancing may be used to induce a trance state for the purpose of ritual possession, similar to being “ridden by the loa” in Voodoo. The veneration of ancestors is the focus of family rituals. In some cases, a santero sacrifices a chicken, the blood of which is given in offering to the Orisha, the meat being consumed separately. These sacrifices have been the subject of lawsuits in the United States, and discussions of the specific protections of freedom of religion.

See also HAITIAN REVOLUTION; LATIN AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF.

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BILL KTE'PI

## Sanusiya

The Sanusiya was a religious reformist movement founded by Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi. Born in Algeria, al-Sanusi studied in Cairo and Mecca. He was heavily influenced by the teachings of the noted Sufi Ahmad ibn Idris. Al-Sanusi established his first lodge, or Sufi collective, outside Mecca in 1827. After ibn Idris's death, he moved to Cyrenaica in present day Libya and established *zawiyas* (collectives) along the desert trade routes into the Sahara.

The Sanusiya stressed the role of the prophet Muhammad and encouraged members to practice a pious way of life with a stress on Islamic education. It discouraged excessive rituals involving singing or dancing. The orders were highly centralized and individual *zawiyas* were governed by several key officials. With their stress on the importance of work, the Sanusiya *zawiyas* flourished economically and attracted more followers. From Cyrenaica, new orders were established in the oases of Jaghbub and Kufra that became the center of the movement in 1895. Although its base was primarily from among the desert *bedu*, it also attracted urban followers. The Sanusiya also spread into Chad in the southern Sahara and, by the turn of the century, into Niger where the movement was repressed by the French.

Although the Sanusiya cooperated with the Ottoman governors in the northern Libyan coast, they opposed French expansion into Algeria and became fierce opponents to Italian imperial designs over Libya. Thus like many Islamic revival movements it gradually became a nationalist force against imperial domination.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino

(1811–1888) *Argentine president and statesman*

Most famous for his classic polemical study of CAUDILLO politics and life in the Argentine interior, *Facundo*, or *Civilization and Barbarism*, and for his educational reforms during his term as president of Argentina, Domingo F. Sarmiento ranks among the most influential statesmen and intellectuals of 19th-century Latin America. His diverse literary contributions and political activities have also been interpreted as emblematic of the larger search for national identity in Latin America during the first century of independence, as the literati and politicians of the freshly minted nation-states from Mexico to Argentina struggled to create a viable sense of national belonging from the disparate ethnic and racial strands of their homelands.

Born on February 15, 1811, in the rustic capital city of the interior province of San Juan in the shadow of the Andean foothills, Faustino Valentín Sarmiento Albarracín, one of 15 siblings, was the only son of his soldier-laborer father and homemaker mother to survive to adulthood. Precocious as a youth, he learned to read at age four, continuing his studies at San Juan's Escuela de la Patria (School of the Homeland), and later with his priest uncle, under whose tutelage he acquired his lifelong appreciation for the transformative power of education. Conscripted into a provincial militia in the late 1820s, he was briefly imprisoned for refusing to serve, an experience that sharpened his rapidly evolving political views.

Sarmiento became convinced that only under the strong leadership of Buenos Aires could Argentina transcend its historic legacy of backwardness and primitivism, represented by its interior provinces, and become a modern nation. Embracing this Unitarist (pro-Buenos Aires, centralist) perspective, he fought against the army led by Federalist caudillo Juan Facundo Quiroga. Captured and arrested by Facundo's forces, he fled to Chile in 1830, where he spent most of the next 15 years working in a variety of jobs. Reading voraciously and writing prolifically, it was in exile in Chile that he wrote *Facundo* and other important works, many directed against the Argentine dictator JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS. From 1845–47 he traveled widely in Europe and the United States, establishing a lasting friendship with U.S. educational reformer Horace Mann and his wife, Mary; the latter's translation of *Facundo* introduced the Argentine author to an English-speaking audience.

With the overthrow of Rosas in 1852, Sarmiento returned to Argentina and launched his political career, becoming senator in the National Assembly; governor of San Juan Province, and minister to the United States. Upon his return from Washington, he was elected president of the republic—the first in a string of four non-*porteños* (persons not from Buenos Aires) to hold the nation's highest office.

During his administration—which coincided with the last two years of the PARAGUAYAN WAR—federal government expenditures on education in the interior provinces quadrupled, much of it going toward the construction of new schools. Between 1869 and 1914 the nation's illiteracy rate dropped from more than two-thirds to around one-third, thanks largely to the legacy of educational reform bequeathed by Sarmiento, while its secondary school and university system came to rank among the finest in Latin America. Overall, however,

many Argentines considered Sarmiento's presidency a disappointment, in part because of his administration's failure to reform the nation's highly unequal patterns of landownership. Remembered mainly for his literary contributions, especially the impassioned dualism expressed in his major work—*civilization* as represented by the cities, especially Buenos Aires, lifeline to Europe and national progress, and *barbarism* as embodied by the backwardness and primitivism of the GAUCHO, the Indian, and the interior provinces—Sarmiento has been both lauded for his cosmopolitanism and criticized for his racism and disdain for rural life. Few would disagree that he left an indelible legacy on the literary, cultural, and political life of his homeland or that his larger oeuvre can be taken as representative of the broader struggle to create authentic national identities in Latin America during the first century of independence.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Satsuma Rebellion (1877)

The origin of the Satsuma Rebellion in Japan lay in the voyage to Japan of U.S. Commodore MATTHEW C. PERRY to Japan in July 1853. Perry carried with him instructions from President Millard Fillmore for the government of Japan to move away from isolationism. If the government did not do so voluntarily, according to the president's instructions, Perry was given the freedom to turn his guns on the Japanese. Several years earlier, Commodore James Biddle had been given a similar mission, but because he lacked the authority to use force, he had been compelled to turn away by Japanese officials. Fillmore was determined that Perry's mission would not have a similar outcome. On July 10, Perry sailed into Edo (Tokyo) Bay, with the warships *Susquehanna*, *Mississippi*, *Saratoga*, and *Plymouth*. For four days, the American warships carried out firing exercises in Edo Bay. On July 14 an emissary

came from the Japanese emperor Komei, promising to take a message from Perry to the emperor. With his mission accomplished, Perry promised to return in spring 1854.

Perry's mission to Japan provoked an immediate crisis for the Tokugawa shogun, Iesada. The appearance of a foreign naval squadron underscored his inability to protect Japan. The sole rationale of the shogunate (military regime) was its ability to use force to preserve domestic peace and prevent foreign invasion. Having seen what the British had done to China when they inflicted a humiliating defeat in the Opium War in 1839–42, a group of military leaders were infuriated by the "loss of face" that Tokugawa Iesada had caused the Japanese to suffer.

When Perry returned to Uraga Harbor on February 15, 1854, he was met by five officials of the imperial court. After six weeks of cordial ceremonies, the Japanese signed the Treaty of Kanagawa on March 31, 1854.

Opposition began to grow again toward the Tokugawa Shogunate in the west of the country. Two clans began to assert themselves against the Shogunate: the Satsuma Clan in southern Kyushu, and the Choshu in western Honshu. Ironically, because they were "outsiders" in the Tokugawa social and political order, meaning that they were not originally supporters of the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, they tended to have kept the samurai warrior virtues that the Tokugawa supporters had gradually lost. In response to the declining figure of the shogun, the rebellious lords began to champion the emperor, although he had largely been powerless since the first shogunate in the 12th century. The Satsuma and Choshu clans had strong resources to back them. Politically, the Choshu and Satsuma samurai became known as the Imperial Loyalists, feeling that the Emperor Komei was the legitimate leader of Japan.

Both the Choshu and Satsuma clans vied for leadership in what became open opposition to the shogunate. In December 1862 the Choshu samurai forced the shogun to agree to expel all foreigners by July 1863, something which the Choshu leaders knew the Tokugawa were now powerless to do. Thus, they achieved their goal of making the Tokugawa appear even more politically irrelevant than before. In September 1863 a Satsuma force marching on Kyoto forced the Choshu samurai to abandon the court. However, the political cause of both clans, to restore the emperor, remained the same. The decisive event, the Shimonoseki Affair, took place in 1864. The Shimonoseki Strait was an important maritime trade route controlled by the Choshu samurai, who attempted to block it to foreign trade. Its

position between Honshu and Kyushu made its opening imperative to foreign commerce.

To the nationalistic samurai of Choshu and Satsuma, the Tokugawa capitulation at Shimonoseki proved the final insult. On March 7, 1866, Choshu and Satsuma drew up a secret alliance to restore the emperor. In 1867 Emperor Komei died, to be succeeded by Mutsuhito, who took the reign name of Meiji. Emperor Meiji was determined to rule Japan, and he welcomed the secret support of Choshu and Satsuma against the new shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu. Civil war erupted in 1867, and the Choshu and Satsuma clans openly rose up for the emperor. Yoshinobu surrendered his powers to Meiji, who became restored to a powerful imperial throne in December 1867. In January 1868 Yoshinobu decided to attempt a final stand at Fushimi, where his forces were crushed. He surrendered to the imperial forces, and formally opened Edo to the imperial troops.

As when Western monarchies modernized, Japan's modernization was done at the expense of the feudal classes. In August 1871 the new imperial government suddenly abolished all the domains of the feudal daimyo and established governmental prefectures in their place. In 1873 the imperial government announced the formation of a new peasant conscript army to support the emperor, and this was rapidly followed by the permanent eclipse of the samurai class. Always proud of their status in society, they were now no longer to carry the *daisho*, the great sword and the small sword, in public.

The humbling of the samurai class distressed the new government, which not only had owed its creation to the samurai of Choshu and Satsuma but was composed itself of members of the warrior class. In 1873 a possible invasion of Korea was announced as a way to help the samurai regain their sense of military honor and at the same time diffuse what was beginning to become a threat to the new imperial regime.

Throughout this period, Saigo Takamori, a Satsuma samurai, had loyally supported the MEIJI RESTORATION and had worked closely with Kido and Okubo in the modernization of Japan. When the new national army was created, Saigo had been made a field marshal in recognition of his services to the emperor. Yet Saigo saw also in the decline of the samurai the ending of the class system of the ancient Japan to which he had dedicated his life. In the summer of 1873 Emperor Meiji called off plans for the invasion. Saigo Takamori resigned from the government and returned to the Satsuma lands. Others felt as he did, especially when the wearing of the swords of the samurai was officially abolished by law

in 1876. Rebellions broke out in Satsuma, Hizen, and Tosa. Whether intentionally or not, Saigo was forging the nucleus for a rebellion.

The flashpoint for what became known as the Satsuma Rebellion came when imperial troops seized the military supplies from the arsenal at Kagoshima, to prevent them falling into the hands of any rebels. To the Meiji government, this was an example of its policy of *fukoku-kyohei* (rich country, strong army) in a country in which all were now servants of the emperor. To Takamori and his supporters, it was a call to revolt to defend traditional values. Although late to join active opposition to the emperor, Saigo nevertheless found himself in command of some 25,000 samurai.

His original strategy was to march directly on the imperial capital at Edo. There is some reason to think he may have been able to capitalize on the discontent of the peasant class as well if he had done so. To the peasants, the conscription of their sons was just another form of taxation, to be paid in blood rather than kind. However, Saigo deviated from his plans by besieging Kumamoto Castle, being held by a garrison of imperial conscripts. The attack on the castle began on February 21, 1877. Finally, the Meiji government, showing a lack of military preparedness, was able to send a relief force to Kumamoto Castle on April 14. Faced with this new threat, Saigo was forced to abandon the siege. There followed months of a long pursuit in Kyushu, where government forces were compelled to fight on Saigo's own terms.

Saigo, with only a few hundred followers, was confronted by an imperial force of some 30,000 men. However, in true samurai spirit, he refused to surrender to the government soldiers. On September 24, 1877, he led a final charge down Shiroyama into the guns of the imperial conscripts. He was mortally wounded. His closest follower, Beppu Shinsuke, picked up the dying Takamori and carried him further down the hill to a place suitable for ritual suicide. Shinsuke then charged into the guns of the imperial troops. The Satsuma Rebellion was over, but the legend of Saigo Takamori had just begun.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## savants/Rosetta Stone

On his 1798 expedition to conquer Egypt, Napoleon also took along 167 savants, or French intellectuals. Some had been eager to join the expedition, but others had to be persuaded to join. A few of the savants traveled on the same ship with Napoleon, who insisted that at dinner they participate in debates on topics he personally selected. In Egypt, the savants were involved in governmental procedure that directly benefited the French occupying forces and the indigenous population; they worked on surveys and historical research, and they published a variety of printed material. The latter had particular merit, for this was the first publishing to be done in Egypt with a modern printing press, which Napoleon had brought along.

The savants also traveled all over Egypt from the pyramids to Luxor to study and record the flora, fauna, local customs, and geography of the country. Dominique Vivant Denon was particularly enthusiastic about recording and measuring the ancient monuments. These studies laid the foundation for the field of Egyptology. Along with many other artifacts, many of them stolen and cut out of monuments, the savants also acquired the Rosetta Stone, which, with the same inscription in three languages, became the key for deciphering the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics.

After their return to France in 1801, the savants began to publish numerous memoirs, diaries, and scholarly accounts of their journey and findings. The multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte* contained a complete history of Egypt to modern times, a full census of cities, tribes, cultural habits, geography, music, astronomy, and technical reports. French technicians had also studied the feasibility of building the SUEZ CANAL. Although based on an incorrect survey, they had concluded it would be possible. These findings gave further impetus for the future construction of a canal to join

the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. These publications created a passion for all things Egyptian among Europeans. Egypt was added to the Grand Tour itinerary, and a major tourist industry evolved in Egypt. The expedition and the publications by the savants also drew the attention of European governments to the potential importance of Egypt and other parts of the region in terms of imperial holdings.

See also NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Second and Third Republics of France

The regimes of the Second Republic and Third Republic solidified the republican tradition in France. Modern France has emerged as the product of the competing ideologies of the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the Counterrevolution, of how much of the changes made by the French Revolution to keep and how much of the Old Regime to restore. The enduring success of the Second and Third Republics resulted in the victory of the French Revolutionary tradition over that of the Counterrevolution and established the groundwork for the construction of a common French culture. Following the “experiment” of the Second Republic, the Third Republic, while not popular, proved to be a durable, long-lasting regime that provided the stability France desperately needed while establishing a republican form of government.

The French Revolution resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and its replacement by the First Republic, which ended following NAPOLEON I's coronation. Following Napoleon's demise in 1814, the French monarchy returned, only to be overthrown in the Revolution of 1830. Louis-Philippe, a member of a cadet branch of the royal family, became king of the French until he was overthrown in the REVOLUTION OF 1848, amidst which the Second Republic began.

While initially plagued by the instability and chaos surrounding the Revolution of 1848, the Second Republic solidified itself by November. A democratic

republic was proclaimed with direct universal suffrage and a separation of powers. A single permanent assembly of 750 members serving three-year terms voted on legislation introduced by a council of state, whose members were elected by the assembly for six-year terms. The executive branch consisted of a president who served one four-year term without the possibility of standing for reelection, and his self-appointed ministers. Governmental revision was extremely difficult, requiring three-quarters of the majority of a special assembly to approve the measure three times in succession.

NAPOLEON III, nephew of Napoleon I, won the presidential election by taking advantage of the nostalgia surrounding his uncle's regime and its remembered stability and order. The government was plagued by struggles between conservatives, liberal republicans, and socialists. In 1850 a liberal victory at the polls encouraged conservatives to pass the Falloux Law, which returned the church to its previous role as popular educator, thereby reversing one of the primary ideologies of the French Revolution. Napoleon III struggled with his parliament and continued to maneuver his loyal supporters to positions of authority.

The Second Republic ended in 1852 when Louis-Napoleon organized a coup. The French Second Empire lasted until 1871, when France was defeated in the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. After Napoleon III's capture, General Louis-Jules Trochu and politician Leon Gambetta overthrew the Second Empire and proclaimed a government of national defense, which later became the Third Republic. Following war with Prussia, France was plagued by an insurrection known as the PARIS COMMUNE that established a radical leftist regime that held control for two months until its suppression in May 1871.

During the early Third Republic, there was strong favor for a constitutional monarchy. Yet the two competing contenders for the throne, Henri, comte de Chambord, head of the elder branch of the royal family, and Louis-Philippe, comte de Paris, head of the family's younger branch, could not come to terms. Although a compromise between the two factions was reached allowing Henri to ascend to the throne with Louis-Philippe as his heir, Henri refused to acknowledge the tricolor, the flag of the French Revolution. Since a constitutional monarchy did not come to fruition, a “temporary” republic was proclaimed.

In 1875 a series of parliamentary acts laid the foundations for the organization of the Third Republic. A bicameral legislature was created, along with a ministry

under the direction of a prime minister responsible to both parliament and the president. The issue of monarchy versus republic continued throughout the 1870s. By 1877, however, public opinion swayed in favor of a republic.

President Patrice MacMahon attempted to salvage the monarchist cause by dismissing prime minister Jules Simon, a republican. MacMahon appointed monarchist duc de Broglie to the position and dissolved parliament. In the general election held in October 1877, the republicans made a triumphant return, thereby eliminating the possibility of a restored monarchy. MacMahon resigned in 1879 and in 1885, the French crown jewels were broken up and sold.

There were no strong, clear political parties during the Third Republic but, rather, coalitions of similar-minded politicians and factions. Consequently, ministries during the Third Republic changed often as various radicals, socialists, republicans, and monarchists battled for control. The Third Republic weathered many scandals during its existence while remaining intact. One of the most infamous scandals was the DREYFUS AFFAIR, which involved the imprisonment of an innocent French officer on espionage charges. The case unleashed the growing anti-Semitism within France and divided the nation. A preoccupation among many French politicians was revenge against Germany for the humiliating defeat of 1871. France became involved in colonial activities to compensate for its losing the economic race with Germany.

The Third Republic was active in building a common French culture for the process of citizenship education. The government promoted national holidays and a common French language to eliminate diverse dialects spoken in the countryside. In 1905 the Third Republic introduced several anti-clerical laws meant to separate church and state. Such efforts outlawed religious control of education. Increased industrialization led to the construction of railroads and the ability to travel more easily throughout the country. A rise in education furthered literacy, which paralleled the development of popular presses and widely circulated newspapers.

The Third Republic's greatest success occurred when it rallied the French nation to defeat the invading German army after a long standoff during World War I. The Third Republic collapsed following the invasion of Nazi Germany, which occupied much of France for the duration of World War II. The remainder of France was governed by a Nazi collaborative regime based at Vichy.

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ERIC MARTONE

## Seven Years'/French and Indian War (1754–1763)

The Seven Years' War—its name in Europe—was known as the French and Indian War in North America. Officially, hostilities began in 1756 with a declaration of war between Britain and France and ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Actual fighting, however, began in 1754 in North America. That unofficial beginning is one distinctive aspect of this war for empire, which was the fourth struggle in 65 years between Britain and France over control of North America. The Seven Years'/French and Indian War was unlike these earlier wars, and not only because it began in North America. In the 1750s, in fact, neither London nor Paris wanted a war in North America or anywhere else for that matter.

Although both imperial powers desired to expand their influence from their current colonial boundaries into the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, neither wanted to risk war to do so. British colonists had other ideas. More heavily populated than New France, British North America by the 1750s was beginning to experience overpopulation and land shortages along the Atlantic seaboard. Settlers agitated to expand beyond the Appalachian Mountains in order to squat on Western land, no matter the consequences with the French or their very powerful Algonkin allies. Additionally, moneyed interests in the British colonies, such as the Virginia-based Ohio Company, were also promoting frontier settlement.

By 1753 clashes seemed inevitable, as the French sought to increase their influence into the Ohio River valley by extending fur trading posts, while British colonists “on the spot” in the same area tried to acquire



*British general James Wolfe, lying mortally wounded on a field surrounded by soldiers and an American Indian during the siege of Québec in 1759. The Seven Years' War raged across North America, Europe, India, and large tracts of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.*

land of their own. In 1754 the first confrontation of British colonists with French and Algonkin forces resulted in Virginia militia leader and Ohio Company investor GEORGE WASHINGTON's forced surrender to the French, as he and his men marched back to Williamsburg in defeat.

In the summer of 1755 British and New England troops retaliated by capturing Fort Beauséjour in Acadia (now Nova Scotia), deporting almost 10,000 French colonials, most to Louisiana. Just a month later, a British regular force under Major General Edward Braddock was devastated by French Canadian and Algonkin fighters near present-day Pittsburgh, beginning two years of reverses for the British at the hands of a small but highly competent force of French regulars, Canadian militia well-versed in winter and forest

warfare, and powerful Algonkin tribes who were the real arbiters of power in the region. At one point, the French and Indian coalition pushed the English frontier back 150 miles, most significantly in Pennsylvania and Virginia.

In Europe, the fighting revolved around FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA's attempt to prevent dismemberment of Prussia by Austria, France, and Russia. With fewer than 6 million people but Europe's best army and his own strategic and tactical brilliance, Frederick was able to maintain his independence with financial and limited military assistance from Britain and Hanover. With France occupied against the British elsewhere, and the Austrians and Russians suspicious of each other, Prussia was able to win significant victories in 1757 and retain Silesia in 1763.



The turning point for the British came in 1757 when William Pitt became prime minister. Personally and politically committed to victory whatever the cost, Pitt convinced Parliament to use Britain's advantages, primarily its financial and naval power, to overcome France. This strategy entailed sending small numbers of regulars to the Continent to bolster Britain's Germanic allies, while using British money to subsidize these allies to carry the brunt of the fighting against the French in Europe. This gave the British navy the operational flexibility to ensure its supremacy in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which in turn allowed Great Britain to defeat the French in the Caribbean with relatively small forces, as well as successfully deploy small regular forces and subsidized Indian allies on the subcontinent.

The British soon occupied the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique, as well as French slave stations in Africa. More important for the future of the British Empire, Robert Clive of the BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY used British and Sepoy troops to seize Bengal from its local Muslim ruler, Suraja Dowla, thereby preempting the French East India Company's presence on the subcontinent. While Clive's actions, like those on the North American frontier, were not welcomed by a British government, which wanted to avoid additional engagements, the Royal Navy was dispatched to ensure Clive's survival and avoid the British being forced out of India by French countermoves. By 1763 the French presence in India, as in North America and the Caribbean, was at the mercy of British naval power.

British naval superiority also meant that Great Britain could send regular forces to the North American frontier and cut the French off from reinforcement and re-supply. British financial power meant that London could not only cover the cost of Britain's war in Europe, India, and the Caribbean, but also subsidize and reimburse its American colonies for the cost of providing supplies locally and raising militias—such as British Army Major Robert Roger's Rangers—that were well versed in forest and frontier warfare. Additionally, Pitt made sure that younger, more aggressive officers, such as Lieutenant General Jeffrey Amherst and Major General James Wolfe, were sent to command in the New World.

The result was a string of victories in North America and elsewhere that caused France to cede almost its entire North American empire to the British and Spanish in 1763. Although it had been allied with France, Spain was given the western bank of the Mississippi River in compensation for its loss of Cuba to Great Britain. While Martinique, Guadeloupe, and its

African slave stations were restored, in North America France retained only the city of New Orleans and two fishing islands off Newfoundland.

In addition, France was forbidden to erect fortifications or pursue political ambitions in India. After 1763 a British Raj would eventually replace the MUGHAL EMPIRE, and India would become a mainstay of the British imperial and economic system in the 1800s.

This war clearly demonstrated what the British Empire could achieve when it emphasized its advantages of naval superiority, Continental allies, and financial clout. The war, however, also doubled the British national debt, greatly extended the empire, and demonstrated real fissures between the mother country and its American colonies. Attempts to deal with these problems would lead in a dozen years to the AMERICAN REVOLUTION that would prove to be one of the British Empire's most significant defeats.

See also ACADIAN DEPORTATION.

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HAL M. FRIEDMAN

## Shaka Zulu

(1781?–1828) *Zulu leader and warrior*

A significant amount of myth surrounds the life of the Zulu leader Shaka Zulu, as he is recognized as one of the more popular leaders in African history and is widely known for his conquests in southern Africa. It is difficult to assess when Shaka Zulu was born, but scholars believe he was born sometime between 1781 and 1787. It is also difficult to characterize his upbringing, due to the lack of sources, and therefore historians have difficulty ascertaining whether Shaka was mistreated by his father, Sensangakona, or whether his mother, Nandi, and Sensangakona had a stable relationship, but it can be ascertained that Shaka was conceived out of wedlock.

What is known by historians is that Shaka, as a young warrior, was under the guidance of Dingiswayo, a chief of the Mthethwa, who was instrumental to Shaka's rise to power. Dingiswayo assisted Shaka in ousting his brothers for control of the Zulu in 1812.

After Shaka came to power, he created a number of alliances with neighboring tribes in order to check the growing power of the Ndwandwe. Aside from these alliances, Shaka also adopted a number of military reforms in order to strengthen the martial power of the Zulus. It is open to debate whether Shaka himself devised these military changes, whether other Africans assisted in these designs, or whether he was influenced by the success of European models. It is known that the changes he initiated helped him to defeat the Ndwandwe. Some of the reforms that he adopted included the exchange of the assegai for a short spear used to stab opponents, ordering his soldiers to fight without sandals in order to increase mobility, and using the “Buffalo Horns” formation, which primarily consisted of the right and left flanks surrounding the bulk of the opponent’s army, while the center was used as the main thrust against the enemy.

Shaka was eager to learn about European culture, and he was fascinated by Christianity. He was also interested in learning how to read and write. He had an intermediary named Jakot who traveled between the Zulu and the Europeans to provide Shaka with information regarding the foreigners. From the news that he received, Shaka was able to make comparisons on various aspects of European and Zulu societies. The information he acquired regarding the power of Britain troubled Shaka, as he became concerned that the British might initiate a war against him and the Zulu. This concern may have prompted Shaka to send a diplomatic mission to King George in 1828, which proved relatively fruitless.

European perceptions of Shaka Zulu are complex and difficult to ascertain. This is particularly true when examining the writings of James Saunders King, who wrote articles for the *South African Commercial Advertiser* concerning the characteristics of Shaka Zulu. The article that was published by King on July 11, 1826, noted the hospitality that the Zulu leader extended towards others, but another article published the following week noted Shaka’s tyrannical nature.

Shaka fought a number of wars to gain supremacy in southern Africa, battling the Ndwandwe tribe a number of times. Shaka was forced to contend with the Ndwandwe, under the leadership of Zwide, in a number of battles, including the Battle of Gqokli Hill in 1818, where Shaka defeated a numerically superior Ndwandwe force, and another engagement on the Mhlataze River. After the latter battle, the Zulu were able to demolish Zwide’s kraal, forcing Zwide to flee from Shaka’s grasp, but Zwide did not long survive the

destruction of his army, and he was later killed. Despite the fact that Shaka defeated the Ndwandwe tribe, he was forced to confront them again in 1826 when Zwide’s son, Sikhunyane, rose to power and became a threat to Shaka. Shaka quickly dealt with this threat, attacking the Ndwandwe encampment that was situated in the vicinity of the Intombi River and slaughtering a significant number of Ndwandwe warriors. Following this victory, Shaka took possession of 60,000 Ndwandwe cattle and killed the Ndwandwe women and children in the vicinity, ending the Ndwandwe threat to his rule.

Following Shaka’s victory over the Ndwandwe, an event occurred that contributed to the downfall of the Zulu leader: His mother died. Nandi’s death in 1827 greatly affected Shaka Zulu, as illustrated by the terms of mourning that he initiated following her death. He stipulated that milk was not to be extracted from cows for drinking, nor were the Zulu permitted to grow crops, threatening the Zulu with starvation. He also stipulated that women who were discovered to be with child within one year of Nandi’s death were to be executed along with their husbands.

Nandi’s death resulted in the deaths of many of the Zulu, as Shaka executed people for not following his terms of mourning or for not attending to him at the time of his mother’s death. Even after he ended the terms for the period of mourning, the continuation of this erratic behavior continued in 1828. His unpredictability is illustrated by the fact that he killed 300 women, some of whom were the wives of the leaders of Zulu regiments, while his warriors were absent.

Shaka’s bizarre behavior led conspirators to plot his assassination. It is not exactly known when Shaka died, but the best estimates claim September 1828. The assassination was a result of a plot between his half brothers Dingane and Mhlangana and a man named Mbopa, who was Shaka’s head domestic servant. The three men were encouraged to act by Mkabayi, the sister of Senzangakona, who asserted the belief that Shaka was implicated in the death of his mother.

It is impossible to know for certain whether Mkabayi believed this or if she wanted Shaka dead for ulterior motives. After Shaka was killed, a civil war ensued, as Dingane was forced to contend with pro-Shaka forces and his half brother Mpande, who was able to acquire the assistance of the Boers and the British settlers in southern Africa, in order to consolidate his grasp on the Zulu. Dingane failed to subdue all of his opponents, and Mpande was successful in overthrowing

his half brother and becoming the leader of the Zulu in 1840.

See also SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Siamese-Burmese War

Conflict between Siam and Burma was common in the 18th century the Burmese fought a series of civil wars against the Mons, who created their own state in 1740. The Mons' success at achieving independence failed to ease tensions between them and the Burmese, and the Mons sacked Ava, the Burmese capital, in 1752 and captured the Burmese royal family, ending the Toun-goo dynasty's control. The Burmese continued to fight the Mons after Alaungpaya assumed the role of leader of the Burmese forces and pushed the Mons into lower Burma. This fighting witnessed the subjugation of the city of Syriam in 1756, followed by the conquest of the Mon city of Pegu the following year.

This conflict with the Mons was followed by war with Siam in 1759, as Alaungpaya used the excuse of a revolt in Tavoy to justify this war. Alaungpaya accused the Siamese officials in the nearby areas of Tenasserim and Mergui of inciting this rebellion, prompting Alaungpaya to invade Siam in order to maintain the honor and prestige of Burma. Alaungpaya did not live long enough to become deeply involved in this conflict, as he died in 1760 during the siege of Ayudhya (Ayutthaya), the Siamese capital. Despite the fact that Alaungpaya failed to make any cultural contributions to Burma during his reign, his effective military policies enabled his successors to inherit a strong, united state for further conflict against Siam.

Naungdawgyi succeeded Alaungpaya, but his reign was cut short because of a revolt in the army partially incited by his orders to execute two of his generals. Hsinbyushin, the son of Alaungpaya, came to power in 1763 and continued the conflict against Siam in 1765. This renewed war witnessed the siege of Ayudhya, which began in 1766 and ended when the city capitulated on April 7, 1767. This victory changed the

geopolitics of the region, as Burma was able to capture thousands of Siamese and kill a significant portion of the Siamese nobility and royal family, leaving Siam without a ruler.

Following this massacre of the royal family, a number of candidates attempted to claim the throne of Siam. Some of the rivals for the throne included government officials such as the governors of Phitsanulok and Nakhon Si Thammarat; a member of the royal family who eluded the Burmese and was living in the northeastern section of Siam; Buddhist monks residing in the vicinity of Uttaradit; and a man named Sin, who was the ex-governor of Tak. Sin was able to subdue his opponents and crown himself king of Siam because he had a strong following. He was also able to halt the Burmese advance into western Siam, also maintaining the cohesion for Siam.

The victory of Burma in the Siamese-Burmese War prompted the Siam government to construct Thonburi, the new capital of Siam, which was situated on the Chao-phraya River. This relocation allowed the Siam government to consolidate itself and extend its influence into neighboring regions. During the 1770s the Siam government was able to launch a number of expeditions in order to assert its influence over Cambodia and Laos. The Siam government was also able to assert its influence over Chiang Mai when it captured the city in 1773.

The Burmese government had more to contend with besides Siam, as Burma and China became entangled in a war in 1766. This conflict was followed by more fighting after the Burmese government deposed the ruler of Manipur, replacing him with its own candidate. The Burmese government was eager to seek more territory in Southeast Asia and engaged in another conflict against Siam, but it failed to make substantial gains. The Siamese-Burmese War altered the dynamics of Southeastern Asia, as Burma was able to extend its influence into parts of Siam, forcing Siam to move into Cambodia and Laos.

See also BURMESE WARS, FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD; CHAKRI DYNASTY AND KING RAMA I; RAMA V.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Sikh Wars

The first Anglo-Sikh War was the result of British imperial expansion to annex the Punjab and remove the Sikh threat to British hegemony on the Indian subcontinent. During the 18th and 19th centuries, RANJIT SINGH made use of war and diplomacy to unite the Sikh tribes into a powerful nation. He built up a powerful army under European influence and European-style cavalry.

After learning of the impressive performance of the British infantry in the Anglo-Maratha War, Singh built up his army and constructed factories to manufacture guns. European advisers were important to the development of the Sikh army because they helped to improve the munitions factories and trained Sikh troops. Before he died in 1839, he had built up his army of 150,000 men.

Singh's death changed the dynamics of the politics in the Punjab because his son Kharrack Singh proved to be an ineffective leader and was murdered in 1840. The British, aware of this political instability, mobilized their army on the border separating the British Empire from the Sikh nation, provoking the Sikhs to attack in December 1845. The British defeated the Sikhs in this war with the help of the defections of two army commanders, Lal Singh and Tej Singh. The British victory over the Sikh army resulted in Britain's annexation of part of the Punjab. The Sikh army was reduced, and Britain was able to appoint advisers in the Punjab to influence the administration.

The concessions that the British wrestled from the Sikhs in the First Anglo-Sikh War were not enough to satisfy Governor-General Dalhousie. Determined to annex the entire Punjab, Dalhousie used the death of two Britons in the Sikh mutiny at Multan in 1848 as an excuse to expand British territory. The Sikhs, however, tried to create an anti-British front by calling on the aid of the Afghans. Britain, however, was able to suppress the Sikh resistance at Gujrat, and the Treaty of Lahore was signed in 1849 as a result. It forced the Maharaja Dhalip Singh to retire and become a pensioner of the British government.

The fall of the Sikh nation was crucial for the British government. It eliminated the Sikh threat to British control over the Indian subcontinent. Thereafter, Punjabis were recruited in large numbers to serve in the Indian army. The INDIAN MUTINY of 1857 failed badly because of the significant number of Sikh troops from the Punjab who adhered loyally to Britain's cause.

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BRIAN DE RUITER

## Singh, Ranjit

(1780–1839) *Sikh leader*

Ranjit (also spelled Runjit) Singh founded a Sikh state in the Punjab (an area in northwestern India, now divided between India and Pakistan) and ruled from 1801 to 1839. In the 18th century most Sikhs lived in the Punjab, an ethnically diverse area whose population also included Muslims, Hindus, Jains, and Pash-tuns (Afghans). The Sikhs of the Punjab during Singh's era were grouped into 12 *misl*s, or tribes. Singh became chief of the Sukerchakias tribe upon the death of his father in 1792. He furthered his own power by twice marrying women from other Sikh tribes.

Singh began uniting the Punjab under his rule in 1799, when he seized Lahore, capital of the region. In 1802 Singh captured Amritsar, a city sacred to the Sikhs as well as a major commercial center, and subdued a number of smaller Sikh and Pashtun principalities in the Punjab. He signed the Treaty of Amritsar with the British in 1809, gaining recognition as ruler of the Punjab and fixing the Sutlej River as the eastern boundary of his territories.

Singh continued to expand his empire to the north and west, and by 1819 had captured Peshawar and expelled the Pashtuns from the Vale of Kashmir. By 1820 he had consolidated his rule over the entire Punjab, from the Sutlej to the Indus Rivers, with more than a quarter of a million square miles of land, including some of the most strategically significant and richest territory in India. This area is sometimes called "The Land of the Five Rivers" because of the five major rivers within it: the Indus, Jhecum, Chenab, Ravi, and Sutlej. Ranjit Singh's rule in the Punjab was a time of peace and prosperity. He encouraged trade by ensuring safe passage for caravans and imposing lenient duties. Religiously tolerant, his army had members of different faith

communities, including Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus, as did his commanders and administrative appointees. New styles of architecture and painting were also developed during his reign, and many literary and historical works were produced.

Singh died of natural causes in Lahore in 1839. His state did not long survive him. In March 1846 the Sikhs were forced to sign a treaty that gave Great Britain much of their land and to accept British rule.

See also SIKH WARS.

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SARAH BOSLAUGH

## Sino-French War and the Treaty of Tianjin (Tientsin)

This war and treaty between China and France concerned Annam (or Vietnam), an area that was ruled by China until circa 900 C.E., and a closely linked vassal state since. The government of Annam, modeled on China's, controlled internal affairs; its kings received investiture by the Chinese emperor and on occasions received Chinese assistance to suppress local rebellions. Between 1644 and 1881 Annam sent 50 missions to Beijing (Peking) to render tribute to the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty.

France first became interested in Annam in the 17th century. However, French Jesuit missionaries converted few Annamese to Catholicism, nor was the French East India Company successful in establishing trade in the region. France renewed its interest in Annam in the 1860s under NAPOLEON III who was anxious to win glory abroad. In the 1870s, Germany encouraged French imperialism in Annam and elsewhere as a distraction from its loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. Beset by domestic rebellions and

Russian advances in the northwest, the Qing government was unable to protect the government of Annam due to civil war. Thus, the Treaty of Saigon in 1874 allowed French ships freely to navigate the Red River, to guide Annam's foreign affairs, and granted France other rights that made Annam a de facto French protectorate. China refused to recognize the validity of the treaty because Annam was a vassal state but did not pursue the matter. In 1880 France expanded its power by stationing troops in Hanoi and Haiphong, the main city and port in northern Annam.

China and France held inconclusive talks over Annam between 1880 and 1884. Chinese negotiator LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang) and PRINCE GONG (K'ung) were anxious to temporize because they realized China's military weakness, but were loudly opposed by a group of scholar-officials who were ignorant of reality and called for war with France. The regent and dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi), vacillated between the two camps. In 1884 Li and French naval officer F. E. Fournier reached an agreement (Li-Fournier Agreement) that was vague on some crucial points and thus infuriated extremists in both nations; the French parliament rejected its terms and Chinese hardliners demanded Li's impeachment. Prince Gong was dismissed. War broke out in July 1884. The French navy destroyed most of China's naval vessels at the Fuzhou Shipyard and then blockaded the Yangzi (Yangtze) River and key ports. Panic stricken, and after many reversals of positions, Cixi sued for peace, despite a Chinese land victory at the Battle of Langson.

Li was again ordered to negotiate with France. In the Treaty of Tianjin (Tientsin) in 1885 China lost Annam as a vassal state. France would later add Laos and Cambodia, also Chinese vassal states to Annam, to form French Indochina. Similarly, Great Britain would secure a treaty with China in 1886 that made another vassal state, Burma into a British possession. The Sino-French War of 1884–85 signaled the inadequacy of the Self-Strengthening Movement and the disastrous consequences of the dowager empress Cixi's rule. Her pathetic ignorance would lead China to further disasters.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE; TONGZHI RESTORATION/SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Sino-Japanese War and the Treaty of Shimonoseki

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 was fought primarily over Korea. Korea was Qing (Ch'ing) China's closest tributary state, evidenced by the three tribute missions the Li dynasty in Korea sent to China annually. Korea was vital to China because it acted as the bulwark of Manchuria, which was the shield for China's capital Beijing (Peking). Thus, the previous Ming dynasty had sent an army of over 200,000 men to defend it against Japanese invaders in 1592.

After 1868 leaders of MEIJI Japan looked to foreign expansion to show its power to the world. Thus they were no longer content with the 1870 treaty with China that was based on equality. In 1876 Japan had signed a treaty with Korea opening it to trade. This treaty had declared Korea an independent country in violation of its vassal relationship with China. Preoccupied with other problems, the Qing government let pass the offending clause. It, however, encouraged the Korean government to sign treaties with Western countries to check Japanese aggressions. Japan was also interested in establishing sole control over the Ryukyu (Liu Qiu or Liu Ch'iu in Chinese) islands, which were tributary to both China and the lord of Satsuma of Japan, and annexed them in 1879 while China was preoccupied with Russia.

Politics in Korea became very chaotic. Two parties emerged, one pro-China, the other pro-Japan; their disputes led to an insurrection in 1882 causing both China and Japan to send troops. Chinese forces under Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-k'ai) arrived first and restored order. Yuan remained in Korea as China's resident-general until 1894 and put down another mutiny in 1884. In 1885 China and Japan negotiated the Tianjin (Tientsin) Convention that made Korea their joint protectorate, an unwise arrangement for China because it would be the fuse for a future war. In 1894 there was another revolt in Korea, called the Tongchak (Eastern Learning) Insurrection. Japan asked China for a joint expedition to put it down. China agreed and sent 1,500 soldiers. Japan, however, sent a first installment of 8,000 soldiers with large reinforcements arriving later. The revolt was put down easily, and China requested a diplomatic settle-

ment, which Japan stalled. In July China sent troop reinforcements but its troop-ships were sunk by the waiting Japanese navy. Declaration of war followed in August.

Japan had all the advantages in the brief war fought between August 1894 and March 1895. The inadequate Chinese navy was decisively defeated, and the remnants surrendered their bases in Port Arthur, Dairen, and Weihaiwei, where the Chinese commanding officer committed suicide. On land a large Japanese force routed the small and isolated Chinese contingent in Korea, then invaded Manchuria. The desperate Qing court sued for peace. Japan answered that it would only negotiate with LI HONGZHANG (LI HUNG-CHANG), a senior statesman and governor-general of Chihli Province.

The proceedings took place at Shimonoseki, with Prince Ito Hirobumi, Japan's chief negotiator, dictating the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. China recognized the independence of Korea and ceded Taiwan (Formosa), Penghu (Pescadore) Island, and the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula (the southern tip of Manchuria). It also agreed to pay 200 million gold taels (1 tael equals 1 1/3 ounces) indemnity, open more ports to Japanese trade, grant extraterritorial rights to Japanese nationals (which Europeans and Americans already enjoyed in China), and to negotiate a commercial treaty with Japan. Li suffered a non-fatal bullet wound by a would-be Japanese assassin in Shimonoseki. At home he was severely criticized and impeached by furious Chinese for not obtaining better terms for China. The people of Taiwan attempted to resist Japanese occupation but were put down by Japanese troops at the end of 1895.

The publications of the terms of the treaty shocked Western imperial powers. Thus Germany, France, and Russia banded together to form the Far Eastern Triple Alliance, or Dreibund, that sent identical notes to Japan, demanding that it return the Liaodong Peninsula to China in exchange for a larger indemnity that Japan felt compelled to accept. The commercial treaty of 1896 granted Japan the right to set up factories and other enterprises in China whose products would not be subject to Chinese taxes. Under the most-favored-nation clauses included in all treaties between China and Western nations, all of them automatically received the same rights, with disastrous consequences for China's economy and industrial development.

There were many causes of China's catastrophic defeat. Most blame belonged to dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi), who had ruled China since 1862. She was ignorant, greedy, and corrupt and gave vast powers to her favorite eunuchs. She sold offices and misappropriated funds for the navy to finance her rebuilding of a

summer palace, with the result that Chinese battleships lacked guns and ammunition. Under her capricious rule, the central government had practically broken down. As a result emperor GUANGXU (Kuang-hsu) was a figurehead with no power, the Zongli (Tsunqli) Yamen, or Foreign Office, had no power to formulate or execute foreign policy, the Navy Yamen did not control the entire navy, the Ministry of War had no troops to deploy, and the Ministry of Finance had no funds. Cixi additionally promoted and dismissed officials at will, listened to the advice of her favorites, and vacillated while the country floundered. These factors explained China's humiliating fiasco in the Sino-Japanese War. China's decisive defeat showed the world its weakness and opened it to further losses of sovereignty in the coming years.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## slave revolts in the Americas

As an expansive literature attests, African-descended slaves in the Americas resisted their enslavement in myriad ways, including malingering, pilferage, temporary absence, sabotage, arson, and maroonage, as well as in music, dance, religion, and other cultural expressions. In addition to these day-to-day and less directly confrontational forms of resistance and protest, slaves also launched large-scale and often carefully planned uprisings, revolts, and rebellions that directly challenged their subordinate status within the master-slave relationship. During the period covered in this volume, African-descended slaves in the Americas launched scores of violent revolts and uprisings. Some lasted only a few hours, others decades; most were crushed, some reached negotiated settlements, and a handful succeeded. All influenced the slave system in important ways.

Such large-scale collective actions were far less common in North America than in the circum-Caribbean and Brazil—the destinations of approximately 80 percent of

the more than 10 million African slaves forcibly transported to the New World during the era of the transatlantic slave trade. The reasons for the relative infrequency of slave revolts in mainland North America compared to the Caribbean Basin and Brazil have been traced to a number of factors. North America was characterized by a lower white-slave ratio, smaller production units, a smaller proportion of Africa-born versus American-born slaves, more armed white men, less accessible frontier zones and fewer expanses of open or unclaimed land, more rigorous surveillance and control mechanisms, and greater danger of violent retribution. Despite these inauspicious circumstances, more than a dozen significant slave rebellions erupted in mainland North America from the early 1700s to the final abolition of U.S. slavery in 1865. These include the New York Revolt; the Stono Rebellion, Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion, the Chatham Manor Rebellion, the Louisiana Territory Slave Rebellion (or Deslandes Rebellion), the George Boxley Rebellion, the Fort Blount Revolt, the Denmark Vesey Uprising, Nat Turner's Rebellion (conventionally considered the bloodiest in U.S. history, with at least 55 whites killed), the Black Seminole Slave Rebellion, the *Amistad* Revolt, and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

The aftermath of each of these revolts was marked by violent retribution and the imposition of tighter controls on slave populations by individual slave owners and local, state, and federal governments. Especially after the onset of the HAITIAN REVOLUTION, slaveholders across the Americas intensified their surveillance and control of slave populations.

Slave uprisings in the circum-Caribbean and Brazil were more frequent, longer, involved greater numbers of slaves, and posed a more abiding threat to the institution of chattel slavery. Among the most prominent of such revolts and uprisings were the First Maroon War in Jamaica; the Suriname slave wars, which lasted for most of the 18th century; Tacky's War (Jamaica); Kofi's Revolt (Dutch Guyana); the Jamaican Uprising of 1773; the watershed Saint-Domingue Uprising, or Haitian Revolution; another Jamaica Maroon Rebellion; Tula's Revolt (Curaçao); the Santa Lucia Revolt; the Guadeloupe Revolt; Bussa's Uprising (Barbados); the Demerera Revolts (British Guiana); the Antigua Revolt; the Great Jamaican Slave Revolt, or Christmas Uprising (Jamaica); the Bahia Revolts (Brazil); numerous revolts in the British Virgin Islands; and the La Escalera Conspiracy in Cuba. In particular, the second Demerera Revolt in British Guiana and Christmas Uprising in Jamaica underscored the contradiction between free labor ideology and the institution of chattel slavery, prompting

lawmakers in London to accelerate the process of slave emancipation throughout the British Empire, including Upper and Lower Canada, which came in 1833.

For scholars of African slavery in the Americas, an important debate was launched with the thesis proposed by the historian Eugene Genovese in his book, *From Rebellion to Revolution*. To Genovese, the Haitian Revolution represented a watershed moment in New World slavery and slave resistance. Earlier revolts and uprisings were more “restorationist,” ideologically circumscribed, and did not aspire to challenge the totality of the slave system. In contrast, the post-Haiti slave revolts were more “revolutionary,” modern, infused with republican and ENLIGHTENMENT notions of rights and citizenship, and geared more toward overturning the slave system as a whole. Scholars have debated Genovese’s thesis in a host of specific instances, resulting in broad consensus that the “restorationist” versus “revolutionary” dichotomy unduly simplifies a more variegated and multilayered process—much as the “resistance” versus “accommodation” dichotomy unduly simplifies a more complex reality—and a body of scholarship that has greatly enriched understanding of the slave experience in the Americas, the role of slaves in hastening their own emancipation, and the role of African slavery in the making of the modern world.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA; TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE; WESLEY, JOHN (1703–1791) AND CHARLES (1707–1788).

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## slave trade in Africa

Of the nations that participated in the slave trade, Britain had by 1750 the largest trade. The sugar islands of the Caribbean absorbed the bulk of Britain’s slave trade. Between 1753 and 1807 imports into Barbados totaled 104,800 slaves, though this number reveals nothing

about the fluctuation in trade during these years. Between 1753 and 1766 imports into Barbados totaled 46,900 slaves, an average of 3,350 per year, and rose to 51,900 over the longer span of 1767 and 1807, though the annual average for these years fell to 2,300.

These numbers reveal that after having peaked around 1770, the trade declined, a dwindling that had nothing to do with supply and demand. Slaves were as plentiful as ever, and the demand was intense. Caribbean planters were forever wringing their hands over the problem of getting more and cheaper slaves. After 1770 planters came to meet the demand for labor by reproduction more than by trade. By the first decade of the 19th century the slave population in Barbados sustained itself by reproduction, obviating the need for planters to buy slaves. Biology had, at least in Barbados, made commerce in humans superfluous.

The pattern is less clear in Jamaica, where imports reached their nadir of 362 slaves per year between 1784 and 1788. Thereafter, imports recovered, rising to 1,020 per year in 1802 and 1803. This increase implies that the slave trade may well have continued in Jamaica well into the 19th century had Britain not ended it in 1807. The Leeward Islands show a similar pattern, with imports at 251,100 slaves, an average of roughly 3,440 a year, between 1734 and 1807, more than double the average of 1,600 between 1707 and 1733. The SEVEN YEARS’ WAR won Britain the Caribbean islands of Dominica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, and Tobago.

Flush with victory, Britain poured slaves into these islands, more than 2,000 per year between 1763 and 1769, to convert them to sugar production. Stasis in Dominica allowed Britain to reduce imports to fewer than 300 per year between 1780 and 1807, though imports remained high in the other three islands. In total, Britain imported into these islands 70,100 slaves between 1763 and 1807. In the island of Grenada, trade peaked about 1780, perhaps a decade after its peak in Barbados. Imports into Grenada halved from 1,600 per year between 1753 and 1778 to 750 per year between 1785 and 1807, implying, as in Barbados, that natural increase more than the slave trade filled the demand for labor. In all, Britain imported to its colonies more than 1.8 million slaves between 1750 and 1807.

### ABOLITION BEGINS

In British North America and the United States, natural increase met the demand of tobacco and rice planters as early as 1700. The expansion of cotton after 1790 and the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 spiked the trade to 70,000 slaves between 1791 and 1807, an average of



4,375 per year. The U.S. CONSTITUTION ended the slave trade in 1808, though merchants defied the law until the CIVIL WAR. Historian Philip D. Curtin estimates the illicit trade at 54,000 slaves between 1808 and 1861, an average of roughly 1,020 per year, and one-quarter of the total of the legal trade. Only the Civil War ended the slave trade and slavery in the United States.

The end of the slave trade in Britain and the United States coincided with the abolition of the trade in Denmark and the Netherlands. Denmark imported 11,160 slaves into the Danish West Indies (now the U.S. Virgin Islands) between 1755 and 1799, an average of roughly 250 per year. The volume of Danish trade rose from an average of 536 slaves per year between 1751 and 1775 to 1,216 per year between 1776 and 1800 and to 5,250 per year between 1801 and its abolition in 1803. Denmark thus ended the slave trade at its zenith. In contrast, the trade in the Netherlands ended after a 40-year decline. Trade peaked at 118,200 slaves between 1751 and 1775, falling to 34,200 between 1776 and 1800 and to 1,300 between 1801 and its abolition in 1814. A remnant of its former vigor, Elmina, the fortress in Ghana, remained a possession of the Netherlands until 1872.

As in the Netherlands, the trade withered before dying in France. At its apogee, the French trade, at 60,340 slaves imported into the colony of Saint-Domingue in 1788 and 1789, constituted half Europe's slave trade. These years were the largest in a remarkable spurt in which France imported 338,200 slaves into Saint-Domingue between 1779 and 1791. The numbers might have been higher still had not a slave revolt in 1791 disrupted trade. Thereafter, French trade hobbled into the 19th century, with 48,900 imports into Martinique between 1788 and 1831 and another 9,100 between 1852 and 1861.

Guadeloupe showed a similar decrease in imports, from 36,500 between 1779 and 1818 to 27,000 between 1819 and 1831 and to 5,900 between 1852 and 1861. France imported 118,000 slaves into Louisiana between 1785 and its sale to the United States in 1803 and 14,100 slaves into French Guiana between 1814 and 1830. All the while France vacillated, allowing Britain in 1831 to enforce a ban on the slave trade but in 1852 concocting the fiction that Africans aboard French ships were exempt from this prohibition because they were workers rather than slaves.

### THE END OF THE SLAVE TRADE

The end of the slave trade in Britain, the United States, Denmark, the Netherlands, and France brought the Ibe-

rian nations of Portugal and Spain to the fore. From Jamaica, the Spanish imported into their colonies 206,200 slaves between 1701 and 1807 and another 200,000 from British, French, Dutch, and Danish carriers. The rise of sugar cultivation on the island of Cuba around 1760 stoked Spain's demand for slaves. Between 1774 and 1807 planters in Cuba imported 119,000 slaves. The slave trade in Cuba remained robust into the 19th century, averaging more than 10,000 per year in all but a few years between 1817 and 1865. Imports into Cuba between 1801 and 1865 exceeded 600,000.

Puerto Rico was likewise a sugar island, though its demand for slaves was little more than one-tenth that of Cuba. Between 1774 and 1807 Puerto Rico imported 14,800 slaves. The Spanish imported even fewer slaves into Santo Domingo, perhaps 6,000 between 1774 and 1807. The Portuguese trade rose steadily until the mid-19th century, increasing from 472,900 slaves imported into Brazil and the colonies of other nations between 1751 and 1775 to 1.2 million between 1826 and 1850 dropped.

Portuguese trade slumped to 154,200 slaves between 1851 and 1867. In total, Portugal bought and sold 3.4 million slaves between 1750 and 1867. The prime movers of the slave trade, Portugal and Spain, began and ended it.

By the 19th century the slave trade had fallen out of favor. The planters in the United States and Barbados, with a self-sustaining slave population, did not need to import slaves. The ENLIGHTENMENT of the 18th century branded slavery, and by implication the slave trade, as wasteful. In their place, Scottish economist ADAM SMITH and his disciples advocated wage labor. The Society of Friends (Quakers) and other religious reformers declared slavery and the slave trade contrary to the tenets of Christianity.

In 1783 a delegation of Quakers petitioned the nascent United States and Britain to end the slave trade. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, likewise opposed the slave trade. Opponents of the slave trade coalesced in 1787 into the London Abolition Committee in England. In 1788 and 1789 likeminded organizations formed in France and the United States. In 1788 Parliament began to regulate the slave trade, and in 1792 the House of Commons passed a bill to outlaw it. The measure died in the House of Lords, but the bill's revival and enactment in 1807 ended the British slave trade. In 1833 Britain outlawed the slave trade in its colonies.

Two years earlier Britain had begun to patrol the Atlantic for slave ships in an effort to force other nations

to end their trade. Denmark in 1803, the Netherlands in 1814, and France in 1848 ended the slave trade. Britain pressured Cuba to abandon the slave trade in 1867, and Brazil followed in 1888, ending four centuries of commerce in humans.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; LOUISIANA PURCHASE; SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE AMERICAS; TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE; WESLEY, JOHN (1703–1791) AND CHARLES (1707–1788).

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CHRISTOPHER CUMO

## Smith, Adam

(1723–1790) *economic thinker*

Adam Smith was the founder of the laissez-faire school of economics and traditional economic liberal theory. A graduate of Oxford University in 1746, he continued his studies in his home of Kilcaldy, Scotland. In 1751 he became a professor of logic at the University of Glasgow and in 1752 the head of the department of moral philosophy. By 1760 his emphasis was on jurisprudence and political economy. By then he had become a charter member of the Scottish ENLIGHTENMENT. Influenced by Scottish writers such as David Hume, he believed that natural laws regulate human activities. Therefore, all forms of human endeavor could be understood by analyzing universal laws. If human institutions respected the laws of nature, all would go well. People would be guided to the goal by the application of reason.

In 1763 and 1765 Smith came into contact with the physiocrats of France, who rebelled against economic absolutism in the form of mercantilism, which put economic institutions at the disposal of the state and indi-



Adam Smith believed economics should be governed by the forces of nature and reason.

cated that wealth equals power. One physiocrat, François Quesnay, compared the circulation of money to the circulation of blood. Mercantilist controls, to him, acted like a tourniquet on the circulation of money, which cut off a natural life-giving flow. Jacques Turgot, another physiocrat, said that natural human behavior guided by national self-interest in search of a profit would result in the best service and the most goods for society.

After traveling in France, Smith published his great work, *Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations*. The work, known by its shortened title, the *Wealth of Nations*, became the dominant theory of

economic liberals in the 19th century and economic conservatives in the 20th century. Under this theory, the state was basically a “passive” policeman who intervened only when the marketplace collapsed.

Smith maintained that increased production depended on a national division of labor and specialization. Trade, therefore, was to be encouraged, as it increased specialization to meet its demands, which in turn led to greater production. This growing value of trade also depended on personal liberty; each person should be free to pursue his or her individual self-interest. When buyer and seller met in the marketplace, they would be guided by an “invisible hand,” which basically was the law of supply and demand, where the results of buyers and sellers would be optimized. In general Adam Smith deplored all forces that interfered with this enlightened self-interest. Therefore, he opposed all economic controls in the form of the state government, guilds, or unions as harmful to the exchange of goods and services or trade. To him mercantilism, whether it favored gold and silver bullion for its own sake, surplus exports over imports—which weakened your neighbor’s economic status—or state control of an essential item to use as a weapon, was wrong. Ideally trade should be for everyone’s benefit. This would be the natural result of free trade unencumbered by protective tariffs. Therefore in such a natural and free market, the prosperity of each nation would be dependent on all nature. He also departed from traditional mercantile economic theory, which regarded colonies as an economic asset; he saw them as liabilities.

This work, upon its publication in 1776, was an instant success. After being lionized for the next two years, Smith retired to live in Edinburgh. He died there in 1790. He requested at his death that all manuscripts on which he had worked be destroyed, except for his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which posited that moral sympathy derives from human sympathy. *The Wealth of Nations* remains his major work.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Social Darwinism and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903)

The term *Social Darwinism* emerged in the mid-19th century and came to be associated most closely with the philosopher/sociologist Herbert Spencer. Spencer was born in Derby in the English industrial heartland. He was a descendent of a family of religious nonconformists with strong individualist traits and utilitarian views based on those of social reformer Jeremy Bentham.

Spencer’s childhood ill health led him to be home-schooled by his father until age 13, when he moved to Bath for further education by his uncle, a clergyman who was a social reformer with radical views for the time. His education was geared to math and science and less to Latin and Greek. Spencer did not progress to university but in 1837 joined the London and Birmingham Railway as an engineer. He was not seen as a cultivated gentleman in terms of the existing society. He became interested in radical issues in the 1840s and started writing for the *Non-Conformist*. He came to view government as a threat to freedom and the individual. Although he returned to the railroad for temporary employment, he secured an editorial job with the London *Economist* in 1848, which secured a steady income.

Spencer lived at a time when CHARLES DARWIN’S *On the Origin of Species* introduced evolutionary theory as an explanation for the development of plants and animals. Such evolutionary thoughts had previously influenced Spencer’s speculations on society itself, and he had earlier in *Social Statics* come to believe that competition in human society also led to social advancement. Spencer’s application of Darwinism to his own ethical and social thought came to be known as Social Darwinism. What emerged from this conviction in a simplified form was a notion of the *survival of the fittest*, a phrase Darwin never used.

Darwin’s struggle in nature could be transferred to society, and the strongest or fittest would and should dominate the poor and weak because they were more adaptable. The weak should ultimately disappear, for they could only reproduce those unfit for the competition of life.

Spencer’s theory in its most basic form led some to believe that natural selection, when applied to societies and government, meant that there was a natural dominance in the world that allowed certain races (principally European Protestants), individuals, and nations to dominate because they were superior in the natural

order. In political and economic terms, competition and self-interest advanced the social order. Competition could cure social ills without the need for government social programs or intervention. In society, a liberal economic laissez-faire approach was best.

Some have also come to see 19th-century Social Darwinism as the intellectual rationale behind European colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism itself. This might be labelled the “might makes right” school of thought. A nation is strong because it is the fittest in the struggle for survival and has made the necessary adaptations to become superior.

Spencer’s works gained popularity outside of Britain and had a great influence in the United States. Often Spencer’s ideas were simplified to the point of absurdity, and much like Darwin, he was summarized and not read. He influenced Andrew Carnegie, the industrialist, and helped shape his philanthropic efforts. The most prominent American convert was William Graham Sumner, and then during the 1890s, historians such as John Fiske, who influenced Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and naval planner Alfred Thayer Mahan. The consequence of this influence was for some a justification of American imperialism.

The publication of Darwin’s *Descent of Man* saw concepts of natural selection applied to humans, and this gave further impetus to Spencer’s ideas. Other thinkers, primarily biologists such as Sir Francis Galton, entered the fray. Heredity, according to Galton, meant that biology was more important than environment in shaping human destiny.

Nevertheless, Herbert Spencer’s rational utilitarianism did have appeal and influence, and works such as his *Principles of Sociology* had significant impact on his era. He did define a system of moral rights, and he divorced himself from many, if not most, aspects of popularized Social Darwinism. To achieve the greatest happiness and to develop their talents Spencer’s humankind needed maximum individual freedom without the heavy hand of government interference, and this did not mean that the fittest were necessarily the best.

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THEODORE W. EVERSOLE

## socialism

*Socialism* was a term first used in the early 19th century in western Europe. Its exponents were primarily French and British.

The INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION changed Europe by making the aristocracy largely irrelevant, raising the capitalist bourgeoisie into wealth and power and moving the old peasant class into industrial labor. Unlike the agrarian society it overturned, where wealth depended on a finite quantity—land, in the industrial capitalist system wealth was limitless, at least in theory, and untied to the old feudal order.

The Industrial Revolution also overturned the old sense of noblesse oblige. Capitalists were comfortably, guiltlessly, rich and powerful, full of pride, and without a sense of obligation to the poor or their own competition. These were the people who took power from the aristocrats and created the early capitalist democracies, political systems in the image of their economic and political interests. Freed from the nobility, they had guarantees of property rights and the ability to pursue more property. These 19th century “liberals” agreed that only the economically independent and secure could be politically free. THOMAS JEFFERSON exemplified this concept, using it as justification for his desired nation of small farmers. He also agreed that liberty was not the product of Christian thought but of natural law; without theological justification, there was no basis for censure. Some 19th-century liberals even praised greed as the motivator for economic growth and prosperity. Unlike feudalists, capitalists defined dependency as self-destructive; for their own well being, the poor had to work, and if they did not do it voluntarily, the system would force them. In Britain poor laws, which seem to be based on this philosophy, could be quite harsh.

### CAPITALIST PROBLEMS

The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau contended that democracy could not survive with a wide disparity between the rich and poor. Other critics of the system worried about more basic problems with rule by “benign” capitalists. They pointed out that the system—in England, Germany, and other early industrializing countries—had

taken the old feudal protections that had ameliorated the lot of peasants limited in space and wealth. As near property without rights of mobility or much else, peasants did have reasonable protection against starvation and homelessness. Capitalism's exploited factory workers lacked even the basics, being "free." They could be fired and hired at will from jobs whose pay was set by a going rate pegged to competition with hordes of other displaced peasants desperate for a wage. The new workers faced factory employment that included 12-hour shifts seven days a week in inhumane conditions. This applied to women and children, often preferred because they worked for much less than men. Early capitalism produced lowered standards of living and declines in educational levels in many areas.

The new industries also lacked compunctions about polluting the environment or maiming or killing the workers. Factory town food was commonly inferior and often scarce. Even some of the well off began feeling twinges of guilt, spurred in part by the works of Charles Dickens.

Of more concern to the middle classes was the business cycle. Under the feudal system, aside from the occasional plague, war, drought, or famine, life was mostly predictable. Capitalism from the beginning featured booms and busts out of human control. Life would sail along for a period, with growth, prosperity, increases in jobs and wages. Then, inexplicably, the system would collapse: Profits and wages would fall, millions would be either out of work or poor, and even some of the rich might fall a class or two toward poverty. Capitalists thought to stabilize the system by regulating maximum wages and prohibiting unions. They also regulated imports and combined into trusts to thwart competition. The crashes persisted.

### THE BASICS OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

Although critical of liberalism, socialism shared the idea of progress and the end of aristocracy. Socialists repudiated liberalism as a facade for greed. Rather than looking back to a better yesterday, the proto-socialists analyzed industrialism and defined principles for making it tolerable (given that it was here to stay.) They shared the outrage at capitalism's abuses expressed by 19th-century liberals such as Honoré de Balzac, Thomas Carlyle, and BENJAMIN DISRAELI. They were distinct from these conservatives and the anarchists seeking to revert to an agrarian idyll in that they were optimistic and positive about industrialization.

Some began to suggest that the system was inherently flawed. What was needed was a system that

controlled greed and lifted the masses from poverty—socialism. Socialism, broadly defined, dated back at least to early Christianity, with Christians sharing among themselves from the beginning and with the rise of monasticism, which entailed community ownership of everything. Socialism as a political force dated to the Industrial Revolution.

*Socialism* is often a derogatory term for anything an opponent dislikes. Disregarding the animus, socialism includes a democratically controlled economy operated for the good of all members. Rather than unchecked competition that characterizes capitalism, it relies on cooperation, and it involves government planning to stabilize the economy and reduce or eliminate the business cycle. Socialists may share property in common and prohibit private ownership of land and industry, but they may also simply advocate publicly financed social programs and heavy state regulation of industry and property.

Socialists generally agreed that wealth was the product of working men and women and that capitalists had wrongfully taken it. To alleviate poverty and misery, they sought to bring about a system characterized by cooperation, democracy, equality, and prosperity for all.

### OTHER PHILOSOPHIES

Other groups shared the socialist ideals—anarchists and communists. Anarchists rejected even the socialist democratic government. They viewed government as inherently tyrannical and wanted maximally decentralized government incapable of tyrannizing the people. They were ineffective because peaceful anarchists lacked the power to change much and violent anarchists generally provoked more hostility against themselves than against the government they wanted to end. Communists could occupy the extreme wing of socialism—with community ownership of everything, perhaps in the manner of the early and monastic Christians. They could also be MARXISTS. Marxists see socialism as an interim arrangement that reorganizes society into the form that withers away until a modified anarchism appears—a society without money or market forces, with worker ownership of property, with production for the producers only, and with no state. This communism has never developed.

### EARLY SOCIALISM

In the 19th century capitalism was new, and socialism seemed a reasonable system to replace it. The early socialists knew that economic systems were not inevitable or eternal; feudalism died within their memories. Capitalism could wither away as well.

The early socialists included Henri de Saint-Simon, François Marie-Charles Fourier, and Louis Blanc of France and Robert Owen of Wales. Not politically astute, they were ENLIGHTENMENT idealists who thought that people of good will could voluntarily bring about a better society. Fourier and Saint-Simon's ideas remained theoretical, but Owen, the wealthy industrialist, founded several communities, particularly in the United States, but failed to make a go of any of them.

These social critics thought to reform poverty and inequality by redistribution of wealth and the creation of a society of small, utopian communities without private property. The early critics made no distinction between socialism and communism. A perception developed in Europe that socialism was more amenable to religion while communism was atheistic. In Britain, communism sounded too much like communion, and thus was viewed as being too Catholic.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was actually an anarchist. His slogan "property is theft" reflected the common socialist hostility to capitalism. He was not extreme, however, allowing for individual ownership of one's home and domestic goods. He opposed property that took its wealth from the labor of others. Property of this sort included factories, mines, railroads, and the like. Karl Marx was generally in accord with Proudhon, whom he met in Paris in the 1840s. Marx's opponent, the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, was also influenced by Proudhon. Proudhon was more influential in socialist circles than Marx and Engels, even when they published *The Communist Manifesto*.

The utopian socialists came later to be known by scientific socialists under terms such as proto-socialists, Fruhsozialismus, pre-Marxian socialists, and the like. After experimentation with the small utopian communities, some socialists shifted to direct political action. Marx and Engels regarded themselves as scientific socialists, setting themselves apart from the utopian socialists.

The United States was a hotbed of experimentation, home to dissenters and creators of new religious groups, as well as immigrants dissatisfied with what they had left behind. It was large, and there was room for just about anyone to adopt whatever ideology seemed reasonable. Utopias flourished during the 19th century, but mostly the blooms proved short-lived when expectations were set too high. Many fell to internecine jealousies, preferential treatment of some over others, unnatural restrictions on competition and personal relationships, and other misreadings of what proved too often to be less than perfect human nature.

Examples include the Amana Society, the Shakers, Separatists of Zoar, the Oneida and Wallingford Perfectionists, the Aurora and Bethel Communes, and the Icarians. Descendant utopias, as the hippie communes and remnants of some 19th-century utopian communities, remain to the present day.

### MARX, ENGELS, AND COMMUNISM

Marx and Engels enunciated a theory of history as exploitation. History occurred in stages, each better than its predecessor, each with its appropriate economic system, with change triggered by class conflict that each economic system bred within itself. The 19th-century world was in a capitalist stage, but inevitably capitalism would give way to another economic system with another dominant class. As feudalism had brought about the rise of capitalists who overthrew feudalism in favor of capitalism, so capitalism was creating a working class that would overthrow capitalism in favor of a worker-run economy, the extreme form of socialism known as communism.

Marx and Engels had trouble being taken seriously. The entire socialist intellectual movement, composed of middle- and capitalist class idealists and intellectuals, lacked the numbers to generate a serious socialist movement. That came from the working people, enamored of simplified versions of the socialist ideas. Probably the majority of the 19th-century labor movements were socialist in aims, using unionism as a means to an end. Even 20th-century labor unions—even in the United States—had elements of socialism in their platforms, but they gained only small victories. They had little success in nationalizing mines, railroads, and other industries.

Capitalists reinforced the labor-socialist tie by attempting to suppress all labor movements, rather than drawing distinctions between the milder forms of labor organizing and the socialist movement. Socialists and communists welcomed the capitalist accusations that they were revolutionaries. This oppression would encourage the poor, insecure, workers, downtrodden by the capitalist business cycle, to join forces and press for radical change. Numbers alone would make them a force the capitalist rulers would have to confront and suppress, probably by abandoning all pretense of democracy. The masses would rise and overthrow the capitalist system. At least that was the Marxist dream.

The revolutions never happened. Despite the odds, labor movements fought the uphill battle against capitalists, governments, militaries, and police—some died, but the others won the shorter working day, higher wages, and better working conditions. The average

worker had a stake in the system rather than a desire to overthrow it. It did not help that capitalism became more adept at producing cheap and abundant-if-inferior goods and brought about a higher standard of living. Most workers in the second half of the 19th century were living better than their parents. Revolutions did break out in 1848, but they were not socialist. The International Working Men's Association (the First International) came into being only in 1864. Strongly Marxist, it was dominant in European socialism.

Marx's International Workingmen's Association had its first meeting at Geneva in 1866. This was the first major international socialist meeting. It reflected the general socialist tendency to disagree on strategy. Marx and Engels and British and exiled continental labor leaders created the International Workingmen's Association in 1864. It was a committee, and about as effective as committees normally are—it included British reformists, continentals of more radical persuasion, and anarchists of several types. Marx relocated headquarters to New York to strip away the anarchists. The IWA dissolved in 1876. By century's end, Marxist socialism was the leading ideology of working-class parties in all but the Britain and the United States.

Socialism rose from a small intellectual movement to a large mass working-class political movement coincident with the industrialization of Europe, particularly between 1870 and 1890, which created the great proletariat. The centenary of the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1889 was the occasion for socialists and social democrats to meet in Paris and form the Second International. The Second International was a confederation of centralized national parties. The approach was popularized by Engels, August Bebel of the German Social Democratic Party, and Karl Kautsky.

Socialism had a shining moment from March 18 to May 28, 1871, when the PARIS COMMUNE arose in the aftermath of France's loss to Prussia and the collapse of the Second Empire. The city's citizens elected a radical government composed of old Jacobins from 1789 and Proudhonites. Communes arose in Toulouse, Marseille, Saint-Etienne, and Lyon but were suppressed quickly. The Versailles government sent the army against Paris and repressed the Commune. The Commune accomplished little but became a symbol remarked on by Marx; it was evidence to many socialists that the working class was ready for the revolution.

### AMERICAN SOCIALISM

The U.S. Socialist Labor Party of America came into being in 1877. Already small, it fragmented in the

1890s. In 1901 the Socialist Labor Party's moderate faction and the Social Democratic Party and Eugene V. Debs put together the Socialist Party of America.

American socialism differed from European and British socialisms because Americans' experiences were not those of the old countries. The American labor movement struggled in the 19th century, even later when industrialism was rampant and highly exploitive, because American workers were slow to acknowledge that they were no longer free agents, self-employed craftsmen and entrepreneurs in the making. Socialism's emphasis on cooperation rather than rugged individualism seemed un-American. Socialism's American beginnings were imported, primarily from Germany. It remained strongly influenced by immigrants—Milwaukee's gas and water socialist Victor Berger, the leadership of the anarchist Industrial Workers of the World, and many of the national party leaders. Where socialism had native roots, it tended to arise from populist farmers whose socialism tracked more closely with their Christianity than with any imported European ideas. When Oklahoma voted for socialists before World War I, it did so because of agricultural conditions in Oklahoma, not out of commitment to the Second International.

### EUROPEAN SOCIALISM

Eduard Bernstein and the social democrats Vladimir dominated the Second International in 1889 in Paris. Vladimir Lenin and Germany's Rosa Luxemburg led the radicals. Karl Kautsky led a smaller faction. The anarchists were left out and split from the socialist movement. In 1884 British middle-class intellectuals formed the Fabian Society, which laid the basis for the Labour Party in 1906. Jean Jaurès founded the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière in 1905. Under Jaurès and later Léon Blum the SFIO kept Marxist theory while in practice becoming reformist.

In Germany, Ferdinand Lassalle advocated voluntary worker cooperatives rather than Marx's revolution. Marx was scornful, but Lassalle's cooperatives were the beginnings of today's credit unions, mutual insurance companies, food cooperatives, and similar institutions. They have never altered capitalism but have found a niche within it.

The German Social Democratic Party, founded on the ideas of Marx and Lassalle, was for decades the world's leading socialist organization. By 1891 it had a million and a half members and was beginning to enjoy reasonable electoral success. Although Karl Kautsky kept the German Social Democratic Workers' Party Marxist in doctrine, in practice the party became

reformist rather than revolutionary. Success meant that, despite rhetoric of revolution, the party found itself absorbed into the conventional political process.

In Great Britain, the Marxist critique failed to take hold. Rather the approach was “Gas and Water Socialism,” under the Fabian Society. It began on January 4, 1884, when members of the Fellowship of the New Life took a political approach to the Fellowship’s goal of the transformation of society by setting an example of simple, clean living.

The Fellowship faded, and the Fabians drew members such as Sidney and Beatrice Potter Webb, H. G. Wells, and George Bernard Shaw. These were elite reformers who felt that socialism could transform society by slow penetration of its principles into the fabric of capitalist society. They had no interest—and perhaps no true awareness—of class politics, including labor unions and labor parties. The driving force was the Webbs, who wrote the bulk of the studies of Britain’s industrial system and alternative policies for capital and land.

The Fabian Society was named for Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus, “Cunctator” or “Delayer,” who fought through harassment and attrition rather than head on confrontations. Fabians were against free trade but supported nationalist foreign policy in SOUTH AFRICA. They were significant in the establishment of the Labour Party in 1900. They advocated government ownership of utilities and land and other resources, but they insisted that all changes come through law rather than revolution.

## SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM

In the late 19th century the various socialist groups became increasingly nationalistic. Universal male suffrage became common in the western world during the first decades of the 20th century. Socialism became increasingly tied to labor unions and labor parties, which increasingly mobilized the working class vote.

As socialists got access to power, they became more pragmatic, recognizing that they still needed the middle and wealthy classes to achieve their aims. Those classes still owned the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. And the welfare state made the workers’ lives better, delaying the revolution.

The involvement of socialists with government split the parties into moderates and radicals in the 20th century. Eduard Bernstein represented the moderates who thought that the reforms could come through the democratic political process. This was the basic social democracy. Communists in countries without a

parliamentary democracy argued for revolution; Vladimir Lenin argued this path. In 1903 the Russian social democrats split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

By the early 20th century, Germany’s Social Democratic Party had abandoned the revolutionary goal completely and backed Kaiser Wilhelm, in the process destroying its credibility with foreign socialist movements. The other socialist parties backed their governments one by one, destroying the international working-class movement in a wave of nationalism. The American Socialist Party was the exception in refusing to back the war, but it was a weak organization nationally and internationally, never able to win more than 6 percent of the vote.

Marx and other socialists ignored or discounted working-class differences of nationality, religion, ethnicity, and gender. These were factors that the capitalists exploited to divide and weaken the workers. For socialists, the real division was between a unified, homogeneous working class and a unified capitalist class. As reality intruded during the 19th-century era of socialism, intrusion of nationalism and other differences forced the socialists to adjust their doctrine to keep it relevant to workers who were also male and female members of ethnic, national, and religious communities.

Socialism won out over anarchism and other ideas within the working-class movement because it was better organized and had a more realistic political strategy. It fit nicely with the alienated workers of the large factories and plants of 19th-century capitalism, workers more prone to alienation and more susceptible to pitches about solidarity than were the workers of the small crafts industries of early industrialism. Socialism also deemphasized millenarianism, stressing instead a better tomorrow in the here and now with tangible bread and butter results. Until the Russian Revolution, no one had any way of measuring the validity or effectiveness of the socialist promises of economic equality and fairness for all.

Social democrats had better success than socialists did. They were more gradualist, advocating high taxes to promote relative equality, government regulation, nationalization as necessary, and social welfare. Scandinavia was most successful with this approach, but other European countries adapted some elements. Late in the 20th century and early in the 21st, governments began dismantling at least parts of these social democracies.

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## South Africa, Boers and Bantu in

The first encounters between Europeans and the Bantu- (Xhosa, Zulu, among others) and Khoisan-speaking peoples of southern Africa occurred during the European race to discover sea trade routes to Asia in the 15th century. The first Dutch settlers, called Boers (Dutch for “farmer”), developed a colonial society that expanded into African-occupied territories that themselves were experiencing great social and political change. With the introduction of British rule during the FRENCH REVOLUTION, intra-European hostility worsened in both Africa and the world. The political and cultural landscape became a powderkeg as the British colonial government, various groups of settlers, missionaries, and Africans on the Cape interacted. The discovery of gold and diamonds in the middle of the 19th century intensified the conflict between the British and the Boers (also called *Afrikaners*, the Dutch word for “African”) into war and resulted in greater European control and influence over the lives of African peoples.

In 1488 Bartolomeu Dias of Portugal was the first European to reach South Africa, in a journey around the southern tip of Africa in search of a sea trade route to Asia. While Dias only traveled as far as Algoa Bay (location of present-day Port Elizabeth), another Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape to India in 1497. The Cape itself did not become a site of permanent settlement until 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck established a station at the Cape of Good Hope for the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The Cape became a colony of European settlement in 1657 when the VOC settled employees on company-plotted farms. The population grew as company servants retired to the colony. In 1688 a large group of French Huguenots arrived in the colony, fleeing Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1658 the first ships of

African slaves arrived at Table Bay; other slaves would soon be delivered from Dutch colonies in Asia.

The Dutch East India Company and, after 1795, the British, struggled to maintain stability as colonial farmers pushed the boundaries of settlement into the interior. While officially off-limits to the slave trade, Africans in and near the Cape Colony experienced an increasingly troublesome relationship with European settlers. During the late 17th century the desire for arable land sparked violent conflict between white farmers and pastoral Khoikhoi peoples, as well as amongst the Khoikhoi themselves. By the late 18th century Cape Khoikhoi had been all but destroyed by dispossession and disease. Between the 1770s and the 1830s African societies were experiencing a period of rapid change and conflict called the Mfecane (the Zulu word used to describe turmoil). While the Mfecane is an incredibly controversial topic among scholars—it refers to a period of warfare and migration caused by the expansion and consolidation of the Zulu kingdom under SHAKA ZULU. Refugees often fled southward into Xhosaland as pressure was mounting from European settlers in the south, who began moving into Xhosa territory during the 18th century. The hunger for land by Africans and a growing population of European settlers only intensified, as did the conflict between and amongst them.

In 1795 the Revolutionary French government invaded the Dutch Republic and established a new regime on a French model and under French control. This new government seized the Cape Colony from the Dutch East India Company. The British, at war with France, perceived French control of the strategic colony at the Cape of Good Hope as a threat and forcibly took it in September 1795. As a result of the Treaty of Amiens, the colony was returned to the Dutch, only to be seized again when hostilities between the French and British resumed. After the defeat of NAPOLEON I, the Cape remained a British colony.

The Cape itself was ecologically inhospitable and lacked, as far as the British knew, many natural resources. The British cared mostly for its place on the sea route to India. Despite few immediate changes to the colony in the wake of British rule, the pace of Anglicization quickened during the 1820s, as did the spread of English-style schools and the introduction of more strictly English models of political, economic, and judicial organization. Starting in 1820 many settlers were imported from Britain. While Dutch-speaking Trekboers had been emigrating from the colony since the 1770s, thousands of Afrikaner Voortrekkers (“pioneers”) left the British colony during the 1830s and 1840s during

a migration known as the Great Trek. It later became a key mythological moment of Afrikaner nationalism.

British occupation also introduced extensive missionary activity to the Cape, starting with the arrival of the Nonconformist London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795. The role of missionary societies in educating and protecting Africans and in advocating for the abolishment of slavery further intensified already existing hostilities between the British colonial government and the Afrikaners, most of whom resented British presence. In 1833 the British Parliament abolished slavery, enraging many slave-owning settlers while not radically improving conditions for former slaves in the colony. As early as 1809 the British colonial government employed legal ordinances to control the movement and employment of Africans who worked for white settlers in colony. On the frontier, land hunger and conflict between European settlers and Africans generally worsened.

By the 1770s white settlers had moved beyond the colonial boundary into an area west of the Great Fish River called the Zuurveld. The British sought to create a colonial boundary that would separate blacks and whites. In 1811 under the governorship of Sir John Craddock, Colonel John Graham (for whom Grahamstown was named) led a British, Afrikaner, and Khoikhoi force to expel Ndlambe's Xhosa from the Zuurveld. The Xhosa responded by raiding settler farms and stealing cattle. The colonial governor Lord Charles Somerset created a "spoor" system, by which farmers could seek reprisals for their stolen property. The Xhosa chief Ngqika allied with the British against his uncle Ndlambe. In 1819 a prophet named Makhanda Nxele led a massive Xhosa force toward colonial troops at Grahamstown, only to be eventually driven back over the Fish River. With the Xhosa defeat, Somerset abandoned even his Xhosa ally and created a buffer zone between white and Bantu settlements on Ngqika's former land. In 1840 the British forced Ngqika's son Maqoma off of his lands along the Kat River.

The frontier wars continued. During the Sixth Frontier War, the British commander Sir Harry Smith and the colonial governor Benjamin D'Urban invited the Xhosa chief Hintsa to peace talks, only to have him shot dead and his ears cut off. During the Seventh Frontier War (also known as the War of the Axe), the plunder of colonial troops starved the Xhosa into surrender. D'Urban annexed the land between the Fish and Kei Rivers as the Queen Adelaide Province but was forced to rescind his claim by the metropolitan government. In 1850 Sir Harry Smith, now the colonial gover-

nor, provoked the Eighth Frontier War and established a separate British colony named British Kaffraria.

In 1855 the outbreak of lung sickness decimated the Xhosa's livestock. A messianic movement started when a girl named Nongqawuse believed that her ancestors had appeared to her. They told her that the whites would be swept into the sea if the Xhosa destroyed their cattle and crops. The Great Cattle Killing that followed resulted in mass starvation, conflict, suicide, and migration. The colonial governor Sir George Grey used this massive disruption to further expand "civilization" to the area west of the Kei River, where a group of German legionnaires and other immigrants were settled by the colonial government.

Many Voortrekkers had traveled northward into Natal, Transorangia, and the Transvaal with the intention of establishing new states independent from the British. The victory of Andries Pretorius at the Battle of Blood River (Ncome) over the Zulus became a national holiday for Afrikaner nationalists. A possibly fake treaty with the Zulu king Dingaan resulted in the creation of the Afrikaner republic of Natal, its capital at Pietermaritzburg and Pretorius as its president. British colonial administrators worried about destabilization and access to Port Natal (Durban). In 1843 Britain annexed Natal, and most of the Afrikaners abandoned it. In the 1850s two new Afrikaner republics were established: the South African Republic, or Transvaal, and the Orange Free State (results of the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions respectively). The British recognized Afrikaner independence north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. However, the discovery of South Africa's mineral wealth—huge deposits of diamonds and gold—forever changed the political, social, and economic landscape and would renew hostilities between the British and the Afrikaners.

By 1872 the British granted its South African colonies self-government. In a short period of time, the Cape transformed from a relatively poor outpost of empire to a wealthy nexus of gold and diamond mines. Infrastructure rapidly expanded as immigrants with dreams of wealth poured into places like Kimberley. The government at home aimed to consolidate British power on the Cape by creating a federated state with Dominion status. In the Transvaal, efforts to resist British annexation were led by Paul Kruger. Afrikaner forces defeated British colonial forces led by Sir George Colley at Mujuba Hill in February 1881, and the British government led by WILLIAM GLADSTONE made peace with the Afrikaners in 1881, ending the First Anglo-Boer War (the British name) or the First War of Freedom (the Afrikaner name).

In 1886 huge gold reserves were discovered at Witwatersrand in the Transvaal. Kruger recognized the stabilizing importance that such wealth gave his republic, but an increasing population of foreigners, or Uitlanders, seemed to threaten Boer sovereignty. The Uitlanders, conversely, complained about the way they were treated in the Transvaal. In 1895 the colonial governor and mineral baron CECIL RHODES schemed, with the approval of the British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain, to overthrow the Transvaal government. The resulting Jameson Raid failed to incite a widespread Uitlander uprising and came to symbolize the British lust for power in South Africa.

Kruger was overwhelmingly reelected as president in 1898. In response, Chamberlain sent Sir Alfred Milner to the Cape as High Commissioner. Milner sought to use Uitlander disenfranchisement to create support for British intervention. Ultimately, the British desired not only gold but also control of a consolidated South Africa. After some negotiations, Kruger, assuming war was inevitable, declared war on the British. The brutally fought Anglo-Boer War, or South African War, was a turning point not only in Anglo-Boer relations but also in the way Europeans treated Africans in South Africa.

See also AFRICA, PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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## Spain in Africa

Although the coast of Spain is only some 8.7 miles from that of North Africa, and it is possible to go by ferry in less than an hour, Spain has had few colonies on the African continent. Part of this is because until 1492, the Spanish government was more concerned with the Reconquista, the reconquest of Muslim Spain, than with colonial expansion, and as a result Portugal took the lead in voyages around the western coast of Africa. Indeed,

by the time of the capture of Granada in 1492, when the last part of Moorish Spain was taken, and the subsequent departure of Christopher Columbus, the Portuguese had already seized control of the Moroccan port of Ceuta, the Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands and also the island of São Tomé, and claimed the Canary Islands.

This Portuguese expansion into Africa, and the successful voyage of Christopher Columbus, meant that the Spanish and Portuguese kings came to an agreement over the division of the world. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI issued his *Inter Caetera*, which drew a line of demarcation from the North Pole to the South Pole set at 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Lands to the west were awarded to Spain and those to the east to Portugal. However, King João II of Portugal felt that this did not give his ships enough room around the west coast of Africa, and Portuguese and Spanish ambassadors met at Tordesillas in northern Spain and on June 7, 1494, signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, which moved the line to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This was given papal sanction on January 24, 1506, and not only totally excluded Spain from Africa, but also had the result of giving Brazil to Portugal.

However, the Spanish had held two ports on the north coast of Africa. One, Ceuta, had been captured in 1309 by King James (Jaime) II of Aragon, making it the first European colonial possession in Africa (or for that matter anywhere else in the world). Its geographical position and disposition made it an important port in antiquity, with both Hercules and Odysseus from Greek mythology said to have visited it. It had been a Roman and then Byzantine city, but in 931 was captured by the Muslim rulers of Spain, and in 1083 by the Almoravid Arab rulers of Morocco. After the Spanish had taken it in 1309, they were unable to hold it, and the Arabs took it back. In 1415 the Portuguese took the city, and thus at the time of the Treaty of Tordesillas it was Portuguese.

The port of Melilla, on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, had been an important port of the Phoenicians and then the Romans and, after centuries of obscurity, was captured by Abd ar-Rahman III of Córdoba. In 1496 a Spanish raiding party had landed and stormed the fortress that dominated the town. Led by the duke of Medina Sidonia, they then built their own fortress on a peninsula on the east of the town, which was transferred to the Spanish Crown in 1556. The township (population 70,000, of whom 10,000 are soldiers) has been Spanish ever since. In 1921 the Riff rebels came close to taking Melilla. Fifteen years later General Francisco Franco

launched the Spanish civil war. Morocco has regularly made diplomatic overtures to regain the town, but Spain has maintained its hold, and administratively, Melilla is a part of the Spanish mainland province of Málaga.

In addition, the Spanish also held the Canary Islands, geographically also a part of Africa. The Portuguese had claimed possession as early as 1345 in a letter from King Afonso IV of Portugal to Pope Clement VI. However, by the Treaty of Alcáçovas, Portugal recognized Spanish sovereignty over the Canaries, which the Spanish completely conquered and occupied by 1496. These islands proved to be important in all four voyages of Christopher Columbus, and many subsequent missions across the Atlantic, including that of Hernán Cortés. Francis Drake attacked the Canary Islands in 1585; so, too, did Admiral Blake in 1657—his ships were the first to attack the forts in Las Palmas. In 1797 the local forces at Santa Cruz de Tenerife defeated the British admiral Horatio Nelson, the only defeat in his career—and one which cost him his right arm. The Canary Islands were a single Spanish province until 1927; they are now two provinces of Spain, Las Palmas and Santa Cruz de Tenerife, and are a popular holiday destination for Britons and many northern Europeans.

Thus, with the exception of Melilla (and the Canary Islands), from the time of the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain did not involve itself in African affairs. However, in 1579 the situation changed, allowing Spain to establish a foothold in Africa. On August 4, 1579, a Portuguese expeditionary force led by their king, Sebastião of Aviz, was destroyed at the Battle of the Three Kings at Alcácer-Quivir in northern Morocco. Sebastião had been trying to put his candidate on the throne of Morocco, and the battle saw Sebastian and his Moroccan ally face the Sharif of Morocco (hence three “kings”). As Sebastião II was only 24 and had no children, his uncle, King Philip II of Spain, succeeded to the Portuguese throne (as Philip [Filipe] I of Portugal). Philip promised to maintain the separate Portuguese governmental institutions and bureaucracy and did so. However, he did regain Spanish control over Ceuta; Portugal recognized the Canary Islands as Spanish territory. Melilla, Ceuta, and the Canary Islands remain part of Spain to this day, as do the islands of Penon de Vélez de la Gomera and Alhucemas, which were taken by the Spanish during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Ceuta returned to Spanish rule in 1580, and the Spanish government set about fortifying it and establishing a permanent garrison. As a peninsula jutting into the Mediterranean, the port is partly enclosed by a peninsula, with the Fortress of Hacho located on the furthest

part of that peninsula, making it very hard to attack by land. Indeed, to do so an army would have to fight its way through the town, which occupies the thinnest part in the middle of the peninsula. The port has long been associated with the Spanish Foreign Legion, which was established in 1920 to ensure the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco remained in Spanish hands. As with Melilla, the town’s economy is helped by tax advantages offered by the Spanish government, which also has a large number of soldiers based there; the modern Kingdom of Morocco has made several diplomatic overtures for the return of Ceuta, but to no avail.

Most of Spain’s interests in Africa have centered on Morocco, but apart from Ceuta, Melilla, and two small islands, there was no plan to take over the country until the 1890s. Finally in 1904 France and Spain concluded a secret agreement for partitioning Morocco into two zones, and the British and Italians agreed to this in return for France dropping its claims to Egypt and Libya. In the Treaty of Fez in 1912, the Spanish were given the mountainous regions around Melilla and Ceuta (which became French Morocco), as well as some territory along the Atlantic coast (loosely known as Spanish West Africa). While the French reached an accommodation with the sultan of Morocco, the Spanish faced many problems, partly caused by the nature of the territory they held.

Spanish Morocco had no major cities except Tetuan, which became the administrative center. Most trade from there went through either Tangier, which was an international city, or through Ceuta or Melilla, both Spanish possessions. It did help Spain maintain her hold on her two ports, but the region was underdeveloped and communications were very bad.

Spanish West Africa was essentially divided into a large administrative unit known as the Spanish Sahara. Sometimes known as Río de Oro, it was almost entirely desert with very little agriculture and was administered, from the Canary Islands. There was also a southern enclave called Cape Juby, where a British engineer had established a commercial factory that he later sold to the sultan of Morocco.

The only other Spanish possession in Africa was what is now Equatorial Guinea. This consisted of an island, Fernando Póo, and the adjoining mainland, known to the Spanish as Río Muni. The island of Fernando Póo had been discovered by a Portuguese sailor Fernão do Poo in 1472 and then acquired by Spain under a treaty in 1778. From 1827 until 1843 it was leased to the United Kingdom, which used it as a naval base to try to stop the slave trade, whereupon it was returned to Spain. The

mainland, Río Muni, was officially known as Spanish Guinea, and this was proclaimed as a Spanish protectorate on January 9, 1885. On July 30, 1959, Spanish Guinea was divided back into Fernando Póo and Río Muni (which included Elobey and Corisco), and these became two overseas provinces of Spain. On October 12, 1968, the two were again merged to form the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, and five years later Fernando Póo was renamed Macias Nguema Biyoga after the president of the country. It is now known as Bioko.

See also AFRICA, PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN; SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Spanish-American War

In 1898, in a war marking the emergence of the United States as a major imperial power, the United States wrested from Spain its remaining colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The short-term trigger of the war was the events in Cuba, with the Cuban revolutionaries on the verge of defeating the Spaniards and achieving outright independence. The sensationalist "yellow journalism" of the Hearst newspapers, which popularized the perception that the Spaniards were inhuman brutes committing atrocities against the childlike Cubans, had played a key role in laying the groundwork for U.S. intervention in Cuba.

The explosion aboard the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, which killed more than 260 people, provided the *casus belli* that the United States had sought. On April 25 the U.S. Congress, at President William McKinley's request, declared war on Spain. Historians generally agree that the longer-term causes of the war were rooted in the previous eight decades of U.S. interest in acquiring Cuba; the late 19th-century process of European empire-building in Asia and Africa, which heightened U.S. policy-

makers' desire to compete with European powers for markets and territory; and the desire of political leaders to distract the nation's attention from pressing domestic issues, including a severe economic depression and an upsurge in labor and popular unrest. More recent scholarship also emphasizes the desire of a new generation of political leaders, epitomized by McKinley's assistant secretary of the navy Theodore Roosevelt, to prove their "manliness" by going to war, as their predecessors had done in the U.S. CIVIL WAR.

Called the "splendid little war" by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, the war with Spain began in April and was concluded in August. Altogether, some 5,660 U.S. military personnel died in the war—460 in battle or of wounds suffered in battle, and 5,200 from disease. Casualties among Spaniards, Cubans (in their war of independence), and Filipinos were much higher. At the same time as U.S. forces were invading Cuba, another contingent occupied Puerto Rico; the U.S. military ruled Puerto Rico until the Foraker Act of 1900, which ended military rule and set up a colonial administration. Puerto Rico became a U.S. territory in 1917 with the Jones Act, a law that also made Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens.

### THE PHILIPPINES

In the Pacific, the U.S. quickly defeated Spanish forces in the Philippines, though "pacifying" the colony proved far more difficult. On May 1, 1898, the fleet of U.S. Commodore George Dewey entered Manila Bay and destroyed the Spanish fleet anchored there; U.S. forces occupied the capital city of Manila in July. Soon afterward, a nationalist resistance movement against the U.S. occupation erupted under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo. The war against Aguinaldo's forces lasted nearly four years, involved some 200,000 U.S. troops, and resulted in the deaths of more than 50,000 Filipinos. In March 1901 U.S. forces captured Aguinaldo, severely weakening the resistance movement, and by 1906, U.S. forces had triumphed.

The Spanish-American War formally ended in December 1898 with the Treaty of Paris, which granted the United States formal control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, in exchange for \$20 million. In the United States, debates swirled about the terms of the treaty and the fate of the conquered territories. Some favored annexation, others independence, and still others various forms of formal and informal colonization. After much debate, the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris on February 6, 1899. The precise nature of U.S. rule that emerged in later



An illustration for McClure's magazine of troops on the march in 1898: The Spanish-American War marked the emergence of the United States as a major power, able to compete with European nations.

years changed over time and varied from territory to territory, as evidenced by the formal independence of Cuba in 1902 (with the United States retaining control of Guantánamo and limiting the Cuban government's right to conduct an independent foreign policy, by the terms of the 1901 Platt Amendment), the formal independence of the Philippines in 1946, and the contemporary commonwealth status of Puerto Rico and Guam.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Spanish Bourbons

The Spanish Bourbons are the ruling dynasty, or family of rulers, of Spain. The dynasty was established by Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV of France, in 1700 following the death of the childless Charles II of Spain. The Spanish Bourbon (Borbón) dynasty has been overthrown and restored several times, ruling from 1700 to 1808, 1813 to 1868, 1875 to 1931, and from 1975 to the present.

Philip, duc d'Anjou, was the second son of the daughter, son of Louis XIV of France and heir to the French throne. Charles II, king of Spain and a member of the Habsburg dynasty, had no children. He adopted Philip, great-grandson of Philip IV of Spain, as his heir. When Charles II died in 1700, the right of Philip to the Spanish throne was disputed by the major European powers out of fear that Bourbon rulers on the thrones of both France and Spain would upset the existing balance of

power. Known as the War of the Spanish Succession, Philip's right was upheld following the war's conclusion with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. As part of a compromise, the Spanish Bourbons could not inherit the throne of France.

After having two sons with his first wife, Philip V married Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, an Italian duchy, in 1714. Philip V and Elizabeth had two sons that became instrumental in the Spanish Bourbons' attempts to expand their dynastic control into the Italian Peninsula. Philip V occupied Sardinia in 1717, thereby incurring the wrath of a European coalition of Britain, France, Austria, and the Netherlands. In 1720 Philip V abandoned his claim to Sardinia and Sicily but secured the right of Charles, his eldest son with Elizabeth, to the throne of Parma following the current duke's death.

In 1731 Charles became duke of Parma. Philip V abdicated in 1724 in favor of Louis I, his eldest son from his first marriage. The early death of Louis I that year prompted Philip V to re-assume the throne. During the War of the Polish Succession, Philip V formed the Family Compact, an agreement with his uncle and king of France, Louis XV. Philip V's son Charles, now duke of Parma, invaded Naples. During peace negotiations in 1738, Charles ceded Parma to Austria in exchange for Naples and Sicily. During the War of the Austrian Succession, Austria ceded Parma to the second son of Philip V and Elizabeth.

Ferdinand VI, second son of Philip V and his first wife, succeeded his father as king of Spain in 1746. He worked to keep Spain out of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Following his death, his half brother Charles, king of Naples and Sicily, inherited the Spanish throne as Charles III. He abdicated the thrones of Naples and Sicily to his third son, Ferdinand, who furthered an Italian branch of the Bourbon dynasty that ruled until the unification of Italy in 1861. Charles III revived the Family Compact with his French relations in 1761 and joined in the Seven Years' War against Britain the following year. He also opposed Britain during the AMERICAN REVOLUTION in 1779.

Charles IV succeeded his father as king in 1788. Royal Spain declared war on the French Revolutionary government in 1793, but made peace in 1795. In 1808 NAPOLEON I, emperor of the French, invaded Spain, leading to an uprising that forced Charles IV's abdication in favor of his son Ferdinand VII. Shortly thereafter, Napoleon grew frustrated with Ferdinand VII's treachery and forced him to return the Spanish throne to his father Charles IV. Napoleon I then forced Charles IV from the throne and replaced him with his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte. The move prompted massive resistance,

known as the Peninsular War, one of the major conflicts of the Napoleonic Wars.

Following Napoleon I's exile in 1814, Ferdinand VII returned to the Spanish throne. Following an uprising in 1820, he was forced to grant a constitution. France, now under control of the restored Bourbon dynasty, invaded Spain in 1823 and revoked the constitution. Although Ferdinand VII married many times, he had difficulty conceiving an heir. In 1833 he, influenced by his wife, abolished the Salic law, which stipulated that the throne could only be inherited through the male line, in order for his daughter Isabella to inherit the throne rather than his brother Don Carlos.

Isabella II became queen in 1833 following her father's death. Only three years old at the time, her mother, Maria Cristina, served as regent. Isabella II's right to the throne was challenged by Don Carlos, whose conservative supporters became known as Carlists. To rally the liberals to Isabella II's favor, Maria Cristina granted a constitution in 1834. A failed attempt to seize the throne by force resulted in the departure of Don Carlos from Spain in 1839. Don Carlos and his descendants perpetuated their claims to the Spanish throne until 1936.

In 1846 Isabella II married her cousin, Francisco de Asís de Borbón. In 1868 a revolution forced Isabel II's abdication in favor of her son, Alfonso XII, in 1870. However, the government elected Amadeo I of the House of Savoy as king of Spain. Shortly thereafter, a republic governed Spain before a Bourbon restoration under Alfonso XII in 1875. He granted a more liberal constitution in 1876 and suppressed a Carlist uprising. When Alfonso XII died in 1885, his heir was still unborn. Alfonso XIII was born in 1886, technically already king for several months. His mother ruled as regent until 1902.

Alfonso XIII married Eugenia of Battenberg, granddaughter of QUEEN VICTORIA of Great Britain, in 1906. He kept Spain neutral during World War I but supported Miguel Primo de Rivera's military coup in 1923. Republican turmoil prompted Alfonso XIII's departure from Spain in 1931. He never formally abdicated, but he lived in exile until his death in 1941. The Second Spanish Republic was overthrown in the Spanish civil war, which resulted in the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. In 1969 Franco named Juan Carlos de Borbón, Alfonso XIII's grandson, as his successor. When Franco died in 1975, the Bourbon dynasty was restored under Juan Carlos I, who oversaw Spain's return to democracy and the constitution of 1978 recognizing the monarchy.

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ERIC MARTONE

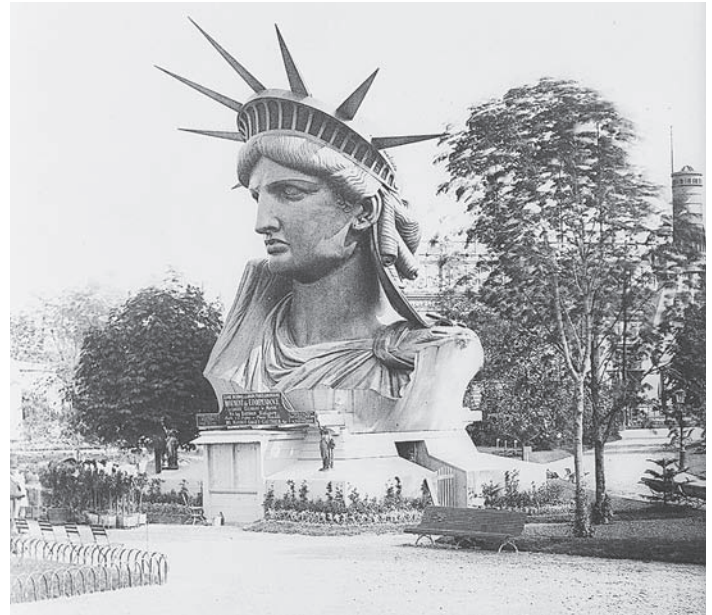
## Statue of Liberty

Since its 1886 installation in New York Harbor, where it was then the tallest structure, this 305-foot, 225-ton copper-clad statue of a stern-faced woman whose torch “Enlightens the World,” has become one of the world’s best-known symbols, as well as one of its more contentious.

The idea of recognizing French-American friendship as the U.S. centennial neared was conceived in 1865 by French jurist Edouard-René Lefebvre de Laboulaye, a longtime admirer of American freedom and foe of NAPOLEON III’s Second Empire. Dining with Laboulaye, Alsatian sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, already known for his monumental works, suggested a statue of heroic size to be situated in New York City.

The United States would be 110 years old before Bartholdi’s immense figure, supported by an iron skeleton designed by French engineer Gustav Eiffel, arose on Bedloe’s Island in New York’s harbor. Although French people, rich and poor, enthusiastically raised money for the statue’s fabrication and transport, President Grover Cleveland vetoed federal funding for an appropriate pedestal, and voluntary American matching contributions lagged. Not until Hungarian-born newspaper magnate Joseph Pulitzer used his *New York World* to admonish New York and the nation were sufficient funds procured for the project to go forward.

Poet Emma Lazarus was also raising funds when she wrote “The New Colossus” in 1883. By the time a plaque engraved with her sonnet was affixed to Liberty’s pedestal in 1903, Lazarus’s interpretation of Bartholdi’s huge figure as “Mother of Exiles” who lifts her “lamp beside the golden door” to welcome “huddled masses yearning to breathe free” had redefined the statue as a maternal symbol of America’s enduring promise to the world’s “wretched refuse.”



*The monumental Statue of Liberty, created by sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi, under construction*

Of course, it was not so simple. The gala unveiling on October 28, 1886, occurred just five months after Haymarket, a Chicago labor protest that turned violent and led to the execution of seven immigrants presumed to be violent anarchists.

As President Cleveland spoke, WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE advocates protested the nearly all-male ceremony for the world’s largest female figure. That year, anarchist and birth control proponent Emma Goldman admired the Statue of Liberty as a symbol of freedom as she arrived in New York from Lithuania. In 1919 she would view the “Mother of Exiles” a final time as she was deported to the Soviet Union during a Red Scare.

In recent years the Statue of Liberty has continued to be a major tourist destination, despite security and structural issues that have limited trips to what is now Liberty Island and exploration of the monument itself. For Liberty’s 1986 centennial, a huge fund-raising drive, headed by major corporations, collected some \$230 million to refurbish the statue and nearby Ellis Island, where, after 1892, newly arriving immigrants were processed in Liberty’s shadow.

Meanwhile, the statue’s rich symbolism continues to inspire humor and protest: advocacy of open immigration and celebration of the republican ideals of liberty that infused both the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the FRENCH REVOLUTION. In 1989 a 30-foot-high styrofoam figure modeled on the Statue of Liberty was



created by Tiananmen Square pro-democracy protesters. It stood for five days before it was crushed by a Chinese government tank.

See also LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES; NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## St. Petersburg, Treaty of (1881)

The rapidly expanding Russian Empire in Central Asia had reached the northwestern borders of the QING (Ch'ing) Empire of China by the mid-19th century. Xinjiang (Sinkiang), as northwestern China is called, was mainly inhabited by Turkic speaking Muslims, who chafed under Manchu banner troops stationed in the region. A Muslim revolt broke out in Xinjiang in 1864, led by an adventurer from Khokand named Yakub Beg, who proclaimed himself ruler of Kashgaria and part of northern Xinjiang.

This revolt gave Russia the opportunity to intervene. Fearful of Russian ambitions and anxious to protect its interests in India, Great Britain also became involved. This struggle for mastery of Central Asia and northwestern China was called the "Great Game." Both powers saw Yakub Beg as a useful tool. First the governor-general of Russian Turkestan, General K. P. von Kaufman, sent troops that occupied the Ili Valley, Ili city, and the main Chinese fort in Xinjiang and signed a treaty with Yakub Beg that granted Russia many privileges in the region. Not to be outdone, Britain also recognized Yakub Beg's power in Xinjiang and gave him assistance.

The Chinese government could do nothing in Xinjiang until it had suppressed the other rebellions in the country. In 1875 it appointed ZHO ZONGTANG (Tso Tsung-t'ang), the great general-statesman who had played a major role in putting down the other revolts, commander of a force against the Xinjiang rebels. By 1877 Yakub Beg had been soundly defeated and driven to suicide; the rebellion soon collapsed.

Ili, however, remained under Russian occupation. The Qing court appointed a Manchu nobleman Chonghou (Chung-hou) special ambassador to Russia

to negotiate its restoration to China. Inexperienced and unprepared, Chonghou signed the Treaty of Livadia without authorization that ceded 70 percent of the Ili region, including strategic mountain passes, to Russia, agreed to pay Russia a huge indemnity, and other concessions. The Qing government refused to accept this disastrous treaty and sentenced Chonghou to death (due to strong protests by Western government the sentence was left pending the outcome of the renewed negotiations). China then appointed Zeng Jize (Tseng Chi-tse, known as Marquis Zeng in the West), son of the great statesman ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan) and then minister to Britain and France, special ambassador to Russia to renegotiate the treaty.

An able and well-prepared diplomat, Zeng secured the secret assistance of Great Britain before embarking on the difficult negotiations with the Russians, which culminated in the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881. By its terms, almost all the Ili Valley, including the strategic passes, were returned to China, and the number of Russian consulates in the region was reduced, but China did pay an indemnity to Russia.

The Treaty of St. Petersburg reversed the disastrous Treaty of Livadia. The reconquest of Xinjiang and the treaty of St. Petersburg were rare instances of Chinese victory during the late Qing dynasty and were principally due to two men, Zho Zongtang and Zeng Jize. Xinjiang was made into a province in 1884.

See also ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY; QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Sucre, Antonio José de

(1795-1830) *South American freedom fighter*

Antonio José de Sucre fought against Spain and alongside SIMÓN BOLÍVAR for the independence of South America. More of a soldier than an administrator, he also served as the first president of Bolivia.

Sucre was born on February 3, 1795, to Don Vicente de Sucre Urbaneja, a colonel in the colonial army, and

Doña Maria Manuela de Alcalá in Cumaná (present-day Sucre), on the northeast coast of Venezuela, then part of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada. He was the seventh child of prosperous Creole parents and the eighth generation of his family to be born in the New World. Among his ancestors were Spanish nobles, Christianized Jews from Flanders, a few Indians, and some African slaves. Sucre received a basic education and then studied mathematics and engineering with a tutor.

As a family of high office and long residence, the Sucre family were natural leaders within the province of New Andalucía. When the revolutionary movement took shape in Caracas and Cumaná in April 1810, the slight but tall Sucre enlisted as a cadet in the company of hussars that his father commanded. The republican government gave him the rank of second sublieutenant for the militia. Sucre served with the hussars until mid-1811, when he was assigned to a corps of engineers that was constructing defenses at the Fort of Margarita. Promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1812, he was instructed to join the expeditionary force that his father was organizing for the purpose of suppressing the royalist reactionaries in Barcelona. However, the revolution failed, and the new royalist government sought to punish those who were involved with the revolutionary government. Sucre managed to flee to Trinidad, but his father wound up in a dungeon.

When Bolívar launched a second attempt at a revolution in 1813, Sucre joined him. Sucre, now promoted to major, took Cumaná on August 2, 1813. In the attack on Barcelona, Sucre headed the Zapadores battalion, which he founded to provide engineering services. Sucre next served as adjutant to General Santiago Mariño when he routed the army of José Tomás Boves on March 31, 1814, at Boca Chica. Unfortunately for Sucre, the republicans lost the next few battles. At the end of 1815 Sucre fled Venezuela for exile in Haiti. Too short of funds to stay on the island, he moved to Trinidad to get financial aid from relatives.

In 1816 Sucre returned to the South American fight. After participating in the capture of Yaguarapao and the siege of Cumaná with the Colombian battalion, he became the governor of the province of Cumaná. In 1817 Sucre was named to head the Baja Orinoco battalion and subsequently became major general of the Lower Orinoco. Modest, loyal to Bolívar, and absolutely dedicated to independence, Sucre gained a stellar reputation as a soldier and administrator. In 1820 Bolívar named Sucre to be chief of the general staff and assistant minister of war. He helped Venezuela gain independence later that same year.

Bolívar and Sucre then turned their attentions to Colombia. In August 1821 Sucre marched 1,200 men to Babahoyo. With the Spanish loyalist forces unaware of his presence, Sucre surprised and decisively defeated them at Yaguachi.

In the 1822 Battle of Pinchincha, Sucre concluded the Quito (present-day Ecuador) campaign and obtained liberation for Colombia. Sucre became the political and military governor of the southern department of Gran Colombia. He began working with Bolívar to prepare for the attack on Peru, the center of Spanish control in the Americas. Accompanying Bolívar to Peru, Sucre distinguished himself at the August 1824 Battle of Junín. Bolívar was absent, and Sucre was the chief commander when the Battle of Ayacucho was fought in December 1824. The generous terms that he granted to the loyalist forces were typical of Sucre's magnanimous style. With considerable reluctance, Sucre accepted the presidency of the newly created state of Bolivia. He was never happy in the post. Despite the conciliatory spirit of his rule, an attempt was made on his life. In 1828 he resigned and returned to Quito. A few months later, he led the forces that repelled a Peruvian invasion. He was elected president of the constitutional convention that met in 1830 in an effort to prevent Bolívar's large republic of Colombia from disintegrating. Sucre's efforts to prevent Venezuela from seceding and becoming a separate state failed.

On June 4, 1830, when he was riding back from the congress to his home in Quito, Sucre was ambushed by Apolimar Morillo, José Erazo, Juan Gregorio Sarría, and three accomplices in La Jacoba, a wild mountainous region.

The attack may have been arranged by a rival, José María Obando, who commanded the troops at Cauca. Sucre was shot through the heart. His body remained face down in the mud for 24 hours before he was buried at the side of the road. Upon learning of Sucre's assassination, Bolívar famously stated that Abel had been killed.

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## Sudan, condominium in

After the British defeated the Mahdist forces at the BATTLE OF OMDURMAN in 1898 they debated how to govern the Sudan. Prior to 1895 the British government had maintained that the Sudan was *res nullius*, or ungoverned territory. With control over Egypt and the vital SUEZ CANAL, British politicians believed that it was also necessary to control all of the Nile River upon which Egypt was dependent for its very survival. The weak Ottoman Empire that ostensibly ruled the Sudan as well as Egypt was powerless to prevent British expansion into the Sudan. Other European powers, including France, Britain's major imperial rival, were pressured into accepting British domination over the Nile Valley.

After some debate the British decided that annexation of the Sudan was impracticable, and Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt as consul general, devised a hybrid form of dual government. The so-called Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of 1899 provided that Ottoman rights were recognized but not implemented and, through the right of conquest, Egypt would govern and pay for the administration of the Sudan by the British. Herbert Kitchener was appointed the first governor-general, and the territory was divided into six provinces administered by British officers. These officers governed territory far larger than Britain itself. The khedive in Egypt had no power over the Sudan, but the Egyptian treasury was held accountable for many of the expenses for governing the Sudan.

The governor general in the Sudan reported through Cromer in Egypt; a fiscal conservative, Cromer attempted to keep the expenditures in the Sudan as low as possible, a practice that caused considerable dismay among British officers in the Sudan. After Kitchener was recalled to lead troops in the Boer War, Reginald Wingate, the Sirdar, or commander in chief of the Egyptian forces in the Sudan, was appointed the new governor-general; Wingate remained in the position until the middle of World War I, when he became high commissioner in Egypt.

The largest country in Africa, the Sudan was a complex conglomerate of peoples, religions, and languages. The north, with the capital city of Khartoum, was mainly Muslim and Arabic-speaking and was tied culturally and historically to the Arab world.

As the center of government, the north tended to receive more monies for development and education than the more remote and harder to reach southern provinces. The peoples in the southern provinces were ethnically and linguistically tied to other groups in central Africa and practiced traditional African religions or were converted to Christianity.

The deep social and religious differences between the north and the south often broke out into civil wars that continued to plague Sudan into the contemporary era. The political and economic linkage between Egypt and the Sudan that the British had devised also became a major stumbling block in diplomatic negotiations between Britain and Egypt. Given the major financial contributions to the Sudan by Egypt, Egyptian nationalists, not surprisingly, contended that Egyptian and Sudanese independence were intertwined and that Egypt should have a role in deciding how the Sudan was to be governed. On the other hand, Britain steadfastly refused to link the two issues. Under the British administration, a separate Sudanese nationalist movement evolved, but Britain did not grant the Sudanese independence until 1956.

See also AFRICA, IMPERIALISM AND THE PARTITION OF; ISMAIL, KHEDIVE; SOUTH AFRICA, BOERS AND BANTU IN.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Suez Canal

Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman with support from NAPOLEON III and Empress Eugénie, was the major force behind the construction of the Suez Canal; he also subsequently pushed for the construction of the Panama Canal. The Suez Canal created a direct link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea and was a much shorter and direct trade route from Europe to Asia than the long and often dangerous route around Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. In 1855 de Lesseps persuaded his friend Said, the khedive of Egypt, to grant him a broad concession to build the canal. At the time the British opposed construction of the canal because many thought it would not be financially profitable, and others wanted to limit French imperial ambitions.

Undeterred, de Lesseps launched a major campaign to raise money to finance the canal through the sale of stock. Preference shares went to Said for granting the concession; founder shares were held by the organizers or given to influential personages, and public shares were sold in Europe and the United States, where, largely owing to the CIVIL WAR, they went mostly unsold.



*One of the largest engineering feats of the age, the Suez Canal created a direct link between the Mediterranean and the Red Seas.*

Said took most of the unsubscribed shares, and digging for the canal began in 1859. Said also agreed to provide forced labor through the *corvée* of Egyptian peasants, or *fellaheen*, to build the canal. The forced labor was supplemented by paid foreign labor and machinery that cost twice as much as manual labor. At the time the Egyptian economy was booming, as, with the lack

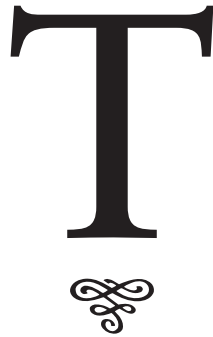
of cotton from the United States, the price of cotton, Egypt's main export, was high. The 100-mile canal was finished in 1869 and opened with great pomp and circumstance. During its first years, the canal operated at a loss, but revenues gradually increased. In 1874 KHEDIVE ISMAIL, facing bankruptcy, sold his ordinary shares of the canal to the British for the bargain price of 4 million pounds. However, Ismail ultimately was forced to turn over control of the Egyptian economy to the international *Caisse de la Dette* run by Europeans. The canal became the major trade route for the transport of goods and personnel between England and the British Empire in Asia. The desire to protect British interests in the canal was a major motivating factor behind the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Although the Suez Canal was on Egyptian territory and had been built largely with Egyptian labor, it remained under foreign control until the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdul Nasser nationalized it in 1956.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT; NAPOLEONIC CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY





## Taiping Rebellion

Among the many rebellions that enveloped China in the mid-19th century, the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) caused most devastation and posed the greatest danger to the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY. The rebellions had many causes, the most serious being the population explosion, the result of prolonged peace and the introduction of new and better yielding crops. By the early 19th century, the available land could no longer sustain the burgeoning population, and there were no industries to absorb the surplus labor force. Natural disasters in the 1840s along the Yellow and Yangzi (Yangtse) River valleys further devastated the economy. Politically, the Qing dynasty was in decline, evident in the pervasive corruption among the bureaucracy. Defeat by Great Britain in the First ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WAR further discredited the dynasty and brought to the fore latent anti-Manchu sentiments among the majority Han Chinese.

The Taiping Rebellion was led by HONG XIUQUAN (Hung Hsisu-chuan), whose ambition to pass the state examinations and thus join the elite bureaucracy had been quashed by repeated failures. While in Canton waiting for the exams, he had met Protestant Christian missionaries who gave him religious tracts. He later equated their messages with visions he experienced while in a delirium during an illness after failing the exams for the fourth time. He claimed to be the second son of God and younger brother of Jesus and further stated that God had entrusted him with a mission to rid

the world of demons and establish a heavenly kingdom on Earth. Hong studied briefly with an American missionary, gaining some knowledge of the Old Testament, but was not baptized. In 1844 he founded the Society of God Worshippers and began preaching his version of Christianity among poor people in Guangxi (Kwangsi) province in southern China.

An unsuccessful attempt by the Qing government to suppress the movement in 1850 ignited the rebellion. Hong then proclaimed himself the Heavenly King and his movement the Taiping Tianguo (Taiping t'ien-kuo), or Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace. His foremost lieutenant Yang Xiuqing (Yang Hsiu-ch'ing), who claimed to be the third son of God and the Holy Spirit, became the Eastern King, while other supporters were given ranks as lesser kings and nobles. The Taiping army enjoyed tremendous success as it marched northward, culminating in the capture of Nanjing (Nanking) in 1853; it was renamed Tianjin, or the Heavenly capital, but the movement failed to gain headway north of the Yangzi Valley.

Early Taiping success is attributable to the appeal of its messianic message, the prevalence of anti-Manchu sentiments in southern China, strict military discipline among its troops, and promise of social and economic reforms. The reforms, on paper, included nationalization of land and its distribution to men and women, a new calendar, equality between the sexes, revamping of the examination system to allow more candidates to succeed, and various modernization measures. However, most of the promised reforms

were unrealized because the Taiping leaders showed a lack of ability to govern and evidenced a great interest in giving themselves perks and privileges. Moreover, the leaders began quarreling among themselves. Both Hong and Yang claimed to receive messages from God, and their rivalry degenerated into a bloody conflict in which Yang was defeated and killed. Hong thereafter trusted no one except his mediocre relatives and retired to a life of hedonism among his women. Western nations that were initially interested in the Taiping government because of its Christian trappings were quickly disillusioned by its bogus Christianity and its theocratic and universal claims. Finding the Qing government easier to deal with, they then proclaimed their neutrality in the conflict.

The Qing government also found in ZENG GUOFAN (TSENG KUO-FAN) a committed Confucian scholar-official of great ability and integrity. Zeng organized a militia among men of his home province (Hunan). They first cleared Hong's men from Hunan and then expanded the anti-Taiping forces with the aid of Zeng's able colleagues and lieutenants, including Westerners and their modern arms. They reformed the administration in areas that they reconquered and ultimately gave the people a better alternative to the failed Taiping model. Nanjing was captured in July 1864; Hong died; and the rebellion ended.

Some historians claim the Taiping movement as revolutionary but others dispute this claim on the basis that the Taiping leaders showed no real revolutionary spirit or wish to introduce fundamental changes to society. While the Taiping ideology showed some revolutionary elements, in practice the regime did not change social relations or better the lot of peasants. Rather, the Taiping leaders regarded their success as a way to attain elite status.

The rebellion ultimately failed due to inconsistencies in the policies of the movement, strategic mistakes, internal dissension, and refusal to cooperate with other rebel movements for not following their brand of Christianity. Conversely, the anti-Taiping forces led by Zeng Guofan demonstrated integrity and ability, and their commitment to Confucian ideology was more in tune with the temper of the time. The rebellion devastated a huge area in southern China and caused upward of 20 million in lost lives. It also resulted in a shifting in the internal balance of power in China from the central government in Beijing (Peking), whose banner army had not been able to handle the rebellion, to Han Chinese loyalists who defeated the rebellion by raising local forces. The defeat of the Taiping and

other mid-19th century rebellions and the domestic reforms and modernizing measures called the TONGZHI (T'ung-chih) RESTORATION gave the Qing dynasty a new lease of life.

See also GORDON, CHARLES.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de

(1754–1838) *French diplomat*

Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord was one of the best-known diplomats in European history, having served the throne of France from the time of Louis XVI (the nation's last absolute monarch) to Louis-Philippe (the last king), a time that encompassed the French Revolution and Napoleon. An aristocrat denied his inheritance because he was physically unfit for the military service traditionally taken by his family, he first sought a career in the church. Though he was ordained a priest and was later named bishop of Autun, he was not a pious man, and, in fact, was likely an atheist. His interest in the church was in its institutions and social merits, not any supernatural matters.

During the FRENCH REVOLUTION, he helped to secularize the church and its properties in France and was excommunicated by Pope Pius VI. He personally proposed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which dissolved monastic orders in France, made the offices of bishop and priest elected ones, and denied any authority of the pope over French clergymen. The constitution stood from 1791 to 1795.

Talleyrand helped France avoid war with Britain during the Revolution, while cultivating friendships with NAPOLEON I and Lucien Bonaparte. Talleyrand participated in the coup that brought Napoleon to power and was made his foreign minister—though the two rarely agreed about foreign policy. He rose to power quickly, becoming grand chamberlain of the



*Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand served two French monarchs, skillfully negotiating during times of revolution and imperial rivalries.*

empire and prince of Benevento. Once so positioned, he felt freer to distance himself from Napoleon's policies when he disagreed with them, and he resigned his ministry in 1807 over a disagreement with Bonaparte. In 1812 Napoleon made Talleyrand his representative in meetings with the Russian czar ALEXANDER I—and Talleyrand responded by becoming a Russian secret agent, selling Napoleon's secrets and reporting to Alexander in the future. Talleyrand was instrumental in restoring the Bourbons to power to succeed Napoleon and was an important negotiator in the Treaty of Paris, which helped to repair French-European relations after Napoleon's abdication.

For most of his remaining life, Talleyrand stayed out of the limelight, offering comment more than action, and probably brokering and breaking deals behind the scenes. He remained a womanizer and gourmand throughout his life and was a good friend of Alexander Hamilton despite the latter's reputation for decadence. His home in Paris is now the American embassy.

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BILL KTE'PI

## Tanzimat, Ottoman Empire and

The Tanzimat, meaning “reorganization,” was a series of reforms within the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. Sultan Mahmud II initiated a number of sweeping reforms in order to strengthen the empire by centralizing administrative control and breaking the power of local provincial governors and the janissaries. He also supported reforms to Westernize the education system and established military and engineering schools. Although Mahmud II wanted mandatory elementary education, the Ottoman government lacked the financial wherewithal and personnel to make it a reality.

Like MUHAMMAD ALI in Egypt during the same era, Mahmud II sent students to Europe; he also hired French and Prussian army officers to train his new military. Mustafa Reshid, who served in many official positions, including grand vizier, helped to implement these reforms. Key reformers during the Tanzimat era included Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha and Kecehizade Mehmed Fuad Pasha, both of whom were mentored by Mustafa Reshid. Ali Pasha was the son of a shopkeeper and worked his way up in government service to the position of grand vizier. Fuad Pasha came from a wealthy family; fluent in French, he negotiated with a number of foreign powers. He often served as foreign minister when Ali Pasha was vizier, and when Fuad Pasha was vizier, Ali Pasha often served as foreign minister.

The reforms were supported and enlarged upon by Sultans Abd al-Majid and Abd al-Aziz. As part of the price for their support of the empire in its struggles against Russia, the European powers pushed the Sultan to institute sweeping reforms that often favored minorities within the empire, particularly Christians, as well as European financial interests.

The Hatti-Sherif Gulhane, the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber, in 1839 declared the security of life and honor of Ottoman citizens, provided for tax reforms and the end of tax farming and abuses. It also mandated orderly army recruitment, fair trials with the creation of a council of justice, and equality of religious practices. The rescript ended the extra tax levied on religious minorities and their exemption from military



service. The Hatti Humayun, or Imperial Rescript, of 1856, was forced upon the Ottoman government following the CRIMEAN WAR. It expanded on the earlier reforms and stressed that all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion were to be treated equally. Some elected local assemblies, with advisory functions, were created. Proposed new laws were debated by the Tanzimat Council and approved by the Council of Ministers.

The Ottoman Land Law of 1858 aimed to increase agricultural production but had some unforeseen social and economic results. The law forced the registration of land, but many fellaheen (peasants) were traditionally reluctant to register anything from land to births for fear of government taxation and conscription of their sons into the Ottoman military. The educated, urban class, who had the disposable income to bribe their way out of heavy taxation and to pay for their sons to avoid the military, took advantage of the weakness of the peasantry to gain title to vast tracts of land, thereby creating a new landed gentry of often absentee land owners. Many peasants lost their traditional land holdings and were forced to become tenant farmers. This resulted in the further impoverishment of the peasantry in many parts of the empire, particularly in greater Syria.

A civil law code (Mecelle) was put in place in 1869 and expanded in 1876. The new code, modeled on European legal systems, was largely formulated by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. Under the new legal system, religious law was separated from civil law. A Judicial Council that included both Muslims and Christians dealt with appeals to new civil laws. The old *millet* courts continued to deal with matters involving religious law. The creation of a new secular legal system to the detriment of the old shari'a (Islamic law) was opposed by many conservative and religious elements, such as the WAHABI MOVEMENT in the Arabian Peninsula, who refused to adopt civil laws and maintained the shari'a.

International investment, largely from Europe, increased in many parts of the Ottoman Empire. The 1838 British-Ottoman commercial convention granted the British highly favorable trading terms, and British commerce with the empire flourished. However, the influx of European goods hurt many local manufacturers, especially in the textile industry. As Ottoman expenditures on the army, which grew in numbers, and new government offices created under the Tanzimat increased, so too did the Ottoman indebtedness to European banks and investors. Foreign ownership and investments in new communication lines and railways also mounted. The capitulations, favorable legal and commercial status, including exemption from taxes,

granted by the Ottomans to foreign residents in the empire, gave foreign merchants competitive advantages against local entrepreneurs. Foreign consuls frequently exercised extensive authority in local areas, even getting legal cases against their citizens dropped. Some Ottoman citizens were able, by legal and illegal means, to secure foreign citizenship and thereby enjoy the extra privileges granted foreign nationals.

Although ports and cities, such as Izmir, Alexandria, and Beirut, grew in size, the majority of the population remained rural and continued to maintain their traditional lifestyles. In urban areas, especially in coastal cities where there were growing European populations, Ottoman elites adopted Western fashions in dress and emulated Western life styles in everything from the architecture of their homes and household furnishings to food, literature, and music.

The number of schools following Western educational models increased. Educational and social opportunities for women in urban areas improved. By the 1850s a teachers' training school for women had been established, and many secular schools replaced traditional religious ones. Missionary schools such as Roberts College (present-day Bogazici University) in Istanbul, Syrian Protestant College (present-day American University of Beirut) and the French Jesuit Université de St-Joseph in Beirut educated a new generation of liberal, Western-looking elites. Many of their graduates became leaders of the cultural reforms and nationalist movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A new elite emerged, including the young Ottomans, who supported political reforms and the creation of a constitutional monarchy and a parliament along Western lines.

However, no matter how committed Ottoman sultans and officials were to implementing these sweeping reforms, the Ottoman government simply could not provide enough qualified administrators or judges to implement the reforms. The effects of the reforms were most evident in urban and coastal areas. The vast rural hinterland remained largely untouched by the process of Westernization and secularization. As the economic and social gaps between the urban, Westernized elites and local middle class and the traditional, highly religious peasantry grew, societal tensions and conflict escalated.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS; YOUNG OTTOMANS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Texas War of Independence and the Alamo

Texans have long taken pride in their state's unique history as the only state in the Union to have fought for and achieved independence as a republic. For nearly 10 years, from April 1836 to December 1845, the Republic of Texas (or Lone Star Republic) existed as a sovereign nation-state—not recognized by Mexico for its illegal secession from the Estados Unidos Mexicanos (United Mexican States), and not annexed by the United States, despite the desire for annexation among many of its Anglo-American citizens. During this decade, the sectional divisions between North and South prevented Senate agreement on admission to the Union of another slave state.

The long-term roots of the Texas War of Independence lay in the rapid expansion westward of the southern cotton and slave plantation system, especially after the widespread adoption of Eli Whitney's cotton gin after 1793 and the LOUISIANA PURCHASE of 1803. Cotton monoculture was extremely destructive of soils, prompting slaveholding cotton growers to seek new lands to the west. In the 1810s and 1820s many were drawn to Alabama, Mississippi, and further west to the fertile valleys of East Texas. In late 1820 Moses Austin, a leading lead mining and manufacturing entrepreneur, received permission from the Spanish government to settle 300 Anglo-American families in present-day San Antonio. He died soon after.

Within the year, his son, Stephen F. Austin, secured permission for the settlement from the newly independent Mexican government. The colony's population grew rapidly. In 1830 the roughly 10,000 Anglo-American settlers in East Texas outnumbered Mexicans by around two to one.

On September 15, 1829, the Mexican government abolished slavery throughout the republic, including the territory of Texas, but the Anglo-American colonists ignored the law. They also ignored Mexican laws mandating adherence to Roman Catholicism,



*Battle of the Alamo: The Mexican army overwhelmed and killed all the defenders of the Texan fort.*

and an 1830 law banning further Anglo colonization of the territory.

Tensions mounted through the early 1830s. Following a series of armed clashes in 1832, the Texas settlers held conventions in 1832 and 1833 demanding reforms from the Mexican government. The pivotal moment came with the passage of the Siete Leyes (Seven Laws) in December 1835, amending the 1824 Mexican constitution, effectively curtailing the political autonomy of states and territories, including Texas. The Anglo-Texans rebelled, and on March 2, 1836, Texas declared independence from Mexico, naming David Burnet provisional president and Sam Houston supreme military commander. Mexican president JOSÉ ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANA took to the field with some 6,000 troops. Crossing the Río Grande, he determined to take the San Antonio de Valero Mission in San Antonio de Béxar, also known as the Alamo, garrisoned by some 180 men under William B. Travis. After a two week siege, on March 6 the Mexican army overwhelmed and killed all the defenders, most famously Travis, Jim Bowie, and Davy Crockett. “Remember the Alamo!” became the rallying cry for the Texas army.

An even more consequential military episode took place several weeks later at the small town of Goliad, where several hundred troops under Texas colonel James W. Fannin surrendered to Mexican general José Urrea. To these were added prisoners from other engagements. All were ordered shot by Santa Anna. The infamous “Goliad Massacre” of March 27, 1836, in which an estimated 342 Texan prisoners were executed by firing squads, inflamed the passions of the

Texans. A few weeks later, in the decisive engagement of the war, on the afternoon of April 21, 1836, General Houston, at the command of some 900 men, launched a surprise attack on the Mexican army encamped on the banks of the San Jacinto River. The battle was over in less than 20 minutes. Houston later reported 630 Mexicans killed and 730 taken prisoner, with fewer than 40 Texan casualties. The next day, Santa Ana was found hiding in the brush, taken prisoner, compelled to sign two treaties effectively granting Texan independence, and sent back to Mexico City.

The Mexican government later refused to recognize Texan independence. Texas twice applied for annexation to the United States (in 1836 and 1844) but was prevented by a coalition of northern senators fearing the addition of another slave state to the Union. Texas joined the Union as the 28th state on December 29, 1845, its foundational mythologies becoming an integral part of the expanding nation's stock of shared stories—especially events at the Alamo—mythologies that glorified Anglo Texans' heroism, decried the treachery of the Mexicans, and elided the contradictions of a struggle for freedom waged by men holding slaves in perpetual bondage. The state's strong sense of nationalism endures to this day.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Tilak, B. G.

(1856–1920) *Indian nationalist leader*

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a prominent militant nationalist leader of the Indian freedom movement against British rule. He was born in Ratnagiri to a family of Brahmans in 1856. His father was an officer in the educational department. Tilak passed the bachelor of arts examination from Deccan College in 1879 and received a bachelor of law from Elphinston College, Bombay (now Mumbai).

He was one of the founders of the New English School, Pune, and taught there in 1880. The success of the school encouraged him and his colleagues to set up the Deccan Educational Society in October 1884, and the following year the society opened Fergusson College.

Tilak also led influential newspapers—*Kesari* and *Mahratta*, in Marathi and English respectively—in 1881.

Tilak was a radical in politics, but he was not a socialist. He opposed the Age of Consent Act of 1891, saying that the British were interfering in the social life of Hindus.

Tilak was strongly resistant to British rule, advocating an agenda of social conservatism and a return to a golden Hindu past. He became the extremist leader of Indian politics against moderates like G. K. GOKHALE. In the 1890s he championed the cause of peasants and criticized the plague prevention policies of the British government. Tilak was sentenced to prison for 18 months on charges of sedition.

Tilak was interested in the Indian National Congress (INC) right from its inception in 1885, and he was elected its joint secretary in 1895. He was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council in the same year. When Viceroy Lord Curzon partitioned the province of Bengal in 1905, Tilak joined those who opposed it and plunged into a *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement to advocate a boycott on British goods. The agitation galvanized the masses in a boycott of foreign goods. Tilak and his supporters dominated the INC session of 1906, which endorsed the idea of *swaraj*, or self-government. The result was a split between moderates and the extreme nationalists at the Surat session of the INC in 1907, with Gokhale emerging as a leader of the moderates. In June 1908 Tilak was arrested in a bombing case and charged with sedition. Tilak defended himself brilliantly but was sentenced to six years of imprisonment.

After his release Tilak formed the Indian Home Rule League in 1916, which collaborated closely with the Home Rule League of Annie Besant. Both leagues demanded Home Rule or self-government for India after the end of World War I. Because the moderates and extremists of the Congress had realized that a split among them was not serving Indian freedom, Tilak and his supporters returned to Congress again in 1916.

Tilak was among those who signed the famous Lucknow Pact, which endorsed a Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. He then went to England in 1918 to open a branch of the Home Rule League, garnering the support of many Labour party leaders. He caught pneumonia and died on August 1, 1920, in Bombay. His courage, patriotism, and devotion guided latter-day freedom fighters. Mohandas Gandhi honored him as the “maker of modern India.”

See also ALIGARH COLLEGE AND MOVEMENT; BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

## Tocqueville, Alexis de

(1805–1859) *French politician and philosopher*

Youngest son of an aristocratic Norman family, Alexis de Tocqueville became famous on two continents as an important supporter, interpreter, and critic of democracy. His books on the United States remain enduring analyses of the young republic. Born at the dawn of the Napoleonic era, Tocqueville would serve France during a period of great political upheaval as deputy and minister of foreign affairs. Ousted in the 1852 coup that launched the Second Empire, Tocqueville wrote an essential study of the origins, promise, and failures of the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Tocqueville was just 25 when he and lifelong colleague Gustave de Beaumont engineered an official trip to the United States in 1831. Their stated purpose was to investigate America's new systems of prison reform, which they did, visiting New York's Auburn and Sing Sing penitentiaries, among others. The two young lawyers planned also to ask a much larger question: Could American democracy be a political and social prototype for a still struggling France?

Beaumont was a distant relative of the Marquis de Lafayette, French hero of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, and Tocqueville had read the frontier stories of James Fenimore Cooper. Neither was yet fully fluent in English. During eight months in the United States, however, they connected with important Americans, including former President JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; saw slavery and racial discrimination firsthand; lamented the decline of the Native Americans; and toured formerly French Québec, lost to Britain in the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

In *Democracy in America*, appearing in two parts in 1835 and 1840, Tocqueville saw America as both a stunning success and a cautionary example of the dan-

gers inherent in a society where all assert equality. He described a restless nation, consumed by commercial values, and warned against tyranny of the majority. Yet he was impressed by American women's relative freedom, the boldness of newspapers, and Americans' propensity for forming voluntary associations.

In the Chamber of Deputies from 1839 to 1852, Tocqueville would work to end international slavery but also supported France's colonization of ALGERIA, even as he denounced misgovernance there, calling French policies "monstrous." In the tumultuous wake of Europe's REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, Tocqueville hoped to become minister of education but instead held the foreign affairs position for a hectic five months.

Essentially an exile in his own country after the ascension of NAPOLEON III, Tocqueville, by then ailing from tuberculosis, took up a topic that had long fascinated him: the Revolution during which his maternal grandfather was executed and his father arrested. The result, in 1856, was the publication of *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*, a penetrating sociopolitical portrait of pre-1789 France. Like *Democracy in America*, the book was a financial and critical success.

Alexis de Tocqueville—dutiful aristocrat, public servant, supporter and skeptic of liberal democracy—died at age 54 and was buried in his ancestral village. Renowned at his death, Tocqueville gained new currency in the 1930s, as his writings helped people understand systems as diverse as Nazism and modern American society.

In recent years, admirers have retraced his American trip. In France, a Tocqueville Commission oversees his intellectual legacy, and the U.S. boasts a host of Tocqueville societies, many affiliated with private charitable initiatives.

See also NEWSPAPERS, NORTH AMERICAN; WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, RIGHTS, AND ROLES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Tokugawa Shogunate, late

The late Tokugawa Shogunate (1853–67) witnessed the end of the Edo period in Japan, when the country emerged from a period of self-imposed isolation and

modernized from a feudal military society as a result of the MEIJI RESTORATION. The expedition of Commodore MATTHEW PERRY and other dealings with Western governments helped to expose the rift in Tokugawa society and the *bakuban* system between the *fudai daimyo* (feudal lords originally Tokugawa allies), who for nearly two centuries had been favored by the shoguns, and the *tozama* (later Tokugawa supporters), who had been largely excluded from the shogun's favor. It was the Choshu and Satsuma clans of the *tozama daimyo* that began a reaction in favor of the emperor and against the shogun Iesada. Two clans began to assert themselves against the shogunate: the Satsuma clan in southern Kyushu, and the Choshu in western Honshu. Their slogan "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians," became the battle cry of the movement to overthrow the Tokugawa *bakufu* (military government).

Politically, the Choshu and Satsuma samurai became known as the Imperial Loyalists. In 1857 the emperor Komei got a secret message to the Satsuma and Choshu clans asking for their support against the shogun. In a possible response to that message, in 1859, a Japanese scholar named Yoshida Shoin became involved in a plot to assassinate a representative of the shogun Iemochi. Because of this, he and an accomplice, Kusakabe, were taken by shogun authorities to Edo (now Tokyo), where they were beheaded for treason against the shogun in 1859.

Although the Choshu and Satsuma samurai competed for leadership of the Loyalist Cause, eventually they realized that by making common cause they stood a greater chance for success. In April 1863 Emperor Komei issued his "Order to expel barbarians," and the Choshu samurai forced the shogun to agree to expel all foreigners by July 1863, something which the Choshu leaders knew the Tokugawa were now powerless to do. Thus, they achieved their goal of making the Tokugawa appear even more politically irrelevant than before. At the same time, the Choshu and Satsuma clans, because of their wealth, were able to buy modern firearms from British traders, whose gun-running became a powerful force in what was to come.

Sakamoto Ryoma, a samurai from Tosa, was instrumental in brokering an alliance between the two competing clans in 1866. By this time, the Tokugawa Shogunate had been shown powerless a second—and fatal—time. In 1864 foreign ships had been able to blast a passage through the Shimonoseki Strait to open it to commerce, showing again that the shogun was a paper tiger. Even when Shogun Iemochi created his Shinsengumi, a special samurai corps, in 1863 to keep

his rule even by terror, little was accomplished. By 1866 the Choshu and Satsuma samurai were ripe for rebellion. A shogunal army was sent to restore order among the Choshu in the summer of 1866, but no other clans offered any assistance, and the Tokugawa army was forced to retreat.

In 1867 the two clans came out in open rebellion for the new Emperor Meiji, whose given name was Mutsuhito. In December 1867 the 15th, and last, Tokugawa shogun, Yoshinobu, was forced to surrender to the emperor. The Meiji Restoration of imperial power had taken place. In January 1868 Yoshinobu decided to attempt a final stand at Fushimi, where his forces were crushed. He surrendered to the imperial forces and formally opened Edo to the imperial troops. Emperor Meiji entered the city, and, thus, in January 1868 the Meiji Restoration of imperial power had taken place.

See also SATSUMA REBELLION; SINO-JAPANESE WAR AND THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## **Tongzhi (T'ung-chih) Restoration/ Self-Strengthening Movement**

The Treaty of Beijing (Peking; see AIGUN) of 1860 that ended the Second ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM WAR and the suppression of the TAIPING and other rebellions in the 1860s gave the QING (Ch'ing) DYNASTY a reprieve. The adjustments and reforms in the post-1860 decades would give the dynasty a new lease on life. The dynastic revival began during the reign of Emperor Tongzhi (1862–74), hence the name Tongzhi Restoration. However, the era extended into the early part of his successor GUANGXU's reign; the expanded period of restoration is called the Self-Strengthening Movement.

Two groups of leaders emerged during this era beginning with the succession of the child Tongzhi. The first group was led by the child-emperor's uncle, PRINCE GONG (Kung), and the Manchu officials who assisted him in conducting foreign affairs. They saw to the implementation of the Treaties of Beijing with Britain, France, and Russia and established new institutions to deal with the Western world. They were the Zongli Yamen (Tsunli Yamen, forerunner of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); the Superintendencies of Trade for the Northern and Southern Ports that supervised trade with the Western nations; the Tongwenguan (T'ung-wen kuan), a school to train students in Western languages and also to teach new subjects; and the Maritime Customs Service to collect customs as mandated by the treaties. Young men were also sent to study in the United States in the 1870s. Prince Gong also had works on international law translated into Chinese and sent retiring U.S. minister to China ANSON BURLINGAME and Chinese diplomats as roving ambassadors to Western nations to renegotiate treaties for China.

The second group of leaders was Han Chinese who worked with Prince Gong. They were governors of provinces and leaders of local armies that defeated various rebels and began a process of modernization in areas they governed. The foremost among them was ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan), who formed a militia to defend his native Hunan Province from the Taiping rebels. His able lieutenants, most notably LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang) and ZHO ZONGTANG (Tso Tsung-t'ang), also formed militias in Anhui and Zhejiang (Chekiang) Provinces.

Together these men defeated the Taiping Rebellion in 1864, the NIAN REBELLION in 1868, followed by the MUSLIM REBELLIONS. Zeng, Li, Zho and their colleagues were scholars-administrators-generals whose military victories were accompanied by genuine reforms based on traditional Confucian principles that led to economic recovery.

They, as well as Prince Gong, were also keenly aware of Western military and technological superiority and were quick to employ Western military experts such as CHARLES GORDON of Britain to train Chinese soldiers in Western techniques of fighting and the use of modern Western firearms. They additionally established new arsenals, shipyards, and factories to manufacture arms. As provincial governors, these men also strove to modernize China's economy by opening mines and building industries.

However, as China's defeat by France in 1885, and the much more catastrophic defeat by Japan in

1895 showed, the Self-Strengthening Movement failed effectively to modernize China and ensure its survival from imperialist encroachments. Many factors explain this failure. Foremost was the lack of leadership in the central government. Prince Gong was increasingly sidelined and finally dismissed by the ambitious and power-hungry mother of Tongzhi, the dowager empress CIXI (Tz'u-hsi), whose extravagance and ignorance of the world plunged China into repeated disasters. For example, she siphoned funds intended for building a modern navy to build and furnish a summer palace for herself, with the result that the inadequately equipped fleet was destroyed by Japan in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR. Her corrupt minions pocketed the already inadequate funds needed for reforms and modernization. She also crushed the reform movement initiated by her nephew Emperor Guangxu in 1898, and finally her xenophobia led to the catastrophe of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

That she was able to abort all reform and self-strengthening initiatives and eliminate their leaders also showed the strength of conservatism among Chinese officials who clung to their visions of the past and rejected the modern world and reactionary Manchus who feared the loss of power. These men gave her support. Many other factors contributed to the long term failure of the attempt at dynastic revival. One was the huge size and diversity of China and the strength of its culture and traditions. Because China had in past eras been defeated by neighboring peoples, but had eventually absorbed and overpowered them, many failed to realize that the Western incursion was fundamentally different in nature and could not be dealt in the same way. Also, those "Restoration" movements in the past that had succeeded had invariably been led by a powerful national leader aided by dedicated lieutenants. Both Tongzhi and Guangxu came to the throne as very young boys (the latter was chosen and adopted by Cixi precisely because he was only three years old), necessitating long regencies. Thus, Cixi ruled China from 1862 until she died in 1908. By the time of her death, the Self-Strengthening Movement collapsed, and the European great powers and Japan were on the verge of carving up China.

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JIU-HWA LO UP SHUR

## Toussaint Louverture

(1744–1803) *Haitian rebel leader*

Symbol of slaves' struggles for freedom and dignity in the age of revolution, the onetime house slave Toussaint Louverture assumed leadership of the HAITIAN REVOLUTION soon after its outbreak in August 1791. For more than a decade Toussaint led the island's ex-slave insurgent forces—first as an independent rebel chieftain; then, after the French abolition of slavery on the island in 1793, on the side of the French against the British and Spanish; then, as a renegade French officer after the decision of NAPOLEON I to retake the island and reestablish slavery. In June 1802 at the height of the French invasion, Toussaint was betrayed by his own men, turned over to Napoleon's army, transported in chains to Brest, and then to Fort-de-Joux prison in the Jura Mountains in France. Within the year he died of privation and ill-treatment, though by this time his name had become legendary in his native Saint-Domingue (Haiti) and throughout much of the Atlantic world.

Toussaint's father was the son of a minor African chieftain, captured in war, sold into slavery, and transported to the French colony of Saint-Domingue, the most productive sugar-producing region in the world. At the time, more than 90 percent of the approximately 30,000 African slaves imported annually into Saint-Domingue toiled in the sugarcane fields and died within their first seven years. Thanks to luck and the benevolence of a kind master, Toussaint's father was among a tiny stratum of slaves who enjoyed certain freedoms and privileges. He converted to Catholicism, married, and was charged with cultivating a plot of land to provision the plantation near the northern port city of Cap-François. His eldest child, Toussaint Bréda as he was known, learned to read and write French and Latin, thanks to the tutelage of his godfather and neighbor, the house slave Pierre Baptiste. Reading Caesar's *Commentaries*, the writings of the Abbé Raynal, and

other works gave Toussaint a grounding in the nature of history and the politics of empire. He also became an herbalist and healer. Of unusual aptitude and intelligence, he assumed key responsibilities on his master's estate, including coachman and stock steward, and earned a reputation in the community as a man of recititude and learning.

In September 1791, a month after the outbreak of the slave uprising that would engulf the island for more than a decade, "Old Toussaint" as he was known, age 45, abandoned his master's estate and joined the rebel ranks. Soon he became one of their top leaders. On April 29, 1793, the French abolished slavery throughout Saint-Domingue, hoping to quell the slave uprising and more effectively prosecute the war against the British and Spanish. Toussaint, who had changed his surname to Louverture ("the opening"), brought his 4,000-strong army to the French side. In 1796 he was named brigadier-general, in command of all French forces on Saint-Domingue. Under Toussaint's leadership, in April 1798, the British were finally driven from the island, after a five-year campaign and at the cost of some 25,000 British lives. Before departing, the British had encouraged Toussaint to rebel against the French and declare independence; he refused. In February 1799 a mulatto army led by André Rigaud rebelled against Toussaint; by August 1800 Toussaint had crushed Rigaud's rebellion.

Meanwhile Toussaint sought to restore some semblance of order to the island's economy. He revived its sugar plantations, compelled former slaves back to work as wage-earners, and promulgated a series of laws regarding labor, land ownership, and taxes. He also established diplomatic relations with the United States. Anticipating Napoleon's invasion, he purchased some 30,000 guns from the United States and distributed them among his forces. On January 26, 1801, he marched into Spanish Santo Domingo, unifying the island's eastern and western regions. He also promulgated a new constitution, permanently abolishing slavery and making Saint-Domingue effectively independent. On June 7, 1802, he was betrayed and turned over to the invading French. In the decades following his death in France, Toussaint's remarkable life became the subject of songs, stories, poems, novels, plays, and oral traditions that paid homage to the honor, courage, and martyrdom of the liberator of Haiti.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## transcendentalism

In its 1836–46 heyday, the New England–based religious, intellectual, and social movement known as transcendentalism fostered a truly American literature and inspired important social reforms, including ABOLITION OF SLAVERY and new roles for women. Although it was never a mass movement, its adherents' attempts to harmonize human freedom with religious belief, social responsibility, and the natural order continue to resonate in today's American culture. Transcendentalism was deeply influenced by the romantic movement that swept Europe in the wake of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION and the FRENCH

REVOLUTION. Young Americans—children of the early 19th century—found themselves drawn to new ideas about how to interact with nature and find personal authenticity and wholeness. In so doing, they challenged old-line religious beliefs, questioned the growing INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, and energized emerging notions of American democracy. Well educated (many were Harvard graduates) and more urban than most Americans of their time, most who called themselves transcendentalists were clergy, writers, and teachers living in and near Boston.

### RALPH WALDO EMERSON

In the beginning what became known as transcendentalism was mainly a revolt against many of the teachings and assumptions of the New England religious establishment. As Massachusetts, established as a Puritan “City on a Hill” in the early 17th century, evolved toward Unitarianism in the early 19th century, some church leaders and members came to see their modern creed as excessively rationalistic and inadequate to modern challenges. Bostonian Ralph Waldo Emerson was destined to follow in his Unitarian minister father's respectable footsteps. When his 20-year-old wife died of tuberculosis in 1831, the young Harvard graduate was plunged into doubt, finding his own preaching of religious certitude of little comfort. Resigning his ministry at Boston's Second Unitarian Church, Emerson went to Europe, learning French, German, and Italian and meeting such key romantic advocates as essayist Thomas Carlyle and poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth.

By the 1830s the former minister was traveling the American lyceum circuit, preaching lay sermons to men and women seeking moral and intellectual improvement. In his famous 1841 lecture, “Self-Reliance,” Emerson urged people to think, and rethink, for themselves, saying “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines . . . To be great is to be misunderstood.” Revered and attacked, admired, imitated, and sometimes mocked as a disembodied “transparent eyeball,” Emerson was the intellectual and personal center of the coterie of like-minded thinkers and doers who were the transcendentalists. He is generally considered to be America's first public intellectual and first philosopher of the evolving republic.

### OTHER IMPORTANT TRANSCENDENTALISTS

Emerson's circle was marked by deep intellectual and personal friendships that could at times become



competitive or even petty. Transcendentalism tried to unleash human potential rather than codify it, and transcendentalists tended toward independence rather than orthodoxy. In the process, adherents made important contributions to the slavery and labor questions of their day and rethought education and women's rights.

### HENRY DAVID THOREAU

The person most closely associated with Emerson, Thoreau is best known for his two-year experiment in natural living at Walden Pond and his formulation of "civil disobedience," the idea that free people of conscience can, and indeed must, refuse to go along with unjust government actions. A Harvard graduate like his mentor, Thoreau worked to develop practical skills and showed a real talent for making do with available resources. In important ways, he embodied the self-reliant man of Emerson's orations. Thoreau wrote his essay, "Resistance to Civil Government," after he was arrested at Walden in 1846 by Concord's sheriff for refusing (for a sixth time) to pay a poll tax because he felt it aided Massachusetts's participation in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, a war that many believed was being fought to preserve and expand slavery. "Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them . . . ?" Thoreau asked. "The authority of government . . . can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it." He served a night in jail; the essay became an inspiration for later activists.

### MARGARET FULLER

Cofounder with Emerson of the influential but short-lived quarterly *The Dial*, Fuller was later an assistant editor and foreign correspondent for the *New-York Tribune* and one of America's earliest exponents of women's rights. In her essays and an influential 1845 book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, Fuller argued that the kinds of self-realization and personal fulfillment advocated by transcendental thinking must also be available to women. "As men become aware that all men have not had their fair chance," she wrote in the July 1843 *Dial*, "they are inclined to say that no women have had a fair chance." Fuller died in a shipwreck near New York as she returned from Italy with her husband and young son, who both also drowned.

### THEODORE PARKER

Parker, a controversial minister, was forced out of the Unitarian Church. Although he had doubts about the intellectual equality of black people, he became an enthusiastic transcendentalist and a leader of the

antislavery movement. A foe of the Mexican War like Thoreau, Parker led opposition in the Boston area to federal efforts to enforce the new Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, going so far as to hide an escaped slave in his home. Even more controversially, he helped finance arms purchases that helped antislavery zealot John Brown and others fight slaveholding settlers in the disputed Kansas-Nebraska Territory and enabled Brown to launch his failed raid on a U.S. armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859.

### ORESTES A. BROWNSON

Born in Vermont, Brownson was a lifelong religious seeker who ultimately became a Roman Catholic. During his years as an important transcendentalist, Brownson focused on inequitable treatment of workers, both free and enslaved. A socialist and editor of his own Boston-based journal, Brownson saw the gap between the wealthy and laboring classes growing disastrously in violation of God's law and the supposed equality promised by American democracy. "What in one word is this American system?" he asked in 1840. "Is it not the abolition of all artificial distinctions, all social advantages founded on birth or any other accident, and leaving every man to stand on his own feet . . . ?"

### BRONSON ALCOTT

Best known today as the often-absent father of *Little Women* author Louisa May Alcott, the self-educated Alcott pioneered new educational methods, some of which have continued to influence American schooling. Children, he believed, should not be forced to learn a rigid curriculum but taught ways to open their minds to a world of knowledge. The child, he wrote, "is the Book. The operations of his mind are the true system." Although his ideas were controversial, partly because he disdained corporal punishment, Alcott was eventually appointed superintendent of Concord's public schools. Less successful was Fruitlands, the agricultural community Alcott and a British friend founded in a rural Massachusetts town in 1843. It lasted just six months, done in by rules that included cold-water showers, strict vegetarianism, sexual abstinence, and opposition to animal exploitation so strict that colonists could not use horses or oxen to clear land for farming.

### GEORGE RIPLEY AND THE BROOK FARM EXPERIMENT

Brook Farm, an experiment in communal living on a transcendental plane, proved more durable than

Alcott's Fruitlands but collapsed in 1847 after six years of financial struggle, infighting, a disastrous fire, and a smallpox outbreak. Located on a 200-acre West Roxbury, Massachusetts, dairy farm, the "colony" was the brainchild of Unitarian minister George Ripley, his wife, Sophia, and other committed transcendentalists.

In the wake of 1837's socially destructive U.S. financial panic, ideas of economic self-sufficiency, the ennoblement of manual labor, and the in-gathering of likeminded intellectuals seemed especially appealing. Brook Farm's founders were also influenced by the social thought of Frenchman Charles Fourier, whose American adherents would eventually gain control of this experiment in group living.

Although Emerson was unenthusiastic about Ripley's proposed "city of God," planning proceeded apace in 1840–41. During a very cold and wet spring, the Ripleys and a dozen supporters—most lacking any agricultural experience whatsoever—took up residence at the farm. In 1842 a school of college-preparatory caliber was established at Brook Farm, attracting some of the cream of New England society as students and teachers. The settlement quickly became a magnet for tourists, transcendentalists, and Fourierists, but its poor soil and inadequate financing, as well as a series of disasters, led to its demise. As the community failed, George Ripley auctioned off his personal library in a vain effort to save the foundering utopian enterprise.

### LITERARY RENAISSANCE

Emerson immersed himself in the ideas, poetry, and literature of early 19th-century Europe, but he and other transcendentalists were also convinced that their countrymen and -women must and could create a uniquely American voice in all the arts, especially fiction and poetry. Eventually, writers who were not always best sellers in their own time would be canonized by 20th-century critics and are still considered among the most important the United States ever produced.

### NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

An early settler and major investor in Brook Farm, Hawthorne was the descendant of Puritan elders, among them participants in the Salem witch trials. In 1852, 10 years after he spent more than six months milking cows and spreading manure, he satirized Brook Farm in his novel *The Blithedale Romance*. More important were novels such as *The Scarlet Letter* and short stories, including "Young Goodman Brown," in

which Hawthorne examined darker aspects of theology and human behavior.

### HERMAN MELVILLE

A strong admirer and interpreter of Hawthorne's work, Melville, a New Yorker, first gained notice as the writer of popular seafaring stories based on his own experiences. His later stories and novels, including "Bartleby the Scrivener," *Benito Cereno*, and *Moby-Dick* (dedicated to Hawthorne) were much bleaker, exploring issues of slavery, race, and madness before and after the CIVIL WAR. His sales languished during his lifetime but were revived by positive critical attention in the 1920s and later.

### WALT WHITMAN

Born on a failing Long Island farm, Whitman was an itinerant teacher, printer, and editor whose poetry collection, *Leaves of Grass*, later much expanded, burst on the scene in 1855. "I greet you at the beginning of a great career," Emerson wrote to the previously unknown poet days after its publication. Emerson viewed Whitman as the ideal poet he had proposed in an 1844 essay. An active opponent of slavery, Whitman used his poetry to mourn the violence of war as he nursed injured Union soldiers.

His poem "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed" lamented ABRAHAM LINCOLN's assassination. Whitman's poetry celebrated ordinary men and women. That, and his radical use of free verse—characterized by some as "barbaric yawp"—became key aspects of his truly "American" poetics.

### ENDURING SIGNIFICANCE

Always controversial in its own time, transcendentalism gained new respect and importance in the 20th century, as educators, literary critics, and social activists found in its teachings and experiments new energy and new lessons for the United States and other societies. In Thoreau, such social critics as Mohandas K. Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and American anti-Vietnam war protestors found inspiration and justification for their opposition to colonialism, racism, and arrogant political power. Educational programs that seem to borrow from the child-centered focus of Alcott and others have met both praise and scorn in America and Europe. Emersonian concepts of self-reliance and personal fulfillment, sometimes credited with improving American public life, have also been blamed for encouraging a "culture of narcissism." Transcendentalism continues to transcend its own historical place and time.

See also FINANCIAL PANICS IN NORTH AMERICA; WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, RIGHTS, AND ROLES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Triple Alliance and Triple Entente (1882)

Between 1882 and 1914 western Europe divided between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. The division allowed the preservation of an uneasy peace despite periodic disruptions, particularly in the Balkans.

The map of Europe experienced major alterations in 1871 with the creation of the German Empire and the kingdom of Italy. Under OTTO VON BISMARCK Germany's main foreign policy goal was to keep France from becoming strong enough to take revenge for the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR (1870–71) defeat and to fulfill its desire to retake Alsace and Lorraine. Germany allied with Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Three Emperors' League. Russia and Austria-Hungary, however, were at odds with one another over the Balkans and the Russian-backed Pan-Slavic movement, which threatened to break up the multinational Austria-Hungary by unifying Slavs. Pan-Slavism became a greater menace after the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) created a Bulgarian state. The CONGRESS OF BERLIN in 1878 broke the Three Emperors' League. In 1879 Bismarck and Austria-Hungary formed the secret Dual Alliance.

Germany and Austria-Hungary shared extensive common borders. Many regions of Austria were German-speaking, and both wanted to expand; Austria particularly had territorial ambitions in the Balkans. However, Austria was a fading empire, while Germany was young and ambitious. Germany soon dominated the alliance.

Italy joined the Dual Alliance to form the Triple Alliance in 1882. Italy was an off-and-on enemy of Austria because it coveted the same lands, but France occupied Tunisia in 1881 and blocked Italy's ambitions for an African empire. The Triple Alliance eased differences between Italy and Austria and gave Italy promises of aid against French aggression. Italy's

promise of aid against French attack helped Germany, whose agreement with Austria had no mutual assistance provision.

The treaty was secret and temporary. The signatories renewed it in 1887 and 1903. In 1903 Italy canceled its promise to assist Germany against a French attack. In 1902 France secretly gave Italy free rein in Tripoli (present-day Libya in North Africa), thereby ending Italy's anger at France. Italy was free to resume its rivalry with Austria in the Adriatic.

In 1882 Serbia joined a treaty with Austria-Hungary. Romania joined in 1883. The result was a powerful bloc in central Europe. Such a powerful combination called for a counterweight, and the powers on the periphery—France, Russia, and Britain—responded accordingly.

The Triple Alliance collapsed in 1914 at the onset of World War I when Italy argued that Serbia committed no aggression and declined to join her partners in war. The remaining alliance powers held together against the Triple Entente.

When Germany refused to renew its treaty with Russia, Russia turned to France, which wanted an ally against a united and hostile central Europe. The two signed an understanding in 1891, a military agreement in 1893, and the Franco-Russian Dual Alliance of 1894, made public in 1895.

Germany under Wilhelm II was aggressively seeking colonies and building a powerful navy. In response, the traditionally standoffish Britain sought allies. France was a traditional enemy and current rival in Africa. Anti-German Théophile Delcasse became French foreign minister in 1898. In 1901 Francophile Edward VII became king of Great Britain. In 1904 France and Britain signed the Entente Cordiale, an agreement of friendship but not military aid. After Russia lost the Russo-Japanese War, English rivalries with Russia in Asia cooled. Russia joined the Triple Entente in 1907. Europe, therefore, was divided and ready for an event that would spark a major confrontation.

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JOHN H. BARNHILL

## Tunisia under French rule

In 1881 a French expeditionary force attacked Tunisia from Algeria and along the coast. The French forced the local ruling bey, Muhammad al-Sadiq, to sign the Treaty of Bardo that agreed to a French occupation of Tunisia. France was interested in controlling Tunisia in order to guard the eastern border with Algeria (already under French control) and to stop Italian expansion into North Africa.

During the CONGRESS OF BERLIN in 1878, the British and Germans had agreed to French control over Tunisia. Meanwhile, the British expanded their imperial control over Egypt, in 1881–82.

The resident-minister Paul Cambon legalized the French position with the Convention of Marsa in 1883, whereby Tunisia became a French protectorate. Although the position of the bey was retained, the French appointed a resident-general who became the real ruler of Tunisia. The French legal system was introduced, and the monetary system was based on the French franc. A customs union with France was established, and the French exercised a monopoly over tobacco plantations.

Tunisia was divided into military and political zones with civil controllers. The government allowed immigrants from France and Italy settle in Tunisia, but unlike the situation in Algeria, where French *colons* often received free land, in Tunisia European settlers had to buy the land. Italian immigrants outnumbered French settlers until the 1930s. Under the French, areas of cultivation, particularly vineyards for the production of wine, a substance forbidden to the majority Muslim Tunisian population, were expanded. The French

also supported the growth of industry and the mining of phosphates while modernizing and expanding the ports and railway systems. Education was based on the French model, with French as the primary language and Arabic as the second language. Vocational schools were established on the elementary level, but state schools took only a small percentage of children. The vast differences in education and social opportunities afforded European settlers and the indigenous Tunisian population contributed to urban elite Tunisians trying to reestablish their identity. Some advocated assimilating Western technology and political approaches and cooperating with the French regime. Others favored reviving Islamic traditions and customs.

Shaikh Abd al-'Aziz al-Tha'alibi founded a newspaper in 1895 in which these ideas were discussed. Al-Tha'alibi became one of the foremost leaders of the first generation of Tunisian nationalists. Tunisian nationalism flourished as Tunisians resisted French rule. A young Tunisian educated elite also emerged from Sadiqiyya College, which had been established during KHAYR AL-DIN's administration in the mid-19th century; many Sadiqiyya graduates became the leaders of the Tunisia nationalist movement in the 20th century.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY





## ultramontanism

Ultramontanism literally means “over the mountains,” and it implies that there are two views of how the Catholic Church should be governed. One view sees leadership as a centralized and unified papacy (in Rome, over the Alps from the rest of Europe) and the other looks for local control and a national church (the church of France or Germany or any other country). Ultramontanism is the former view; Gallicanism is the latter.

For centuries, theologians had speculated on the position and authority of the Roman papacy, and often the pope was seen as the center and coordinator of the whole church. The urgency of these thoughts became apparent as the Protestant reformation began and challenged church unity.

The first phase of ultramontanism is often called Romanism. It was promulgated by the forces of the Counter-Reformation and later championed by Robert Bellarmine. The bishops of the Council of Trent swallowed their objections to the claims of the papacy if only to stem the tide of Protestant defections among their flocks. Ironically, Trent reformed the Catholic Church by depositing even greater powers in the pope.

Momentum returned to the Catholic Church as a result of Romanist ultramontanism. All countries adopted it at least externally, even the actively independent regions of France and Germany. The Jesuit order served Romanism well, with its worldwide efforts to propagate the Catholic faith now held together by a focus on the

pope. Some of its characteristics include a strong hierarchy; a restriction of access to foundational texts like the Bible, the liturgy, and even theological texts; a folk piety that celebrated feasts, the “Sacred Heart,” and Marian devotions; and an expansionistic faith opposed to toleration of sects and supportive of conversions.

As time went on, the Romanists lost ground to the Gallicanism, as promoted by the likes of Louis XIV of France. At this time the word *ultramontanism* came into parlance, as national church identities revived and the enthusiasm of the Protestants waned. All this changed with the FRENCH REVOLUTION, when the monarchy and its Gallican agents were deposed.

Again, the need for a strong papacy was felt, giving birth to the next phase called neo-ultramontanism. Many Catholics believed that the French Revolution’s anticlericalism and godless ideology were a direct result of the Protestant reformation as intensified later by the ENLIGHTENMENT. This phase witnessed at times flirtation with liberal ideals of democracy among the laity, but with the REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, ultramontanism became soundly autocratic in its support of the papacy.

Pope PIUS IX led the Catholic Church into the first VATICAN I COUNCIL and rejected not only Gallicanism but all forms of liberal Catholicism. Among the ultramontanist positions it adopted were an emphasis on the juridical role of the pope over his supernatural role, more emotional devotions toward such things as the Blessed Sacrament and the Virgin Mary, a focus on Marian apparitions and pilgrimages, and attention on the centralized and authoritative church under the pope.

Between Vatican I and Vatican II, ultramontanism was effectively synonymous with orthodox Catholicism. Today the victory is so complete that the term has largely fallen out of usage.

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MARK F. WHITTERS

## Urabi revolt in Egypt

The Urabi revolt was a nationalist-led movement that led to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. When ISMAIL was forced to step down as khedive, Tewfik, a weak pro-British ruler, replaced him in 1879. Under the Caisse de la Dette, government revenues went to repay the enormous debts Ismail's overly ambitious building schemes had incurred. This resulted in economic hardships, particularly in the agricultural sector where most Egyptians worked as peasant, or fellaheen, farmers. Cutbacks in military expenditures led to public discontent in the army that fueled nationalist sentiments. Secret nationalist societies were also formed.

In 1880 army officers led by Ahmed Urabi drew up a petition listing their grievances, particularly failures to pay their salaries in a timely fashion. The officers also forestalled their possible arrest on the orders of Tewfik by storming the war ministry. In 1881 Urabi accompanied with a large group of demonstrators gathered outside Abdin Palace in Cairo, where Urabi presented the demands to Tewfik. Flanked by the English financial controller, Tewfik met with Urabi and agreed to the demands that included the writing of a new constitution. A negotiated settlement was reached through the intermediary efforts of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, an English aristocrat and traveler. A new constitution and parliament were duly formed. To Tewfik's displeasure, the parliament demanded control over Egypt's finances, and Urabi was made defense minister.

In London, British officials felt it was time to formalize British control in Egypt. Riots in Alexandria caused widespread panic among the Europeans living in the city and resulted in a number of deaths in 1882. The British used the riots as an excuse to move ships into Alexandria's harbor. They then demanded that

Urabi, who was in actual control of the government, to halt all military preparations. When Urabi predictably refused, the British bombarded the city and landed troops. The British defeated the Egyptian army in a surprise attack at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir and within a day had occupied Cairo. Urabi surrendered and was subsequently tried for treason. Blunt, who opposed the British occupation, arranged for Urabi's defense by English counsel, but the verdict was a foregone conclusion.

Fearing that Urabi might become a martyr to the nationalist cause if he were executed, the British arranged for his exile to Ceylon. Urabi was permitted to return in 1901 to Egypt, where he lived in virtual anonymity until his death in 1911. After some debate, the British government decided to retain its control over the Egypt, and the British were to remain a major political and military power in Egypt until a military-led revolution in 1952.

See also BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

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JANICE J. TERRY

## Uruguay, creation of

Uruguay is a buffer state sandwiched between the two giants of South America—Argentina and Brazil. During the colonial period, Spain and Portugal fought over control of the area, and their former respective colonies, Argentina and Brazil, later took over the quarrel.

The first Spaniard in what is now Uruguay was Juan Díaz de Solís, when he explored the Río de la Plata. His death at the hands of Indians set the stage for a two-century-long struggle after the western shore of Buenos Aires across the estuary was settled in 1580; Uruguay did not receive permanent settlements. For a time some Jesuits attempted religious missions and faced opposition from the Charruas, the fierce tribe who occupied the area that became Uruguay. The native population was not subdued and was instead essentially eliminated



*Plaza de Constitución in the capital of Montevideo, Uruguay, at the turn of the century. Located between Argentina and Brazil, Uruguay has been a buffer state between its more powerful neighbors.*

by 1800. There were no permanent settlements by the Spaniards in the 17th century.

Into this vacuum came the Portuguese. Having been under Spanish rule between 1580 and 1640, and not formally independent until 1667, the Portuguese wanted to make up for lost time, especially in their largest colony of Brazil. In 1688 the Portuguese began a colony called appropriately Colonia in what is now northern Uruguay. They based their claim on the Treaty of Tordesillas and the papal bull of 1494, which gave Portugal claim to Brazil. The Portuguese argued that the territory was an extension of Brazil, specifically its province Rio Grande do Sol (the area around São Paulo) that resembled what is present-day Uruguay in terms of climate and topography.

The Spanish countered when they established Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, on the eastern

shore of Uruguay. Colonia was taken and retaken several times in the ensuing century as Spain and Portugal struggled over the territory between the Río de la Plata and the Uruguay River, which came to be called the Banda Oriental del Uruguay, on the eastern shore of Uruguay.

When the War of Independence began in 1810, a native of Uruguay, Artigas, took control of the independence movement of the Spanish provinces of the Plata region, such as Buenos Aires and Cordova (the heart of modern-day Argentina). With his power, he was able to propose a federal system of all of the Plata provinces, which included the autonomy of the Banda Oriental.

In 1816 the Portuguese, still in possession of Brazil, invaded the country on the pretext of trying to restore order. The people of the Banda, or Uruguay as the province came to be called, had become independent



and resisted the Portuguese for four years until they were finally overcome.

By 1825 the Portuguese had withdrawn from Brazil, and Uruguay again assumed its independence and, with Argentine aid, obtained it after a war with Brazil formally ended by the Treaty of Montevideo in 1828. This became reality in 1830 when a republic was established. Uruguay was aided by the turmoil existing in Brazil during the minority of Don Pedro before 1841. In addition, Brazil was struggling to overcome the secession attempt of Rio Grande do Sol.

After 1830 Argentina, under JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS, dictator of Buenos Aires, was the threat to Uruguay as it sought to unite all the Plata provinces under its leadership. The country kept its integrity through the military and naval successes of Garibaldi at San Antonio and Cerro were successful in safeguarding the independence of Uruguay, ironically with some Brazilian aid in the 1840s. From 1843 to 1851 allies of Rosas blockaded Montevideo, but by 1851 the siege had ended. By that date, Argentina and Brazil accepted the independent existence of Uruguay as long as the other party did not control it. Uruguay was the result of the balance of power between the two giants.

See also BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE TO REPUBLIC IN; LATIN AMERICA, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM IN.

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NORMAN C. ROTHMAN

## Usman Dan Fodio

(1754–1817) *West African reformer*

Usman Dan Fodio, also known by the Hausa honorific *shehu* (sheikh), was a West African scholar and religious reformer of the Fulani ethnic group who led a successful early 19th-century Islamic jihad in Hausaland, modern-day northern Nigeria. The jihad led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the most significant 19th-century independent African state, with regard to both size and impact on the local region's history.

Usman Dan Fodio was born in 1754 at Maratta within the Hausa state of Gobir but spent his formative years in the town of Degel. His father was a learned member of the Qadiriyya Sufi order and provided Usman and his brother Abdulahi with the highest Islamic education available to them. In the traditional Islamic manner, he traveled throughout Hausaland and as far away as the Saharan city of Agadez, studying under various teachers. At around age 20, he became an itinerant preacher and teacher while still completing his studies. In Degel, he quickly gained a following of devoted disciples, which encouraged him to travel to other Hausa states, where he met with further success in attracting students. Emboldened, he and his followers began calling on the nominal Muslim rulers in Hausaland to accept and practice orthodox Islam and remove non-Islamic customs and rituals from their courts. Dan Fodio went further and called into question the local rulers' taxation and enslavement of his Fulani brethren, as well as the arbitrary confiscation of peasant property. The *shehu's* growing following and the social and political arguments he raised put him at odds with much of the ruling class in Hausaland. Thus, he was forced to flee Degel when the sultan of Gobir sent forces against him.

In 1804 the *shehu* and his followers regrouped. He was named *amir al-mumineen*, or commander of the faithful, and announced a call for a jihad campaign against Gobir. Years prior to this call, the *shehu* had had a series of visions in which he believed that the prophet Muhammad and Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, founder of the Qadiriyya order, instructed him to pick up the "Sword of Truth" in order for his followers to defend themselves from increasingly hostile rulers. Filled with conviction and fervor, an army of inferiorly armed Fulani scholars, clansmen, and Hausa peasants set forth to destroy the larger, better-equipped army of the sultan of Gobir. The *shehu* never led an army nor fought in a battle; his role was purely spiritual and consultative. He left the military campaigning to his generals, including his brother Abdullahi and son Muhammadu Bello.

The *shehu's* forces won a series of decisive battles and within four years had gained control of almost all of Hausaland and much of neighboring Bornu. From this amalgamation of lands was created the Sokoto Caliphate. In 1812 the *shehu* split rule of the Sokoto Caliphate between Abdullahi and Muhammadu Bello, and he withdrew into a scholarly and spiritual life. He continued teaching and writing but remained distant from the political dealings within the caliphate.

A key element throughout Dan Fodio's reform movement was his writings. He authored more than 100 works in both his native Fulfulde and Arabic; some of his works were later translated into Hausa but were not originally written in that language. Most works were prose, but a substantial portion were in verse. One of his early works clarified that anyone who subscribed to the religion and carried out their religious duties was a Muslim and deserved all rights and freedoms to be afforded to the brethren, including slaves who were Muslim. This was not the traditional practice in Hausaland at the time, which allowed for lower-class Muslims to be enslaved.

Some of his most important works were written during the jihad, which established the ground rules for warfare and defined those who were to be considered Muslim (nontargets of jihad) and those who were non-Muslims (targets of jihad). This was important, since all of the leaders the jihad was directed against were at least nominally Muslim. However, Dan Fodio made clear that if rulers allowed non-Muslim practices in their lands or deviated from strict orthodoxy, they were legitimate targets of his campaign. In this regard, he drew from a controversial discussion some three centuries earlier between Askia Muhammad Touré, ruler of the Songhai Empire, and the scholar Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, when the former was expanding the holdings his empire into some areas having nominal Muslim rul-

ers, including Hausaland. After the jihad was completed and the Sokoto Caliphate established, the *shehu's* works showed moderation and more tolerance of non-Islamic practices occurring within state boundaries.

Usman Dan Fodio died in the capital city of Sokoto in April 1817, leaving a legacy of 37 children and hundreds of grandchildren who continued to be important players in the political, social, and religious landscape of Sokoto for generations. This included his daughter Asma'u, a prolific writer and important chronicler of the jihad and the development of Sokoto. Usman Dan Fodio's ideas for Islamic reformation in West Africa remained influential well into the late 19th century, manifesting themselves in the continued spread of Islam and sporadic calls to jihad.

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BRENT D. SINGLETON





## Vatican I Council (1869–1870)

Pope Pius IX began laying the groundwork for the first Vatican Council in late 1864. He intended to consult various bishops throughout the world concerning whether the church should convene an ecumenical council and what its agenda should be. The responses were favorable enough that Pius IX announced on June 26, 1867, his intention to summon the Council. On June 29, 1868, a proclamation, or bull, was written announcing December 8, 1869, as the day the Council would solemnly begin.

Throughout Europe and America, critics asserted that the pope's hidden agenda was to promote papal infallibility.

On the eve of the Council, however, official papers showed the following agenda: errors resulting from Rationalism; the Church of Christ; Christian marriage; church discipline concerning bishops, dioceses, seminaries, catechism, rituals, Christian morals, customs of the church year, and current developments in society such as dueling, spiritualism and secret societies; decrees on religious orders; and concerns involving the Eastern Churches.

In addition, many Catholic bishops throughout the world demanded that a dogma concerning the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary be addressed, that St. Joseph be proclaimed Patron of the Universal Church, and that the infallibility of the pope be clearly defined. A document concerning infallibility was not found in any of the drafts of preparation.

The preliminary gathering for Vatican I began as close to 500 bishops met in the Sistine Chapel on December 2, 1869. Approximately 74 percent of the eligible 1,050 worldwide prelates played some role in the nine-month proceedings. All told, the Council Fathers sat at 89 general congregations and four public sessions.

The first debate of the council was on the errors resulting from rationalism. This philosophy places human reason as the supreme criterion of truth. It flows from the teachings of Gottfried Leibniz and Christian Wolff and can be characterized by spiritualism, dogmatism, and determinism. The church wished to address the weaknesses of these philosophies and offer a Catholic response to them.

The next topics to be discussed concerned bishops, dioceses without a bishop, morality among clerics, and a catechism. These items were sidelined throughout the proceedings by the growing desire among many of the bishops for a statement on papal infallibility. Meanwhile, pressures were being felt by the bishops that impeded the progress of the council, so the pope made some procedural changes that expedited decision making. One important result was the "constitution," *De Fide Catholica*, promulgated on April 24, 1870.

Finally, on May 9, participants received a draft of *De Romano Pontifice*, a document that spelled out the dogma of papal infallibility. Debate about this issue continued through June and into July. On July 4 the debate ended, and a vote was called for July 13. By this time many bishops had left Rome on hearing the news



A photo of the Vatican taken during the Vatican I Council. The Council was created by Pope Pius IX as a way to discuss issues within the Catholic Church. While initially controversial, the meetings were eventually accepted by most of the world's Catholic population.

about an imminent war between France and Germany. The remaining fathers voted 75 percent affirmative, another 10 percent affirmative with conditions, and 15 percent negative. On July 18 the pope personally presided over the Council and a last vote was taken. The results of the vote were 433 to 2 in favor of the document, and it was immediately promulgated.

On September 8 troops from Piedmont entered the Papal States, and by September 20 they had reached Rome. Pius IX would from that day forward be a self-imposed prisoner in the Vatican.

Unfortunately, the council did not address a large number of drafts and proposals due to the political situation that brought Vatican I to a premature end. However, two constitutions were promulgated, and these are of great importance to the Catholic Church.

*De Fide Catholica* fortified Rome's defense against the errors of atheism, materialism, and rationalism. It affirmed that God exists as a personal and all-knowing God, creating everything from nothing and leading everything to its end. This God can be known by reason, is revealed in Scripture and in tradition, and can be made known to the world by miraculous occurrences. Faith and knowledge support each other and are entrusted to the church to defend and interpret.

*De Romano Pontifice* teaches that the primacy of the pope brings unity and strength to the entire church.

This primacy is one of true pastoral jurisdiction to which all clergy and faithful are bound in obedience. This primacy strengthens and defends local bishops in their ministry. No secular power can interfere with these duties.

Nonetheless, critics of the council emerged in the form of minor reactions and schisms. In Germany, the "Old Catholics" sect arose, and in Switzerland the "Christian Catholics" formed. After the war between France and Germany, the German government used the infallibility doctrine as a reason to encourage *Kulturkampf* ("Culture Struggle," or Secularization). Austria annulled its concordat with the Holy See. Other than these few occurrences, the decisions of Vatican I did not result in objections throughout the world.

On December 8, 1870, Pius IX finally declared St. Joseph as Patron of the Universal Church. Subsequent popes would challenge many of the moral and religious problems that were not addressed by Vatican I, including masonry, human freedom, Christian marriage, forbidden books, and the codification of canon law.

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WILLIAM J. TURNER

## Victor Emmanuel II

(1830–1878) *king of Italy*

Victor Emmanuel II was born on March 14, 1830, in Turin, the eldest son of Charles Albert, king of Piedmont-Sardinia, and Maria Theresa of Habsburg-Lorraine. During the first Italian War of Independence (1848–49), Victor Emmanuel fought alongside his father, seeing action at Pastrengo, Santa Lucia, Goto, and Custoza where, on July 24–25, 1848, the Sardinian forces were driven from Lombardy.

On March 23, 1849, Charles Albert was forced to abdicate the throne after being defeated at the Battle of Novara on March 23—he went into exile in Portugal and died four months later—and Victor Emmanuel became king. He managed to negotiate a peace agreement with the Austrians on August 9, 1849, but the Piedmont Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify it. Victor Emmanuel responded by sacking the prime minister, Claudio Gabriele de Launay, and replacing him with Massimo D’Azeglio. New elections were held, and the new chamber ratified the treaty.

In 1852 Victor Emmanuel appointed Count CAMILLO DI CAVOUR as prime minister, and together they were to be involved in the Italian Risorgimento—the reunification of Italy—along with MAZZINI and GARIBALDI. To achieve this, Cavour persuaded the king that there should be an alliance with the British and the French, and the opportunity arose with the outbreak of the CRIMEAN WAR. Piedmont sent over a small contingent.

Then Victor Emmanuel reached an agreement with the French emperor NAPOLEON III at Plombières in 1858, where Piedmont and France would take part in an attack on Austria and the former would get the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia and the French would be given Nice and Savoy. However, the fighting began badly for the French, with France getting Nice and Savoy, but Piedmont only gaining Lombardy. Cavour resigned, but Victor Emmanuel was able to get Naples and Sicily, in plebiscites, to vote to join Sardinia-Piedmont, and on February 18, 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was established.

In 1866 Venice was added to Italy, and in 1871 the Papal States were annexed, with Rome as the capital.

The taking of Rome was only possible with the French being involved in the FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. It also led to Victor Emmanuel being excommunicated. This was reversed in 1878, just before Victor Emmanuel’s death on January 9, 1878. He was succeeded by his son, Umberto, who reigned until 1900.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Victoria

(1819–1901) *queen of Great Britain, empress of India*

Queen Victoria was born May 24, 1819, acceded to the throne on June 20, 1837 (succeeding William IV), and died January 22, 1901 (succeeded by Edward VII). The woman who wore the crown of the United Kingdom through six decades of great political, economic, and social change in Britain and elsewhere might never have been born at all were it not for a dynastic crisis in 1817. That year, Princess Charlotte, the daughter of the Prince of Wales and second in line to inherit the throne, died due to complications from giving birth, during which her baby also died. Despite the fact that George III and his queen had 15 children, 12 of whom were still alive in 1817, Charlotte had been their only surviving legitimate grandchild.

There were many illegitimate children, such as Prince William’s 10 Fitz Clarences, but these were excluded from the succession. Charlotte’s death thus created a major problem for the Hanoverian line. The king was an incapacitated old man, and his children were mostly unmarried and all in their 40s and 50s, not the prime time to start a family. Nevertheless, the solution was for the unmarried sons of George III to leave their mistresses behind, marry women of appropriate status, and serve their country by producing as many living heirs as possible. As an incentive, Parliament agreed to alleviate some of the debts of the princes if they would settle into family life.

Prince Edward Augustus, the duke of Kent and Strathearn, the father of Queen Victoria, had both financial problems and a mistress. His long, stable, and loving relationship with the French gentlewoman Julie de St. Laurent was practically a common-law marriage, but this counted for nothing in the royal succession. Legislation such as the Settlement Act of 1701 and the

Royal Marriages Act of 1772 placed major restrictions on the choice of marriage partners for members of the royal family, and as a French Catholic without suitable pedigree, Julie was an inappropriate choice on many counts. So Edward, like virtually all of his brothers, went looking for a German Protestant princess to take as his wife. He found Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, a widow and the sister of Prince Leopold, the widower of Princess Charlotte. The couple was married in 1818, and Victoria was born in May 1819. Within a matter of months, other hastily arranged royal matches also produced children, but since none from the more senior dynastic lines survived infancy, Victoria was soon considered to be the most likely grandchild of George III to inherit the throne.

The old king died early in 1820, followed within a week by the duke of Kent. Victoria was thus fatherless from infancy. Her mother, the duchess of Kent, sought to keep her isolated from the courts of both George IV and William IV, partly because she wished to shield her daughter from the corruption of courtly life and partly due to chilly personal relations between the duchess and most of the royal family. Later in life, Victoria would remember George, William, and the other sons of George III as her “wicked uncles.”

The young princess also faced problems closer to home. Her mother was loving but domineering, and she was guided by Sir John Conroy, a former equerry of the duke who became comptroller of the household. There were rumors that Conroy was the duchess’s lover, but in any case, he certainly carried a great deal of influence over her. The two sought increasingly higher pensions from the government (which they would manage on the young princess’s behalf) and also tried to ensure that they would have complete control of the regency if Victoria came to the throne before she turned 18.

The two people to whom Victoria looked for guidance and compassion were her German governess, Baroness Lehzen, and her maternal uncle, Prince LEOPOLD. In 1830 Leopold was chosen to become king of the newly independent Belgium, and he continued to provide his niece with advice and support throughout his life.

### ERA OF GREAT CHANGES

In the summer of 1837 William IV died, secure in the knowledge that Victoria had passed her 18th birthday, and would no longer be subject to the domination of her mother and Conroy. Victoria came to the throne in an era of great changes. A number of European countries had experienced political revolutions in 1830; the

British political landscape had been altered by the 1832 Reform Bill and other initiatives of the Whig government, paving the way for popular demands for even further change, in the form of the Chartist movement. The INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION was changing the British economy and the condition of its cities and people. Practical, steam-driven railways were barely a decade old, but the network of rails rapidly spread across the country. Some people worried that a young “girl” (in the parlance of the time) could not effectively rule a modern, industrial, and imperial state.

As it was, in the early years of her reign Victoria relied heavily on the guidance of her first prime minister, the Whig Lord Melbourne. This posed great risks to the supposed impartiality of the sovereign in the operation of the British constitution. Many conservatives saw the Bedchamber Crisis of 1839, when the queen refused to accept the changes to her household personnel proposed by the Tory leader Robert Peel, as proof of her Whig sympathies. At the time, the queen disliked Peel intensely, but she would grow to respect his abilities later. For the moment, however, her lack of cooperation led Peel to refuse to form a government and kept Melbourne and the Whigs in power for two more years.

### ROMANTIC MATCH

In 1840 Victoria married her first cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Some had suggested that her husband should be chosen for diplomatic reasons, but the queen opted for a romantic match. Although the personalities of the queen and her new husband differed in many respects, their partnership was very effective in both political and domestic affairs.

Albert was somewhat shy and intellectual and never tired of paperwork; Victoria was more outgoing and temperamental and did not mind ceremonies and state functions as Albert did. Together they oversaw the management of the royal family and household, as well as making the monarchy more active and visible in society at large. The Victoria Cross was created during the CRIMEAN WAR to recognize the courage and sacrifice of British soldiers fighting in her name. The Great Exhibition of 1851, which showcased machinery and products from around the world, but above all the ascendancy of Britain’s industrial might, was heavily influenced by Albert’s energy and enthusiasm.

The couple had nine children: Victoria, born in 1840; Albert Edward, the future Edward VII, 1841; Alice, 1842; Alfred, 1844; Helena, 1846; Louise, 1848; Arthur, 1850; Leopold, 1853; and Beatrice, 1857. Although Albert invested so much energy and time in

trying to raise Albert Edward (known as Bertie) to be a good king someday, the prince was a constant source of disappointment to both of his parents.

Even so, the Prince of Wales and his siblings were often sent to distant parts of the empire as emissaries of their mother, which helped to reinforce the sentimental attachment of settler colonies in Canada, Australia, and South Africa to the home country.

Albert's death in 1861 had an enormous influence on Victoria for the rest of her life. Out of devotion to him, she insisted that the routines that were followed while he was alive continue, including making up his rooms and putting out hot water for shaving and washing. She largely retreated from public appearances for decades, except for the unveiling of monuments to Albert around the country. Her continued use of public funds without performing a public role led to popular criticism of the queen and the monarchy as an institution, especially in the 1870s.

Many scholars argue that lacking Albert's counsel, her behavior in politics also changed; whereas during their marriage the royal couple had generally sought to remain above party and to work dutifully with the government of the day, in widowhood Victoria began to show a marked preference for the Conservative Party (especially BENJAMIN DISRAELI) and more antipathy to the Liberals (especially WILLIAM GLADSTONE). She could not singlehandedly decide who would form the government, as some of her predecessors had, but she could make day-to-day administration more or less difficult depending on her prejudices.

Victoria also grew close to two of her male servants: first the Scottish highlander John Brown, with whom many contemporaries and some historians assumed she had an affair, and later the Indian Abdul Karim. Regardless of the precise nature of her relationships with these men, there is no doubt that she was very attached to each of them in turn and found a measure of comfort for her loneliness in their company. At the same time, some people believed that she was being manipulated by such confidants, and her image as Mrs. Brown added fuel to the criticism of the monarchy in the 1870s.

Her popularity was salvaged to a large extent through her increasing association with imperialism and British prestige abroad. Disraeli arranged for her to assume the title of empress of India in 1876, and she became the centerpiece of the great pageants that marked her two jubilees. The Golden Jubilee of 1887 emphasized the respect and goodwill for Britain and the queen from countless foreign dignitaries, although it was also immediately preceded by the Colonial and



*Queen Victoria, one of Great Britain's most influential monarchs, and Prince Albert with their many children*

Indian Exhibition in 1886. The 1897 Diamond Jubilee placed more emphasis on the empire, with multicultural soldiers and statesmen from India, the settler Dominions and other colonies surrounding the queen in a colorful and triumphant display. By this time she had also become the "Grandmother of Europe," through her children and grandchildren marrying into the royal families of Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Greece, Spain, and Romania. By her death at the beginning of the 20th century, Britain was a preeminent global power in political, economic, and military terms, as nearly all of her obituaries declared.

These accomplishments were not the queen's own doing, nor did they only begin to develop after she took the throne. But the great length of her life and reign provided a reassuring veneer of stability and timelessness to an age that saw great and unpredictable changes in every field of human activity, from technology to women's rights. The queen herself was not always an advocate of such transformations, but in



the popular imagination her name and image became inextricably linked with the period and all that happened within it.

The life and times of Queen Victoria continue to fascinate historians and nonhistorians alike. The queen herself is still one of the most talked- and written-about women in history. According to her biographer Walter Arnstein, “only the Virgin Mary, Joan of Arc, and Jane Austen ranked ahead of the queen” in the holdings of the Library of Congress. She was a complex personality, and the firsthand documentary record is vast, encompassing her own diaries, letters, and published works, as well as official papers and the memoirs of many of the people who lived and worked with her over eight decades. With the passage of time and new sources being uncovered, the discussion of Victoria has continually been fed with new opinions and reevaluations. Her biographers are both numerous and diverse: They include a jaded intellectual (Lytton Strachey), a Catholic aristocrat (Elizabeth Longford), and a feminist and communist historian (Dorothy Thompson). Regardless of perspective, most biographers have found both commendable and faulty elements in the queen’s character, and it appears likely that the interest in Queen Victoria will continue for a long time to come.

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CHRISTOPHER TAIT

## Vienna, Congress of

The Congress of Vienna was held in the Austrian capital, where ambassadors from the major powers in Europe discussed what should happen to the continent at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The conference was chaired by the Austrian statesman PRINCE CLEMENS VON METTERNICH and took place from October 1, 1814, to June 9, 1815. Strictly speaking, however, it was not a conference in the modern sense of the word, as the ambassadors never met in one place for these discussions, preferring to deal with other countries bilaterally, and then eventually come to a consensus. The peace terms with France had already been decided in

the Treaty of Paris signed on May 30, 1814. The discussions began with the initial defeat of Napoleon in 1814, and his subsequent exile to the island of Elba. However, he returned to France in March 1815 but was defeated at Waterloo on June 18—the congress having broken up nine days earlier.

Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, presided, and much of the success of the congress was because of his diplomatic skills and his grasp of the situation. The United Kingdom was represented by Viscount Castlereagh, the foreign minister, and then by the duke of Wellington, although Wellington had to leave to take charge of the British forces in the southern Netherlands (modern-day Belgium), leading them at Waterloo. Prince Karl August von Hardenberg, chancellor of Prussia, represented the Prussians, with Count Nesselrode, the Russian foreign minister officially representing his country, although Czar ALEXANDER I intervened regularly in proceedings. The French were represented by CHARLES-MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND, the foreign minister of King Louis XVIII. The Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Swedes were also represented, as were the German states of Bavaria, Hanover, and Württemberg.

The victors in the Napoleonic Wars gained considerable territory, with the Russians being given the Duchy of Warsaw (Poland) and allowed to hold Finland, which they had annexed from Sweden in 1809. The German states were massively simplified, with smaller states merged and 39 states created under the presidency of the Austrian emperor. Prussia was given land from the Duchy of Warsaw and also Saxony, Rhineland/Westphalia, and the port of Danzig. Austria regained the Tirol and Salzburg, the Illyrian coast (modern-day Croatia and Slovenia), and also Lombardy-Venetia. The British gains were around the world, with the United Kingdom retaining Cape Colony, South Africa, and also Tobago and Ceylon. However, it had to give up the Netherlands East Indies and Martinique. The House of Orange in the Netherlands was given control of modern-day Belgium and also the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Many other changes were made in Italy and Germany.

There was opposition to the Congress of Vienna from the Poles, who saw their brief independence under the French being extinguished. Poland was not to appear as an independent country again until the end of World War I in 1918. The Congress also ignored the concept of nationalism, and the emerging national identity. However, it was the first concerted effort to sort out major European problems through discussion, with subsequent congresses being held to work out

solutions to new or emerging problems. The result was what became known as the congress system, by which the major powers controlled many events in Europe up until 1830, and in many cases up to 1848.

Metternich emerged as the greatest statesmen in Europe at the time; in recent times, Henry Kissinger studied the congress system prior to his entry into U.S. politics, with him drawing parallels and differences between what was possible in the discussions such as the Congress of Vienna and what could be envisaged during the 1960s and 1970s. In many ways, the congress system envisaged international discussions that would occur in the 20th century under the aegis of the League of Nations and later the United Nations.

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JUSTIN CORFIELD

## Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)

(1694–1778) *French philosopher*

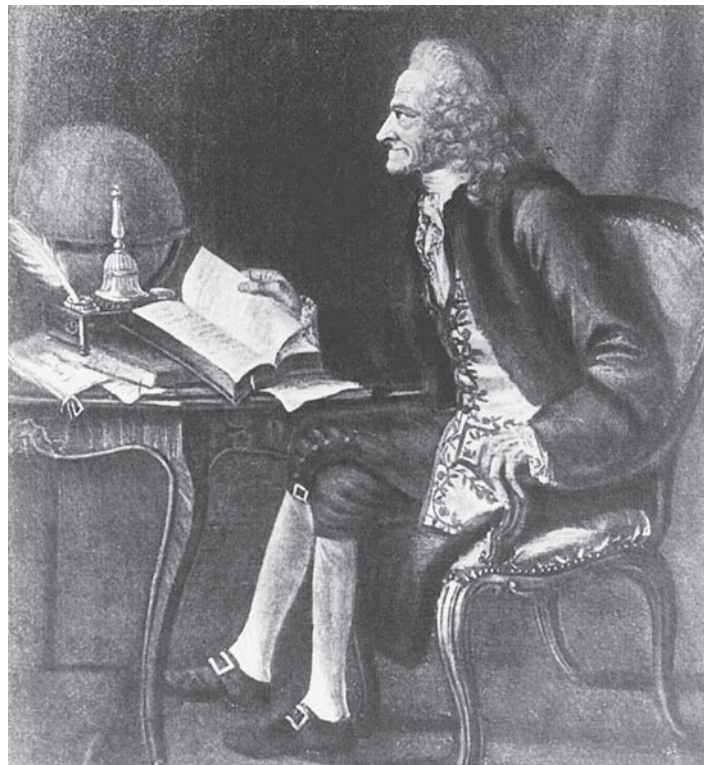
François-Marie Arouet, better known to the world as Voltaire, was born in Paris on November 21, 1694. With his penetrating observations of society and his incisive wit, Voltaire would become one of the stars of the French ENLIGHTENMENT, generally considered to be the beginning of the age of modern thought. Along with others like Denis Diderot, Voltaire changed the face of intellectual life forever.

Although he spent his life poking fun at what he considered the absurdities of organized religion, Voltaire received his education at the Collège Louis Le Grand, an educational institution founded by the Jesuits, the Society of Jesus. While named after Louis Le Grand, Louis XIV, in honor of his visiting there and offering royal patronage, the college was established by the Jesuits in 1563. Even though it was named a college during Voltaire's time, it is actually a *lycée*, roughly equivalent to an American high school. Victor Hugo, another of France's great men of letters, was educated at Louis Le Grand.

Born into the French middle class, or bourgeoisie, Voltaire's knack for satire gained him aristocratic enemies early in his life. In 1717 he was imprisoned in the infamous Bastille in Paris for writing about the regency government of Philippe II, duc d'Orléans,

who served as regent for the young Louis XV after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. Life in the Bastille, which was by then no longer the forbidding prison of the Middle Ages, did not dampen Voltaire's creativity. While incarcerated there, he wrote the play *Oedipe*, and adopted the pen name Voltaire. *Oedipe* would become his first success, and set him on his career as a writer.

Ten years later, in 1726, Voltaire ran afoul of another French aristocrat, known to history as the chevalier de Rohan. By now, his fame had gained him a certain immunity from imprisonment. Those sent to the Bastille were often never tried, merely sentenced by the king or regent with a secret document. This time, Voltaire was given the choice of either the Bastille or exile. Wisely, he chose England, then the most intellectually free of European countries. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had ended the despotic rule of King James II, writers like John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government* laid out a plan for representative government that would affect the rest of Voltaire's career. His *Letters on the English* were published in Rouen, France, in 1731. Nowhere else is there a better statement of his political philosophy



Best known for his works in political satire and theory, Voltaire was one of the first major historians of the modern era.

than in his Letter VIII: On the Parliament, where he writes, “The English are the only people upon earth who have been able to prescribe limits to the power of kings by resisting them; and who, by a series of struggles, have at last established that wise Government where the Prince is all-powerful to do good, and, at the same time, is restrained from committing evil; where the nobles are great without insolence, though there are no vassals; and where the people share in the Government without confusion.”

Such views hardly endeared him to the court of King Louis XV, who was intent on carrying on the tradition of absolute monarchy that had been perfected by King Louis XIV, the Sun King. The closest approximation to the British parliament was the French Estates General, an assembly of the bourgeoisie, clergy, and nobility. Its last meeting had been in 1614, after the assassination of King Henry IV in 1610. It did not meet again until 1789, and its convocation then by an unwilling Louis XVI would begin the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By 1734 Louis XV had heard enough of Voltaire’s views on government. At about that time, Voltaire began his liaison with Madame de Châtelet, whose husband was well aware of the affair. Voltaire apparently felt it prudent to take up residence at the Châtelet’s chateau at Cirey. However, from then on, Voltaire’s life became both more confusing and more intriguing.

Voltaire remained an astute critic of French government and society, especially the official Roman Catholic Church. While he is often portrayed as being an atheist, in one passage he declared his personal belief in Jesus Christ as his God. His satire on St. Joan of Arc, *La Pucelle*, showed as much humor as scandal to the organized church.

The political satire of Voltaire remains a treasure to readers and writers alike. Voltaire’s best-known satire, *Candide*, was published in 1759, at the height of the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR and most likely was influenced by the carnage of the worst conflict that Europe would witness between the Thirty Years’ War and the Napoleonic Wars. Although he lampoons the search for “the best of all possible worlds,” he nevertheless still reveals his faith in the indomitable spirit of mankind, a creed that never left him.

While Voltaire is best known for his works in political satire and political theory, he also has claim to be one of the first serious historians of the modern era. His biographies of Louis XIV of France and the warrior-king Charles XII of Sweden still stand as models of the historian’s art today. Both combine an

appreciation for the times that the two monarchs lived in and an understanding of the personal impact that individuals could have on their eras.

In 1755 Voltaire settled in Switzerland and purchased his own chateau at Ferney. The great and the humble came to visit him. However, his ideals of tolerance and just government gained him another bout with the authorities.

Although he had moved from France, Voltaire remained French in his heart until his death. Fittingly, he died in Paris on May 30, 1778, only a little more than a decade before the old French monarchy, whose absolutist policies he so despised, collapsed of its own weight in the French Revolution of 1789.

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JOHN F. MURPHY, JR.

## voodoo (Vodun), Haitian

The origins of Haitian voodoo can be attributed to West African roots. Anthropologists have studied African voodoo rituals and applied this study to Haitian voodoo. The Ewe tribe in western Africa practices this religion to invoke spirits for protection. One ceremony is meant to show that voodoo rituals offer protection against hot knives burning the body and broken glass cutting into flesh. The participants in these ceremonies believe their medicine and participation in these rites will appease the gods and offer them protection.

Voodoo, like many other religions in the world, has a hierarchical system of gods and spirits (*loas*). One of the more powerful gods in this religion is *bon dieu*, the maker of the planet and heavens. The *loas* have their own characteristics and personalities and are able to perform both good and malicious deeds. The development of various *loas* did not just occur in Africa, as some *loas* were created in Haiti as well. Voodoo is not restricted to simply religious ceremonies; it also includes various social elements such as dancing. During voodoo rituals, people summon spirits to embody them, merging the identities of the person with the spirit, which allows that individual to possess the powers of the spirit.



*A hypnotic trance is induced during a voodoo dance. Voodoo was introduced to Haiti as a result of the trade that brought in thousands of slaves. Secret voodoo ceremonies were conducted in a temple with the presence of a priest (houngan) or priestess (mambo).*

Voodoo was introduced to Haiti as a result of the slave trade that brought in thousands of enslaved Africans. Haitian voodoo is difficult to research because many of the slaves were unable to keep written records of their culture and history. In fact, there was a great need for secrecy because plans for resistance were made and sworn upon at these religious festivals. These secret voodoo ceremonies were usually conducted during the later hours of the evening in a temple (*hounfor*) with the presence of priest (*houngan*) or priestess (*mambo*). The reason these ceremonies were conducted in secrecy is because slaves practicing voodoo in colonial Haitian society were assaulted, jailed, and/or executed. Haitian voodoo is a blending of African and Christian cultures; the majority of Catholics in Haiti embrace voodoo, while the majority of voodoo followers profess to be Catholics.

Voodoo has a history of suppression and was a means of survival for the slaves. The use of African religion was a means to cope with the horrid condi-

tions of the Middle Passage, the journey from Africa to the Americas. The demographic composition of Haiti prior to the HAITIAN REVOLUTION was that of a society comprised mostly of African slave labor, with white colonists numbering in the minority.

Voodoo societies were major contributors in creating the infrastructure needed for the slaves to form an uprising against the French colonial administration and to succeed in becoming an independent state. Voodoo has been suppressed by many leaders of the Haitian Revolution after 1791, as both TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, independent Haiti's first ruler, prohibited voodoo gatherings and dancing. Henry Christophe sought to get the new country of Haiti recognized by various nations by supporting Christianity and stifling the practice of voodoo.

The attempts by these three Haitian leaders to suppress voodoo were unsuccessful, as the practice of this religion played a significant role in the development of Haitian society. In fact, president and later dictator

of Haiti Papa Doc (François) Duvalier, used voodoo in his 20th-century government, assigning a number of government posts to voodoo priests. Voodoo priests invoked a certain degree of fear within the Haitian populace since some believe that voodoo priests use sorcery to transform people into zombies. The belief in the zombie was instrumental to maintaining social order in Haiti, as there is a belief that if a person who committed evil deeds dies, his or her spirit is trapped in limbo. This belief becomes an incentive for the population to observe the rules of society. Voodoo has not only played a major role in the religious lives of the Haitian people and the maintenance of the social order, but has also penetrated into the realm of art, which is recognized, for example, in the artwork of the voodoo priest Hector Hyppolite. In an executive order by then-president Jean-Bertrand Aristide in April 2003, voodoo was sanctioned as an officially recognized religion in Haiti.

This blending of voodoo beliefs with art has gained some degree of recognition from people who enjoy the beauty of the pictures and the messages these artworks convey.

Voodoo has acquired a negative image, partly due to the belief that it represents uncivilized African superstition, and partly due to American depiction of voodoo in popular culture as a religion of superstitions and spiritual possessions. This depiction is intensified by the fact that voodoo involves the use of an assortment of props such as chicken feathers, skulls, and snakes. It is this perception of voodoo that emerges in American popular culture as various movies emphasize the exotic nature of voodoo. Voodoo still possesses a sizable following, as approximately 40 million people practice this religion.

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BRIAN DE RUITER



## Wahhabi movement

Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792), a cleric from the Arabian Peninsula (present-day Saudi Arabia), founded the Wahhabi movement after concluding that innovation and interpretation had corrupted Sunni Islam. He used the works of the early Muslim thinker Ibn Taymiyya to justify his interpretation and advocated an Islamic reformation. Wahhabis claimed the way of *Salaf as-Salih*, or the rightly guided Muslims who sought to restore Islam to its true state. While some consider Abd al-Wahhab a great Islamic reformer, others refer to him as the father of modern Islamic terrorism.

After being expelled from his home village in the Najd, Abd al-Wahhab moved to Dir'iyah and formed an alliance with the chieftain Muhammad Ibn Saud in 1795. The alliance of Wahhabism and the Saud dynasty proved a potent religious and military force that would survive several major military defeats over two centuries. Ibn Saud used Wahhabism to justify his conquests of Arabia, arguing that many Muslims had become unbelievers and that orthodox, or right-guided, Muslims had the right or even the duty to conduct violent jihad (holy war) against the unbelievers. By 1795 the Wahhabis, in alliance with the Saud family, controlled most of the northern and eastern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. By 1804 they had taken the Hijaz and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Ottoman Empire, accused of corrupt Islamic practices by the Wahhabis, opposed the movement and enlist-

ed the support of MUHAMMAD ALI in Egypt to crush both the Saud family and the Wahhabis and to reassert Ottoman hegemony over Arabia. From 1811–20 Muhammad Ali's able son Ibrahim was able to defeat the Wahhabis and drive them back into the remote northern part of the Arabian Desert.

Wahhabism recognized the Qu'ran and the Hadith (teachings of the Prophet Muhammad) as the basic texts. Unlike other Muslims, Wahhabis did not adhere solely to one specific Islamic school of jurisprudence, but rather based their beliefs on direct interpretations of the words of the Prophet. Wahhabis believed that other Muslims, such as the Sufis and the Shi'i, followed non-Islamic practices. They sought to restore Islam to its true state. Wahhabi interpretations of the Hadith were austere and puritanical. The most severe Wahhabi practices were manifested in the Arabian Peninsula,

In 1924 the Wahhabi Saud dynasty reconquered the two Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina, giving them control of the hajj, the annual pilgrimage. Control over the hajj gave Wahhabis ample opportunity to preach to Muslim pilgrims, while subsequent revenues from vast petroleum reserves gave the Saudi dynasty the resources to fund Wahhabi-based religious schools, newspapers, and outreach organizations.

Most Muslims outside Arabia rejected Wahhabi Islam, and traditional Sunnis, while accepting the Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya, rejected Abd al-Wahhab's interpretation of his work.

See also ARAB REFORMERS AND NATIONALISTS.

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JULIE EADEH

## Waitangi Treaty

New Zealand became an official colony of Britain on February 6, 1840, with the signing of the Waitangi Treaty. The treaty gave the British government, headed by Queen VICTORIA, political sovereignty in New Zealand. In the treaty, the Maori gave sovereignty to the government of Britain but were allowed to continue their own cultural practices and traditions. Though many provisions were made for the protection of the Maori, especially in regard to land boundaries and ownership, throughout the 19th century the Maori seceded many of their rights and homelands to the colonial New Zealand government, mostly during the MAORI WARS.

In 1939 the British Colonial Office gave Captain William Hobson the authority to officially annex the islands now known as New Zealand as a part of the British Empire. Britain wanted to annex New Zealand through the signing of the Waitangi Treaty for a few reasons. Europeans had been in New Zealand since that late 18th century, but emigration and trade from British subjects in the islands increased substantially during the 1830s. In the 1830s British politics and culture were under a heavy moral influence to protect native cultures affected by British imperialism, such as the Maori. This moral sentiment in Parliament and in the popular newspapers helped to prompt the Colonial Office to try to annex the colony in order to help protect the Maori from British exploitation.

The missionary Henry Williams copied the Waitangi Treaty, which was eventually signed by 529 chiefs on eight different copies in Maori and in English. There were differences, however, between the English and the Maori text that later created problems between the settlers and the Maori after the signing of the treaty. Many of the terms that the English incorporated into the treaty, such as *sovereignty*, were foreign concepts to the Maori. The Maori and the English copies also differed, most importantly in the concept of *chieftainship*, the native Maori conception of political organization, with the British concept of sovereignty. Though numerous Maori chiefs did not sign the Wait-

angi Treaty, it became official New Zealand law on February 6, 1840.

The treaty was broken down into a preamble and three parts. The controversy focused predominantly on the preamble and the second article. The English preamble suggested that the main focus of the Waitangi Treaty was to establish a British government to create a British colony. This differed from the Maori version that stated that the Queen Victoria wanted the treaty to protect and allow the Maori to retain land indefinitely. In the second article, the Maori “individuals” as well as “the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand” were allowed possession of land. But the Maori version stated that the “unqualified exercise of . . . chieftainship” governed land claims. This later helped the colonial government in New Zealand force individual land ownership upon the Maori, which allowed the British settlers to purchase land that was formerly held in common.

Many Anglo–New Zealanders consider the Waitangi Treaty as the origin of the modern nation-state of New Zealand. There has been continued debate about the original intention as well as the effects of the treaty upon the Maori. In the 20th century, there has been a conscious attempt to redress the wrongs of the 19th century. The Waitangi Act, signed on October 10, 1975, established the Waitangi Tribunal, which eventually paid reparations to the Maori.

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BRETT BENNETT

## War of 1812

The War of 1812 began in June with a U.S. declaration of war against Great Britain. At the time, U.S. grievances seemed clear to a majority of the American public and to members of Congress from the South and West who voted in favor of the declaration. They were convinced that Great Britain was supporting American Indian attacks against U.S. settlers in the Old Northwest, such as Shawnee chief Tecumseh's clashes with settlers in the Ohio River valley, in violation of agreements dating back to the treaty that ended the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Although this has since been demonstrated to be false, it was widely believed at the time. In addition, British naval outrages against U.S. ships on the high seas in the context of the Napoleonic Wars had inflamed the American public. While New England and the Northeast were largely opposed to the war, mainly because of their important economic connections to the British Empire, President JAMES MADISON derived significant support from the other regions for his idea to capture Canada, making it a diplomatic bargaining chip against real and perceived British aggression.

The first half of the war was disastrous for the United States because the young nation was not at all militarily, administratively, or fiscally prepared for any war, least of all for a war against the world's greatest power at that time. The U.S. Navy's active ships numbered a few dozen at best. The army numbered a few thousand, and, in the early going, most of these soldiers were inadequately trained militia led by politically appointed officers or aging Revolutionary War veterans. The nation had an insufficient weaponry manufacturing base, no real means to resist a British naval blockade, nor the fiscal and administrative machinery to raise, train, or pay for military forces. The United States experienced defeat at Detroit and was repeatedly repulsed in its attempts to take Canada. The only good news for the United States in the first half of the war was victories by navy warships, but this did not prevent the British from blockading the U.S. Navy into its ports by 1813.

Bright spots for the United States in 1813 included Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry's victory at the Battle of Put-In Bay against a British naval squadron. Coupled with Master Commandant Thomas Macdonough's victory at the Battle of Lake Champlain in 1814, the United States was able to retake control of the Great Lakes region. In addition, by 1814 the Americans saw to it that a new army was formed, trained, equipped, and officered. Removing ineffective appointees from the higher ranks, the army commissioned newer, younger, and more aggressive officers such as ANDREW JACKSON, Winfield Scott, and Edmund Gaines. By 1814 these officers had trained an army made up of soldiers who were in uniform for the duration instead of short-term enlistees. These men were well enough trained in line-of-battle tactics to overcome crack British troops, fresh from helping defeat Napoleon, at the bloody Battle of Lundy's Lane in Niagara Falls, Ontario.

In addition, Major General Jackson was able to win some of the most strategic U.S. victories. Driven by his hatred of American Indians, Jackson molded regular and militia forces into units that broke the back of Ameri-

can Indian military power in the Old Southwest at battles such as Horseshoe Bend. These wartime defeats, especially of the Creek Nation, would pave the way for postwar U.S. conquest and occupation of the region and eventual Indian removal in the postwar period.

After enduring humiliating British raids on Baltimore and Washington, D.C., in which the British burned public buildings and forced President Madison to flee what is now the White House, the United States belatedly achieved one final victory at the Battle of New Orleans. This clash occurred in January 1815, three weeks after a peace treaty, principally negotiated for the United States by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, had been signed at Ghent, Belgium. Ultimately, the war ended as it had begun: with a miscommunication. In 1812 the British had agreed to U.S. diplomatic demands but the treaty did not get to Washington, D.C., before Congress declared war.

The war's odd beginning and end have puzzled diplomatic historians for decades. The United States had been unprepared for war, representatives of the New England states were, by 1814, meeting in Hartford, Connecticut, to consider secession, and the United States was losing so badly at the beginning of the war that many people feared the country might lose some of its original territory to the British Empire. Almost from the day war was declared, in fact, the Madison administration had negotiators in Europe trying to bring an end to a conflict that the United States had started. But as the United States came out of the war with its territory intact, America's public, press, and politicians somehow turned a stalemate into a spectacular U.S. victory. The United States even derived its national anthem, Francis Scott Key's "Star-Spangled Banner," penned during the British attack on Baltimore, from a war it nearly lost.

See also NATIVE AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

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HAL M. FRIEDMAN

## War of the Pacific (1877–1883)

Sparked by conflicts over control of the rich nitrate fields in the Atacama Desert along South America's Pacific coast, the War of the Pacific proved a national



humiliation for the allies Peru and Bolivia and a national triumph for Chile. With its decisive victory, Chile wrested from Bolivia Antofagasta, its only access to the sea, thus rendering the country landlocked and shearing off Peru's southernmost province of Tarapacá. The strip of land conquered by Chile was loaded not with one but two vital natural resources, nitrates and copper, that later proved crucial in the development of the Chilean national economy. The war caused lasting resentment against Chile by its two defeated neighbors that endures to this day. It also sparked a popular uprising in the Peruvian highlands that exposed the weak sense of national belonging among Peru's highland Indian, black, and Chinese populations, and that for a time threatened to fragment Peru into warring regions. Some scholars maintain that the ideology espoused by the highland rebels was itself explicitly nationalist, spearhead of a nationalist project directly at odds with the elitist nationalist discourse emanating from the capital, Lima. This was just as the Peruvian national state and the Lima-based commercial elite were experiencing a deep fiscal crisis in consequence of the depletion of Peru's guano reserves following the age of guano.

The war's short-term trigger was Bolivia's 1878 imposition of higher taxes on Chilean nitrate operations in the Bolivian province of Antofagasta, contrary to an earlier agreement between the two countries. Chile balked, tensions escalated, and soon Peru was drawn into the conflict in consequence of its secret mutual defense treaty with Bolivia. Hostilities commenced in April 1879 with a series of sea battles that raged along the Pacific coast. In the 1870s both nations had recently built formidable modern navies, though Chile's proved far superior, destroying Peru's in six months. The decisive encounter was the Battle of Angamos of October 8, 1879, in which the Chileans captured the Peruvian battleship *Huascar* and killed its able commander, Miguel Grau. With its control of the sea secure, and with Bolivia knocked out of the picture, Chile launched a land invasion of Peru. Following its January 1881 victories in the Battles of San Juan and Miraflores, the Chilean army occupied Lima and ousted the dictatorship backed by the Peruvian CAUDILLO Nicolás de Piérola, installing a government headed by Francisco García Calderón.

For nearly three years following Chile's capture of Lima, the Peruvian General Andrés Cáceres led an armed resistance to Chilean occupation in the central and southern Peruvian highlands, backed by an insurgent army of Indian, black, and Chinese workers and peasants, the *montoneras*.

Soon the army nominally headed by Cáceres fractured, as the *montoneras* and other groups pressed their own agendas that had less to do with ousting the Chilean occupiers than with overturning longstanding relations of power and privilege in the highlands, especially with regard to the region's highly unequal patterns of landownership and labor relations. Drawing on social memories of highland resistance during the Great Civil War a century earlier, the rebels kept up their resistance even after the war's formal end in the Treaty of Ancón of October 1883. Scholarly debates continue regarding the nature of this resistance movement, particularly its social composition, geographic extent, and the motivations of its participants in various regions, as expressed in both their written texts and collective actions. The *montonera* movement highlights a broader pattern in Latin American history, in which fights among dominant groups lead to sustained challenges to existing social relations by those from below.

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MICHAEL J. SCHROEDER

## Washington, George

(1732–1799) *general and first U.S. president*

George Washington, a fourth-generation Virginia planter, played a central role in every phase of America's separation from Britain and creation of the United States. Acclaimed during his own lifetime as Father of his Country, Washington was indeed the AMERICAN REVOLUTION's "indispensable man."

One of seven children of Virginia landholder Augustine Washington, George's formal education ended when he began training as a surveyor at age 16. Over six feet tall and heir to Mount Vernon, George, a stockholder in Virginia's Ohio Company, was picked by the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1754 to help command troops sent west to assert the private land company's claims to territory controlled by the French and their Indian allies.

In what would prove to be opening maneuvers in the SEVEN YEARS'/FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, Washington and his troops killed a French commander and a Seneca chieftain, erecting Fort Necessity to consolidate British/Virginian regional claims. The French soon coun-



*George Washington at his home in Mt. Vernon, Virginia, with his wife, Martha (left), and two children. Although his presidency was avowedly nonpartisan, his opinion of the French Revolution revealed him as a Federalist and sparked abuse from the Republican press.*

tered, killing one-third of his men, but Washington and his remaining troops were allowed to evacuate.

Working closely with British generals as war broke out in earnest, Washington would learn important lessons about British ways of warfare. The massacre of General Edward Braddock and two-thirds of his troops at Fort Duquesne in 1755 showed Washington the futility of fighting a European-style war amid harsh frontier terrain. Like many others, he seethed at British arrogance and condescension toward colonial troops.

Elected in 1758 to the House of Burgesses, Washington consolidated his position as a leading Virginian by marrying Martha Dandridge Custis, the colony's wealthiest widow, becoming stepfather to her son and daughter. He would spend the years prior to 1775 as both country squire and active farmer, expanding and diversifying his plantations, acquiring more than 300 slaves. A tough taskmaster who pursued runaways, Washington nevertheless tried to keep slave families intact, endorsed the

gradual elimination of slavery, and arranged for his own slaves's emancipation in his will.

Chosen in 1775 to organize and lead a Continental army, Washington made serious errors and struggled to fill and train his ranks. Yet his skill at avoiding or escaping disastrous encounters, combined with bravery, self-discipline, and quiet confidence, enabled Washington to eventually cooperate with state militias and keep his often sick and hungry army together.

As it became clear that the American-French victory at Yorktown in 1781 would be the war's last major encounter, Washington made what may have been his greatest contribution to the republican ideals of the American Revolution: He retired to Mount Vernon. Washington was hailed as a new Cincinnatus, the victorious fifth-century B.C.E. Roman general who returned to his farm rather than accept money or power from a grateful populace.

Washington's retirement would not last long. His military service had convinced him of the need for a

government strong enough to field an effective army. As a member of the landed gentry, he also saw in the 1786 Shays's Rebellion by poor western Massachusetts farmers and veterans the seeds of collapse of the new nation. Persuaded to chair the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, he brought order and legitimacy to the closed-door proceedings while playing only a minor role in its debates.

Once enough states had ratified the U.S. CONSTITUTION, Washington was unanimously chosen as the United States's first president, taking office in New York City on April 30, 1789. Focusing on fiscal stability and political credibility, Washington selected trusted colleagues, including ALEXANDER HAMILTON, his former military aide, and fellow Virginian THOMAS JEFFERSON, former ambassador to France, for what became known as the cabinet. As Americans debated what to call their new leader, Washington discouraged "regal" titles in favor of "Mr. President." By 1790 Americans were celebrating their president's February 22 birthday.

Governing did not always prove so rewarding for the aging leader. As Hamilton and Jefferson clashed over a series of vital issues, factions, soon to become political parties, vied for Washington's backing. His second term was especially difficult. Although Washington's presidency was avowedly nonpartisan, his opinion of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, as it declined into anarchy, revealed him as a Federalist and sparked abuse from the Republican press. The 1794 Whiskey Rebellion saw Commander in Chief Washington marching into Pennsylvania at the head of 13,000 federal troops sent to pacify opponents of Hamilton's hated whiskey tax. A controversial treaty, negotiated by and named for Washington's close colleague, John Jay, provoked outrage when it seemed to put the fledgling United States in Britain's pocket.

Washington had a final precedent to set. With Hamilton's help he crafted a farewell address to announce that he would not seek a third term. In it, Washington urged Americans to come together as a nation and warned against foreign alliances based on other than sound national interests. Washington's second voluntary withdrawal from power set an example that only one U.S. president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has ever breached. In his final retirement, Washington closely monitored construction of the new federal district that would bear his name, renovated Mount Vernon, and added to his vast land holdings. He died of a throat infection at age 67 after insisting on riding out to do chores in a freezing December rain. An outpouring of tributes ensued,

none better remembered than Congressman Henry Lee's "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

See also POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN

## Watch Tower Society

Charles Taze Russell founded the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in 1884. This society brought together many Bible study groups that he had established throughout Pennsylvania over more than a decade. Russell rejected many traditional and mainstream Christian doctrines. However, his most radical teaching had to do with eschatology (doctrines about the Second Coming of Christ, the Battle of Armageddon, and the establishment of the Kingdom of God).

Russell claimed that the Bible contained a secret code revealing the dates (1874 and 1914) for what he famously phrased "the end of the world as we know it." Given the obvious lack of visible evidence, Russell came to believe that Christ had returned in only a spiritual sense in 1874 and that the final conflict between the forces of God and those of Satan was merely set in motion in 1914. At the conclusion of these protracted events, sometime in the very near future, insisted Russell and his society, God would unleash a mass genocide on all unbelievers and reward the faithful with eternal life.

After Russell's death and several schisms, the primary group, now calling themselves Jehovah's Witnesses, under the leadership of Joseph Rutherford, became focused on missionary activity, organizing what was rapidly becoming a world community. Successive leaders developed a publishing empire primarily to produce translations of the Bible and literature supportive of their controversial theology. Jehovah's Witnesses are often recognized today for their unconventional beliefs and anticultural behaviors, some of which have led to important legal cases and resulted in Supreme Court decisions that have substantially enhanced America's religious freedoms.

Jehovah's Witnesses forbid their members to engage in the celebration of Christian and civic holi-

days (except for the Memorial of Christ's Death), which they believe originated in pagan rituals. They accept baptism and the Lord's Supper as sacraments, but the latter is reserved for the "Anointed Class" (144,000 elite believers), while the "Great Crowd," or current general membership, may observe this once-a-year Passover-style meal. But it is their unwillingness to join the armed forces, to salute the flag, recite the Pledge of Allegiance, run for public office, vote in public elections, or accept blood transfusions, vaccinations, and organ transplants that have led to their legal problems and occasional persecutions, the most vicious of which were conducted by the Nazis in the 1940s, when thousands of Witnesses died in concentration camps.

Holding a strict monotheism, they deny the existence of the Trinity, believing Jehovah to be the Supreme Being. Christ is viewed as God's first created spiritual being and is legitimately called God's Son even though he is not divine. Christ was incarnated in Jesus as a sinless man and invisibly resurrected and enthroned by God as a king over heaven and Earth. The Holy Ghost is simply a biblical term describing God's method of work in the world and not a separate entity. Jehovah's Witnesses also deny the immortality of the soul and the existence of hell as a place of punishment. For them the death of unbelievers is merely the annihilation of human consciousness.

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RICK M. ROGERS

## Wesley, John (1703–1791) and Charles (1707–1788)

*religious reformers*

The story of the Methodists cannot be told without John and Charles Wesley. Sermon and hymn, poetry and prose have permanently marked the story of Methodism. Methodism was indelibly formed, not only by the preached and published sermons of John, but also by the poetry and hymnody of Charles. John Wesley was the 15th child and second surviving son of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. John was born at the Epworth Rec-

tory on June 17, 1703; he died on March 2, 1791, and was buried at the City Road Chapel in London.

When John was six years old, he and Charles were rescued from the burning rectory. This made a stronger impression on John than it did on Charles, as he came to see himself as a child of Providence, a "brand plucked from the burning."

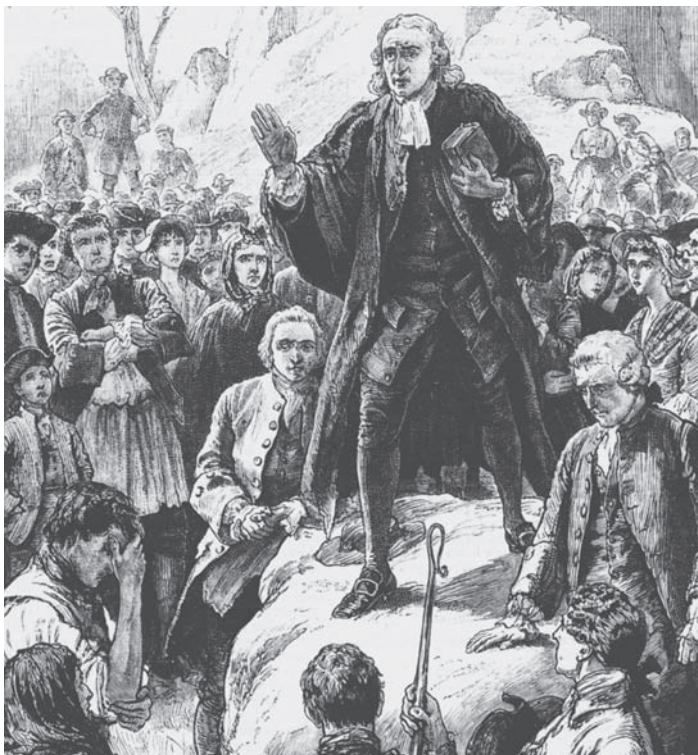
Charles Wesley was the youngest of three surviving sons and the 18th child born of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. Charles was born in the Epworth Rectory, about 23 miles northwest of Lincoln, England, on December 18, 1707. He died in London, on March 29, 1788, three years prior to John's death.

In 1713 John entered Charterhouse School in London, and in 1720 he entered Christ Church College, Oxford, where he earned his M.A. in 1727. As early as 1725, John was ordained deacon and later in 1728 he was ordained a priest. After graduation, John returned home to help his father as a curate for two years before returning to Oxford to carry out his assignments as an elected fellow of Lincoln College.

In 1716 Charles was sent to Westminster School, where his older brother Samuel, an usher at the school, provided a home and board for him. In 1721 he was elected King's Scholar and began to receive free board and tuition. In June 1726 Charles entered Christ Church, Oxford, where he completed his degree in 1729 and became a college tutor.

Earlier in life, Charles Wesley had objected to becoming "a saint all at once," but later at Oxford he became restless over the absence of assurance in salvation and, thus, started the Holy Club in 1729. Initially, the Holy Club began with the intent of following the prescribed method of study set by the university, but soon became more uniquely defined. The original four men who made up the Holy Club (William Morgan, John Clayton, John and Charles Wesley) were jeered with names like Bible Moths, Bible Bigots, Supererogation Men, Sacramentarians, and Methodists. Finally, the name Methodist stuck because of their methodical study of Scripture, fervent daily prayers, ministering to those in need, and weekly attendance in the Eucharist.

Upon John's return to Oxford in 1729 he would join the Holy Club started by Charles. During those early formative years, the young and impressionable John struggled with two questions: "How do I become a Christian? How do I remain a Christian?" Later in life, Wesley would reflect in his journal that he was struggling over the nature of justification and sanctification and that the struggle was in effect plucking the cart before the horse. In other words, he was



Charles and John Wesley (above) started the Methodist Church through study and questioning of their faith.

struggling to understand salvation and was confusing the two.

A few years later, in 1735, after much anguish over the decision to enter Holy Orders, Charles yielded and was ordained a deacon by Reverend Dr. John Potter, Bishop of Oxford. On the following Sunday, he was ordained a priest by Reverend Dr. Edmund Gibson, bishop of London. Still searching for that assurance of faith, Charles decided to accompany his brother John to the new colony of Georgia to serve as secretary to General Oglethorpe. This Georgia interlude has been referred to as the second rise of Methodism. After a short six-month stay in Frederica, Georgia, Charles would return to England in 1736 still seeking rest for his soul. In 1737 Charles found considerable help in his spiritual formation; through the influence of the Moravians, and most notably, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, Peter Bohler and Mr. Bray, he was finally able to stop trusting in his own self-righteousness.

On John's return to England in 1738—often referred to as the third rise of Methodism—John was painfully aware of his failure as a missionary in Georgia and was sorely depressed over the state of his own soul. As providence would have it, John would find similar help and

counsel from Peter Bohler as his brother Charles. Three days after Charles's assurance of salvation, John would have his own assurance of faith. John went reluctantly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where he heard Martin Luther's preface to Romans. Wesley would later say, "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

After years of ministry with his brother John, as an itinerant and field preacher, Charles was married to Sarah Gwynne on April 8, 1749, with his brother officiating at the wedding. Sarah was 23 and Charles was 40 when they married. Unlike John's marriage to Mary Vazeille that would end up in separation and without children, Charles's marriage was happy. Eight children were born to the couple; only three of the youngest survived infancy: Charles, Sarah, and Samuel. While every member of this family was musical, the two sons were considered musical prodigies.

Charles Wesley, the poet of Methodism, was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets the church has ever known. The *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley* fills 13 volumes of approximately 9,000 poems that would eventually be set to music for the hymns that not only shaped Methodism but continue to be sung today. Some of the more well-known songs include "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Oh for a Thousand Tongues to Sing," "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing," "And Can It Be That I Should Gain," "Lo, He Comes with Clouds Descending," "Love Divine, All Loves Excelling," and "Christ the Lord Is Risen Today."

Increasingly, John Wesley found that he was no longer welcome in his own Church of England; he established the Methodist Society in England. As the Methodists in close-knit groups of fellowship and mutual accountability would "watch over one another in love," in prayer, singing of hymns, Scripture reading, exhortation, encouragement, and confession, they were able to zealously "give out" God's love in "works of mercy" and "works of piety." Both brothers have left a rich legacy of "faith filled with the energy of love," not only in their poetry and hymns, preaching and leadership, but by their own lives of faith.

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## White Lotus Rebellion

The White Lotus Society was one of several secret societies that emerged from time to time during the history of imperial China. They required members, mostly from lower social classes, to adhere to rituals associated with Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism), food taboos, and penance. Such groups attracted the attention of the government, which often took steps to suppress them. The White Lotus Society had roots in the Song (Sung) dynasty and survived the Song government's efforts to suppress it. It emerged as one of the rebel movements during the late Mongol Yuan dynasty and helped to topple it.

The QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY was ruled by a frontier people, the Manchu, a fact that upset many of the majority Han Chinese. Because early Manchu rulers had been successful and China had been prosperous through the second half of the 18th century, potential opponents of the dynasty had lain low and not been able to garner significant support. Like its predecessors, the Qing government was ambivalent toward popular religious organizations such as the White Lotus, condemning religious festivals and rituals as wasteful, disruptive, and potentially harmful to morality.

The White Lotus Rebellion (1796–1804) began in the southeastern border area of Sichuan (Szechuan) Province in 1796. Sichuan had undergone dramatic population growth during the 18th century, due to large-scale immigration from neighboring provinces, to about 20 million by 1800; government efforts to slow the pace of immigration into Sichuan had been ineffective. The large influx of people strained government resources and caused tension between the immigrants and the existing local population.

In 1781 the government arrested a White Lotus leader named Liu Song (Liu Sung) and banished him to the frontier. His harassed followers then revolted and the unrest spread quickly from Sichuan to neighboring provinces in central and northern China. This rebellion indicated the turning point of Qing dynastic fortunes; the army sent to suppress it proved too rotten to perform its task. The rebels were able to garner popular support due in part to their millenarian religious appeal and also to their racial-nationalistic stand against Manchu rule.

Finally, local gentry and officials in the affected regions organized militias to undertake the task of putting down the rebellion, which cost the government 100 million silver taels. Although put down in 1804, the White Lotus Rebellion was the forerunner of more dev-

astating revolts of the 19th century that contributed to the downfall of the dynasty.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## women's suffrage, rights, and roles

Against the background of the ENLIGHTENMENT and AMERICAN, FRENCH, and INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS, Western women's lives changed dramatically, although not until the 20th century would most gain the right to vote. By 1900 Western societies had become accustomed to women's participation in public affairs, even if governments, and many individual men and women, still questioned its appropriateness. The profound changes reshaping European and North American women's lives were not examples of unfettered progress toward equality but, rather, a series of challenges to, and compromises with, ancient traditions of female inferiority and dependency.

Although there had long been women of distinction and even importance—queens, priestesses, scholars, and saints—the first influential proponent for all women was Englishwoman Mary Wollstonecraft. A former governess who supported the French Revolution and collaborated with THOMAS PAINE, she published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792. Women, said Wollstonecraft, were equal to men in their ability to reason. Therefore, women must be treated as reasonable and equal members of the human race.

### FEMALE EDUCATION

At a time when the “female” brain was perceived as feebler and less focused, Wollstonecraft proposed free public school systems to equally educate boys and girls together in intellectual, physical, and vocational pursuits. The reality of the times was otherwise. In the 18th century and later, many women educated themselves by sneaking books from male family members or secretly listening in on brothers' lessons. Some were lucky to be encouraged by fathers or brothers, or had access to rigorous schools led by female teachers, like Emma Willard of New York, who had themselves achieved a decent education. TRANSCENDENTALIST Margaret Fuller of Massachusetts was

educated in Greek and Latin by her lawyer father and later learned German and Italian. In 1839, she organized a series of meetings, mainly for women, to discuss intellectual and political issues. Hers was an Americanized version of the European salon that flourished, especially in France, in the late 18th century. Unlike those salons, organized by well-educated women but dominated by men, Fuller's gatherings were a form of female adult education.

Proponents of female education were not necessarily feminists. Catharine Beecher championed improved teacher training for women and helped develop home economics as a science, not because she approved of female equality, but because she believed that women needed to do their traditional work more efficiently. In Britain Isabella Beeton likewise advised women on cooking and home management.

Ohio's new Oberlin College opened its doors to a few women in 1833. But women only colleges seemed to offer a more acceptable solution. Founded in Massachusetts in 1837 by Mary Lyon, a chemist, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was the first. In Britain, Frances Mary Buss founded a college preparatory school for girls in 1850, and in 1871 Britain's Shirreff sisters, Maria and Emily, themselves self-taught, created the National Union for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. Some all-male institutions added adjunct female colleges as did Harvard University in 1879, establishing Radcliffe College.

Coeducation for children older than 10 was extremely controversial, for both pedagogic and moral reasons, but grew as public education expanded. This did not mean that female students were warmly welcomed by their male classmates and professors, or afforded equal accommodations. Despite some concessions to female students, neither Oxford nor Cambridge Universities offered women full academic privileges until well into the 20th century. Likewise, Paris's Sorbonne let women audit courses long before granting them degrees.

### ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND WORK OPTIONS

In the preindustrial economy, distinctions between men's and women's work were far less clear than they became in the 19th century. Women's work (except in the upper classes) had always included cleaning, food preparation, and child care, but men and women, boys and girls, often labored side-by-side on their farms, or made products like brooms and shoes at home for sale to local distributors. As the growing MARKET REVOLUTION displaced local commerce, and manufacturing migrated from home work to factories, female labor was redefined. Woman's sphere

would be the home exclusively; women would no longer produce for their family but consume goods made by the new economy. Too delicate and refined for the public fray, the true woman, as "angel of the house," would make home a refuge for her husband and children.

This vision, often called the cult of domesticity, excluded millions of poor and enslaved women in Europe and North America. Unmarried women, deserted women, women whose husbands struggled to support their family all found most kinds of paying work closed to them. There were some new opportunities: In New England, growing textile factories, desperate for labor, encouraged farm parents to send their young daughters to work. Carefully supervised and poorly paid, "mill girls" were expected to leave their jobs for marriage. Most did; many also enjoyed new self-sufficiency. Paid work for respectable lower-class women was primarily domestic service. "Angels of the house" exploited large staffs of female servants.

Middle-class women or poor but educated women could become governesses or schoolteachers, but almost had to quit when they married. Some women chose spinsterhood over married dependency. Many pushed the boundaries of female opportunity by taking up work related to women's lives and needs. Born in England, Elizabeth Blackwell taught school in Cincinnati before overcoming fierce opposition to become a physician. Blackwell argued that women and children were better served by female doctors who could alleviate their pains without compromising their modesty. Her contemporary, Briton FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, professionalized nursing during and after the CRIMEAN WAR, giving new respectability to women's traditional caregiver role. Dorothea Dix, who made her name in prison and mental-health reform, and nurse Clara Barton played similar roles in America's CIVIL WAR.

More controversially, others entered, or tried to enter, male domains. An estimated 400 women disguised themselves as men to fight in the Civil War. In 1872 the U.S. Supreme Court denied Myra Bradwell a license to practice law in Illinois, saying "The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life." Victoria Woodhull, an activist U.S. journalist and stockbroker, attempted a run for president on a third-party ticket in 1872. Later, married to an Englishman, she backed Britain's woman suffrage movement.

A traditionally male undertaking in which women excelled was writing for pay. New England writer Nathaniel Hawthorne famously blamed the popularity of novels by "scribbling women" for his relative difficulty



A Currier & Ives print titled *The age of brass: Or the triumphs of woman's rights*, published in 1869 and featuring women lining up at a ballot box, with a man holding a baby at the end of the line

in reaching a mass audience. For activists including Clara Zetkin and Louise Otto Peters of Germany, writing was a way to earn money while gaining political support. Both France's George Sand and England's George Eliot were authors who adopted male names to protest the female condition and achieve stronger sales of their works.

### MARRIAGE AND CHILD-REARING

Unmarried women were objects of pity and scorn who often lived with their parents, but married women were more dependent on men for their very lives. The ancient tradition of *couverture* defined married women as legally incompetent minors. It was not abolished in Britain until 1870. A husband was the undisputed head of the household, controlling absolutely his property, his children, his servants, his wife, and whatever resources she might have brought into the marriage. Extreme cruelty was considered bad form, but moderate beatings were sanctioned by law and religion.

Nevertheless, after 1750 there were indications of new and more equal kinds of relationships between men and women. In Europe and America, so-called companionate marriages that allowed for romantic love began to replace or augment unions arranged by parents. In the United States, the "republican" mother responsible for future generations of free citizens was accorded some respect. Experiments in "free love" and multiple marriage scandalized but provided alternatives for adventurous women and men. The lives of women's rights advocates would have been even more difficult without such husbands as Henry Blackwell, whose wife, Lucy Stone, kept her own name, and English philosopher John Stuart Mill, who actively promoted female equality alongside his wife, Harriet Taylor Mill.

Even with the best of husbands, married life was difficult. Wives endured many pregnancies; infant and maternal deaths were common. Despite servants, the care and feeding of large households severely limited



middle-class women's ability to gain education or take on a job or career. Birth control methods were rudimentary and generally considered sinful.

Lacking property rights, married women were at the mercy of an economic system over which they had no control. To satisfy creditors, a husband could sell his wife's belongings, down to her clothes and cookware. A husband was not required to consider his wife's wishes when disciplining, educating, or apprenticing their children. If a wife ran off, or obtained a rare divorce, she might never again see her children. In 1848 New York's Married Woman's Property Act gave wives some control of their own resources. This initiative, however, as often protected the property interests of a father or brother as those of the wife.

### POLITICAL RIGHTS

The political ferment that brought about the American Revolution and continued in America and Europe until about 1850 inspired new hopes of freedom among women and other oppressed groups. Enthusiasm aroused by such stirring calls for freedom as America's 1776 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE would harden into an often angry struggle for women's political recognition later in the 19th century.

Abigail Adams, wife of president JOHN ADAMS, was not the only woman to ask her nation to "remember the ladies." Between 1776 and 1807 a few women actually voted in New Jersey, where the state's new constitution had failed to specify that only males were entitled to the franchise. From 1809 to 1849 when the word *male* was inserted, Québec's female property owners voted in municipal and provincial elections. But in France, both Revolutionary-era rulers and NAPOLEON I's regime curbed women's search for freedom with stricter laws.

The cause that galvanized America's organized woman suffrage movement was the battle to end slavery. Many middle-class women, horrified by the plight of slave mothers and children, found common cause in abolition and began comparing their own restricted freedoms to slavery's chains. Sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké, who grew up attended by slaves on a South Carolina plantation, came north to aid the abolitionist cause. By 1836 they were writing and speaking against slavery, first only to women but soon to mixed audiences, outraging many Protestant clergymen.

In 1840 Quaker antislavery leader Lucretia Coffin Mott and other American abolitionists, including the newly married Elizabeth Cady Stanton, sailed to London for a World Anti-Slavery Convention. Mott, an official delegate, was forbidden to speak on account of her sex. In July 1848 Mott and Stanton reconnected to organize a two-day woman's rights meeting at Seneca Falls. Some 300 attended, including about 40 men, one of whom was FREDERICK DOUGLASS, abolitionist leader and former slave.

Meanwhile, in many European nations, a reform tide that peaked in 1848 was propelling women's rights advocates in a similar direction. Pauline Roland and other French women associated with the socialist-leaning Saint Simonian and Fourierist movements called for marital reform and universal suffrage laws that included women. Then came a backlash: in 1851 a new Prussian law not only forbade women to join political parties but prohibited them from attending meetings where politics were discussed. A series of British voting reform acts excluded women. Led by Emmeline Pankhurst, Britain's suffrage movement intensified after 1880. Despite press mockery, the U.S. women's rights movement grew briskly, especially after Susan B. Anthony, a teacher and temperance crusader, joined forces with Stanton.

After the Civil War, however, the two suffrage leaders precipitated a bitter split in the movement when they protested a constitutional amendment that allowed male former slaves, but no women of any race, to vote. Not until 1890 did the two suffrage organizations reunite. By 1900, four western states (beginning with Wyoming in 1869) allowed women to vote in all or most elections, and piecemeal suffrage was being doled out in Sweden, Britain, and parts of the British Empire.

See also ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS; AMERICAN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

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MARSHA E. ACKERMANN



## Young Ottomans and constitutionalism

The Young Ottomans, also known as the New Ottomans, were 19th-century reformers. The members, some of whom were in the royal family, sought to continue the TANZIMAT reforms. They wanted to liberalize the Ottoman Empire in order to ensure its survival. They applied the concept of Osmanlilik, Ottoman nationality, to a sweeping program of constitutional change. Osmanlilik meant the attachment to freedom and fatherland with the equality of all citizens. The Young Ottomans supported civil secular rule with a separation of religious participation in government; they also stressed the importance of human rights for all the diverse religious and ethnic peoples of the empire.

The Young Ottoman program was outlined in Mustafa Fazil Pasha's letter to Sultan Abdul Aziz in which a statement of loyalty to the empire was coupled with demands for reforms. Other Young Ottomans included Ali Suavi, a teacher from a merchant family, who was in charge of the first Young Ottoman publication, and Sadik Rifat Pasha, who urged reforms of the authoritarian Ottoman regime. Using journalism to disseminate Young Ottoman ideals, Sadik wrote on the need for constitutionalism and urged the Ottomans to work hard to regenerate their society. Sadik Rifat Pasha had been educated in the Palace School and worked in the Ottoman civil service. He traveled through much of Europe and while in Austria wrote public letters urging reforms.

Another Young Ottoman, Ibrahim Sinasi, studied in France and was a friend of Samuel de Sacy, the son of the noted Orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy. He also knew the poet Alphonse de Lamartine. Sinasi served on the education committee in Istanbul and published poems, pamphlets, and journal articles. Ziya Pasha, an experienced administrator, focused on the necessity of bureaucratic reforms. Namik Kemal, whose father was the court astronomer, was the most famous Young Ottoman. Kemal's poems, especially "On Liberty," and other publications are still studied in present-day Turkey. The Young Ottomans were influenced by western European approaches to government and society. They attempted to use language acceptable to a Muslim society in order to fuse Muslim traditional government with essentially Western approaches to parliamentary systems. They translated European works into Ottoman Turkish; in intellectual salons in Istanbul and elsewhere, they engaged in lively debates about French philosophy and political theory.

A leading Young Ottoman supporter, MIDHAT PASHA, framed a constitution whereby the sultan would become a constitutional monarch. This constitution awaited the signature of ABDUL HAMID II when he became sultan in 1876. Although Abdul Hamid was not committed to parliamentary government he was forced to implement the constitution as a provision of becoming sultan. The constitution provided for a bicameral legislature, along the European model, with a statement regarding the rights of man. The first Ottoman parliament opened in 1877; it consisted of 25 officially nominated senators and 120 deputies elected

with official pressure and general indifference among most of the population. The first parliament was composed of a wide mixture of representatives. It met for two sessions over the course of five months. Sultan Abdul Hamid II used the excuse of war with Russia to dissolve the parliament in 1878. The short-lived constitution remained suspended for the next 30 years. Abdul Hamid's suspension of the constitution marked the end of the Young Ottomans. Future reformers were censored and repressed under Abdul Hamid's rule.

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JANICE J. TERRY



## Zeng Guofan (Tseng Kuo-fan)

(1811–1872) *Chinese statesman, general, and scholar*

Zeng Guofan was a leading statesman of the TONGZHI (T'ung-chih) RESTORATION. His leadership and policies resulted in defeating the TAIPING REBELLION, the most destructive in 19th-century China.

Son of a farming family from Hunan Province, Zeng Guofan was raised under a stern Confucian tradition of hard work and study, filial piety, and frugality. He joined the government after attaining the highest, *jinshi* (*chin-shih*) degree in 1838 and gained widespread experience in civil administration. In 1852 he obtained leave to bury his mother and mourn her death, which was subsequently canceled. Instead he was ordered to raise a militia to defend his home province from invasion by the Taiping rebels. This was necessary because the regular QING (Ch'ing) army had proven completely inadequate. Because the Taiping Rebellion preached a pseudo-Christian theology and initially fought with crusading zeal, Zeng countered it with instilling his militia with a mission—to defend China's Confucian heritage and traditional cultural values. To ensure the men's esprit de corps he chose his officers carefully from Confucian scholars and his soldiers from sturdy farmers in his home area; their initial goal was defending their home districts. These units were called the Hunan, or Xiang, (Hsiang, another name for Hunan) Army because they all came from Hunan Province. They were known for their discipline and loyalty, despite initial setbacks, growing to 120,000 strong. Later a navy or “water force” of armed

junks was formed to operate on the rivers and lakes of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River region.

As the Hunan army proved itself in clearing the homeland of rebels, the court begged Zeng to proceed to neighboring Hubei (Hupei) Province. In time, Zeng's forces spread operations to Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Zhejiang (Chekiang), and Anhui Provinces also. In 1864 Nanjing (Nanking), the Taiping capital, fell, ending the rebellion.

The main credit for defeating the formidable Taiping Rebellion belonged to Zeng. He combined many admirable qualities—able administrator, careful general, and good judge of men, picking first-rate assistants. His personal integrity, humility, and lifelong commitment to study made him the exemplary Confucian. He commanded few resources for the monumental task because he had no authority to collect land taxes in the provinces where he operated, but managed to complete his mission spending only 21.3 million taels of silver (each tael equals 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> ounces). Zeng dissolved most of the Hunan Army after 1864, spent some time unsuccessfully dealing with the NIAN REBELLION, then served as governor-general of Zhili (Chihli) Province.

Some 20th-century Chinese faulted Zeng with propping up the Qing dynasty, which they argued was not worth saving. But from the perspective of the time, his ideals represented the true will of the nation. The Taiping movement dominated regions in southern China but never had support in the north. Had it survived, China would at best have been partitioned. Thus in preserving the Qing dynasty Zeng helped maintain a unified China. Zeng was also important for advocating

and implementing reforms and adopting Western learning and technologies.

See also GONG (K'UNG), PRINCE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Zho Zongtang (Tso Tsung-t'ang)

(1812–1885) *Chinese military leader and statesman*

Zho Zongtang was from a scholarly family of moderate means in Hunan Province. He obtained the *juren* (*chu-jen*) degree, the second highest in the examination system, then studied geography, agriculture and military strategy and experimented in farming, specializing in sericulture. Between 1852 until his death he devoted himself to military affairs, winning high distinction in serving China.

In 1860 Zho joined the staff of ZENG GUOFAN (Tseng Kuo-fan), China's leader in fighting the TAIPING REBELLION, raising and training 5,000 volunteers of his native Hunan braves to serve in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) and Anhui Provinces, engaging in more than 20 battles. He was appointed governor-general of Zhejiang (Chekiang) and Fujian (Fukien) Provinces, expelling the Taiping rebels from both and implementing programs that restored prosperity. They included opening schools, printing offices, and promoting sericulture and cotton culture. After the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, Zho was appointed governor-general of Shaanxi (Shensi) and Gansu (Kansu) Provinces in northwestern China. He collaborated with his colleagues Zeng Kuofan and LI HONGZHANG (Li Hung-chang) in first putting down the NIAN REBELLION, then undertaking the suppression of the MUSLIM REBELLIONS, first pacifying Shaanxi in 1869, followed by bringing peace to Gansu in 1874. He then made important reforms in those provinces that included the prohibition of opium poppy culture, promoting cotton growing and manufacture of cotton and woolen cloths, utilizing the spare time of his soldiers in agriculture and reforestation.

Zho next obtained court support for raising loans for the reconquest of Xinjiang (Sinkiang) or Chinese

Turkestan, much of which had been under the control of Yakub Beg, a Muslim who curried favor with Russia, Great Britain, and the OTTOMAN EMPIRE by promising them influence should he succeed in establishing an independent state. A careful campaigner who had sure knowledge of geography and logistics, Zho defeated the Xinjiang Muslims in 1877. Yakub committed suicide. The combination of the collapse of the Xinjiang Muslim rebellion thanks to Zho's generalship and the negotiation skills of Chinese diplomat Zeng Jize (Chitse) (son of Zeng Guofan), Russia agreed to withdraw its troops from the Ili Valley in Xinjiang in the TREATY OF ST. PETERSBURG in 1881. Xinjiang became a province of China in 1884. Zho was appointed governor-general of Jiangnan (Kiangnan) and Jiangxi (Kiangsi) in 1882, was put in charge of military affairs when war loomed with France in 1884, but he was suffering from ill health and died shortly after.

Zho was a great military leader of the TONGZHI (T'UNG-CHIH) RESTORATION AND SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT who struggled successfully to defeat China's domestic rebellions and protect its territorial integrity against Western imperialism. Both he and his wife, Zhou Yituan (Chou I-tuan), were accomplished in literature, she leaving published collections of verses, and he of official and literary works.

See also QING (CH'ING) DYNASTY IN DECLINE.

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JIU-HWA LO UPSHUR

## Zionism and Theodor Herzl

(1860–1904) *father of Jewish nationalism*

Theodor Herzl is considered the father of modern Zionism, or Jewish nationalism. Born in Budapest, Hungary, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Herzl attended university in Vienna. As a young journalist, he covered the DREYFUS AFFAIR in Paris. This noted case of anti-Semitism in liberal France, coupled with the periodic violent pogroms against Jews in eastern Europe and Russia, convinced Herzl that anti-Semitism was an inherent evil in Western civilization. He concluded that the only solution to the so-called Jewish

question was the establishment of a Jewish state that would be as much Jewish as France was French or Italy was Italian. He expanded on the need for a Jewish state in his books *Der Judenstaat* (Jewish State, 1896) and *Altneuland* (Old New Land, 1902).

The first Zionist Congress met in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, and Herzl was elected president of World Zionist Organization (WZO). Within the WZO there was considerable debate over the question of where the Jewish state should be. Herzl was initially in favor of accepting offers by the British for territory in Argentina and present-day Uganda for a Jewish state. Other Zionists were convinced that for religious, historic, and cultural reasons only the territory of ancient Israel was a realistic location upon which to establish a modern Jewish state, and the establishment of a modern state of Israel in Palestine became the official Zionist policy.

Zionists dreamt of the renaissance of Jewish life through their physical labor on the land. With financial support from the Rothschild family, the WZO bought land in Palestine, often from absentee landowners. Some early Zionists were socialists who established communes, or *kibbutzim*, or cooperatives, *moshavim*. Ber Borochov sought to fuse Marxism and Zionism and was one of the founders of the Zionist left.

Zionists encouraged Jews throughout the world to make *aliyah*, or to move to Palestine. The Zionist state was to grant automatic citizenship to all Jews who sought to live there. The first Zionist settlement in Palestine, Patah Tikva, was established north of Jaffa in 1878; although it was soon abandoned because of malarial marshes. Once the marshes were drained, settlers returned in 1878. Other Zionist settlements were created during the 1880s. From 1881 to 1903 the first wave of Jewish settlers to Palestine was mostly from Russia. By the outbreak of World War I in 1914 there were about 59 Jewish colonies with some 12,000 people in Palestine.

Zionists also debated what language should be adopted by the Jewish state. Some favored Yiddish, which was spoken by many Jews in eastern Europe where Zionism was most prevalent. Others successfully argued that Hebrew, the language of ancient Israel, should be the language of the state. Like Latin, Hebrew had been used for religious rites or for reading

of sacred texts, but it had not been in common use for hundreds of years. It therefore needed to be modernized for contemporary usage; for his work in revitalizing Hebrew, Eliezer Ben Yehuda (Eierzer Perlmann) was considered the father of modern Hebrew. Like Ben Yehuda, many Zionists adopted Hebrew names rather than those commonly used in Europe.

Initially the Zionist movement had little support from Jews in Western nations such as France or the United States, where anti-Semitism, while by no means nonexistent, was not as virulent as in eastern Europe. Similarly, Orthodox Jews, who formed the small percentage of the Jewish population in Palestine at the time, opposed the creation of a modern Jewish state for religious reasons; they argued that they should not interfere in the divine plan by entering the political field. Zionists also met with mounting opposition from the indigenous Palestinian Arab population. The struggle of two separate nationalisms—Zionism and Palestinian Arabism—for control over the same territory laid the foundation for the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

To fulfill the dream of a Jewish state, Herzl and others recognized the need for outside support. He approached Germany, Italy, the pope, and Great Britain to secure their approval, but met with little success. Herzl even traveled to meet with the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul. Although it is not clear that Herzl ever met face to face with the sultan, it is known that the sultan responded to Zionist requests, saying that “he was not in the business of selling his right arm,” but that Jews were welcome to live in Palestine like other minorities within the Ottoman Empire. Herzl died in 1904, and Chaim Weizmann was selected as the new president of the WZO. Following in Herzl’s footsteps, Weizmann worked tirelessly to secure outside support for the Zionist cause.

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JANICE J. TERRY





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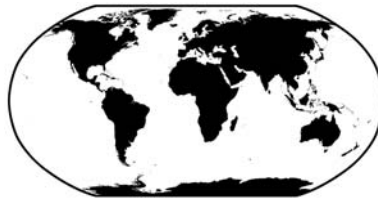
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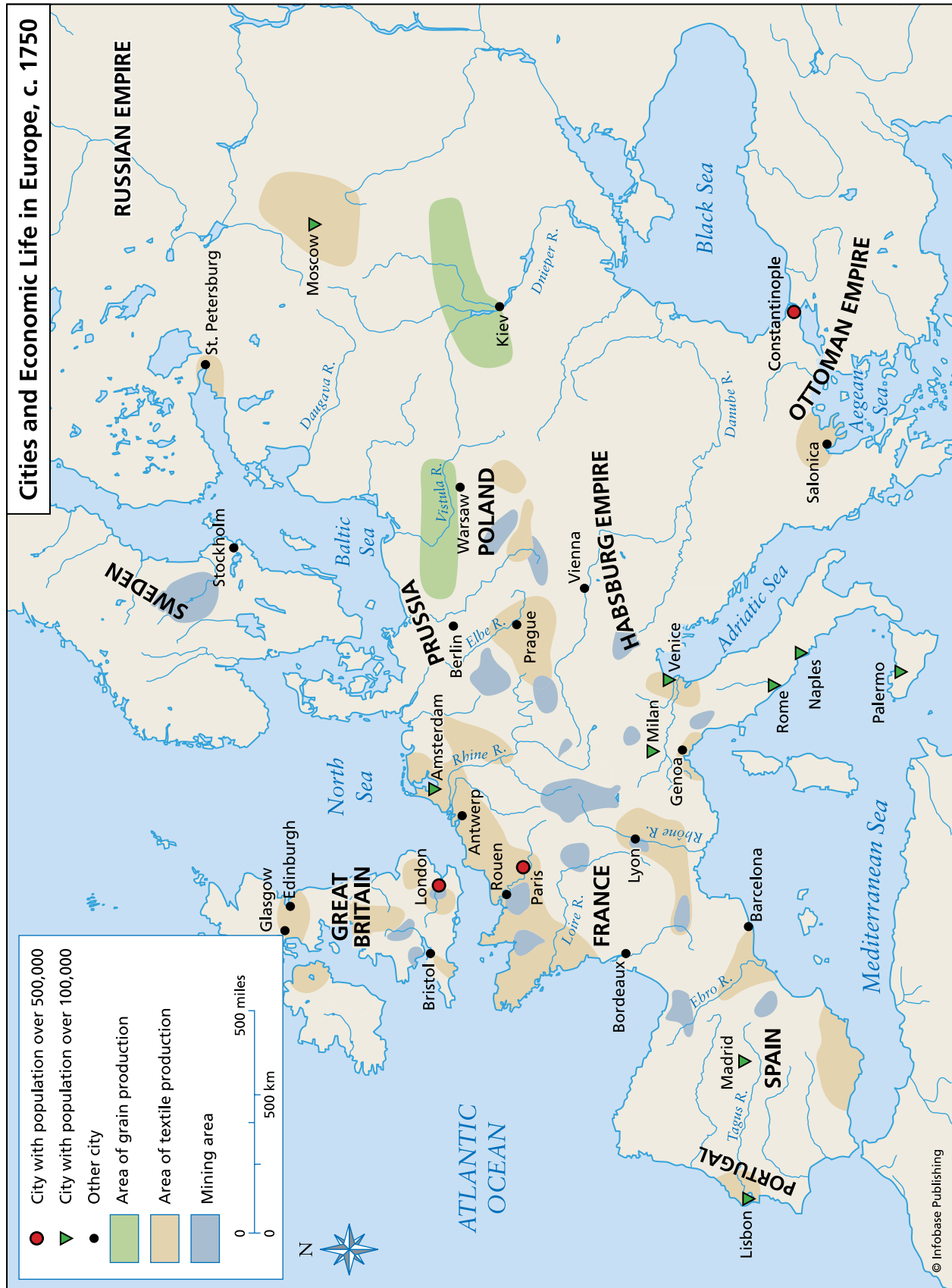
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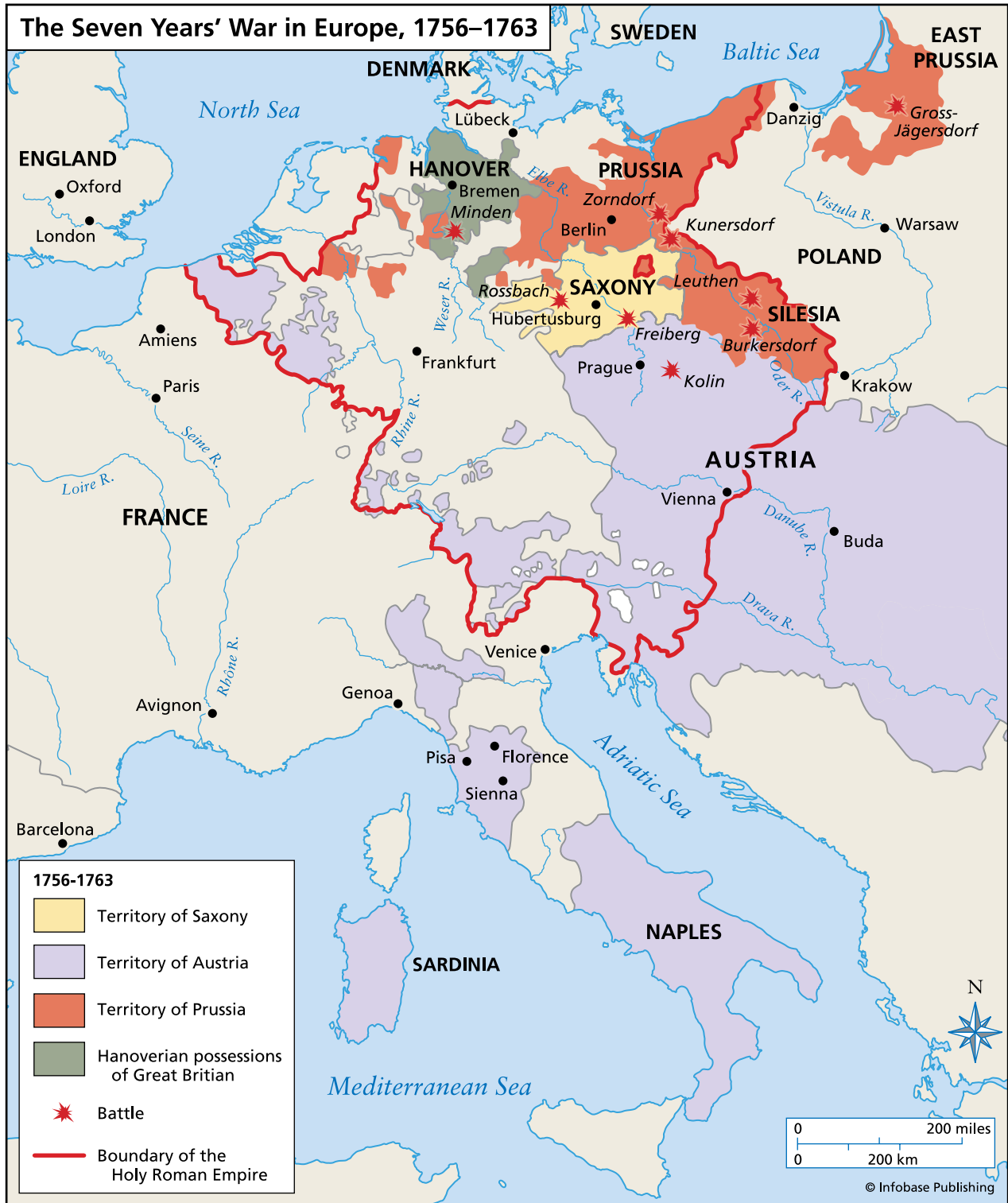
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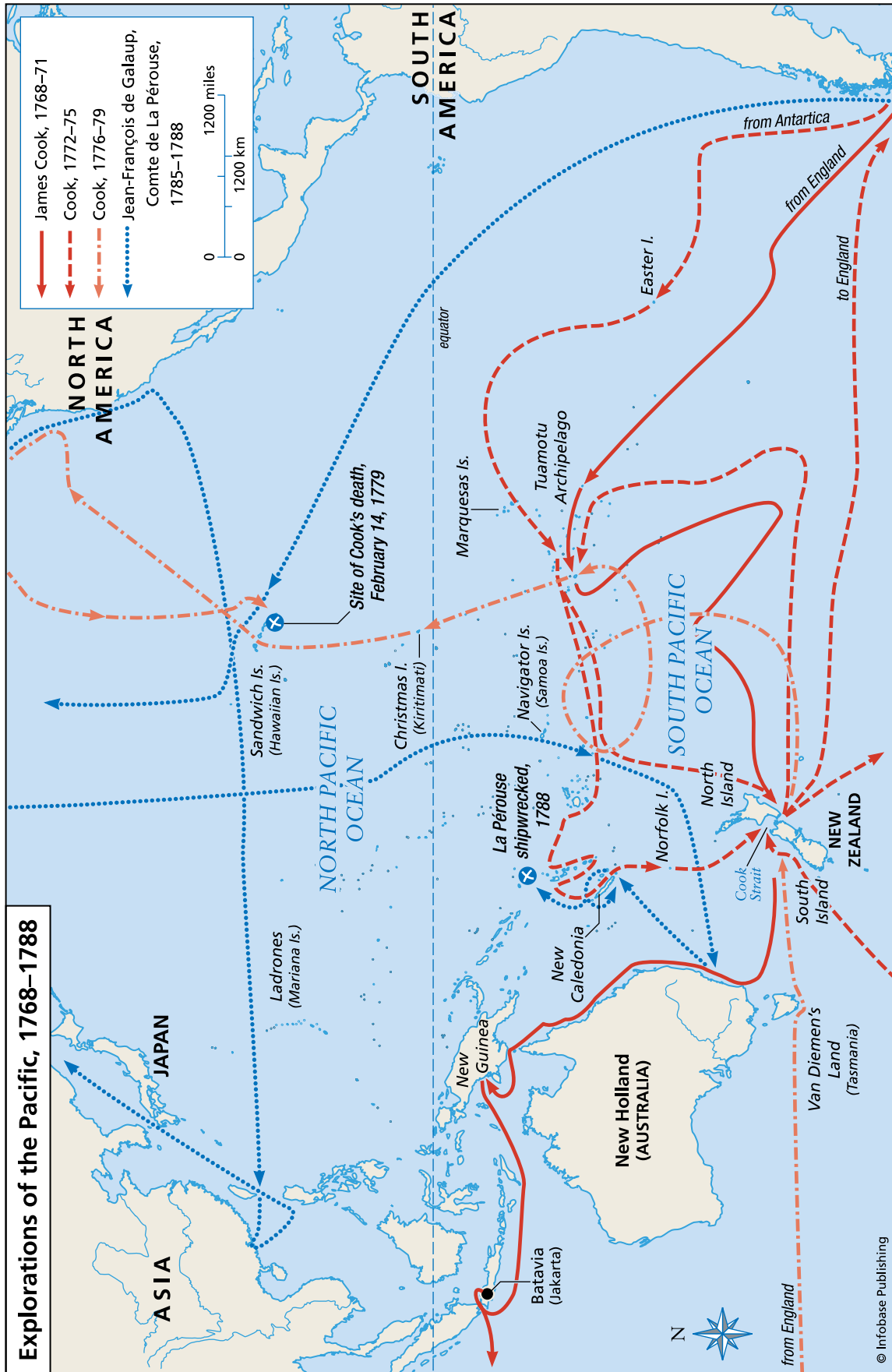


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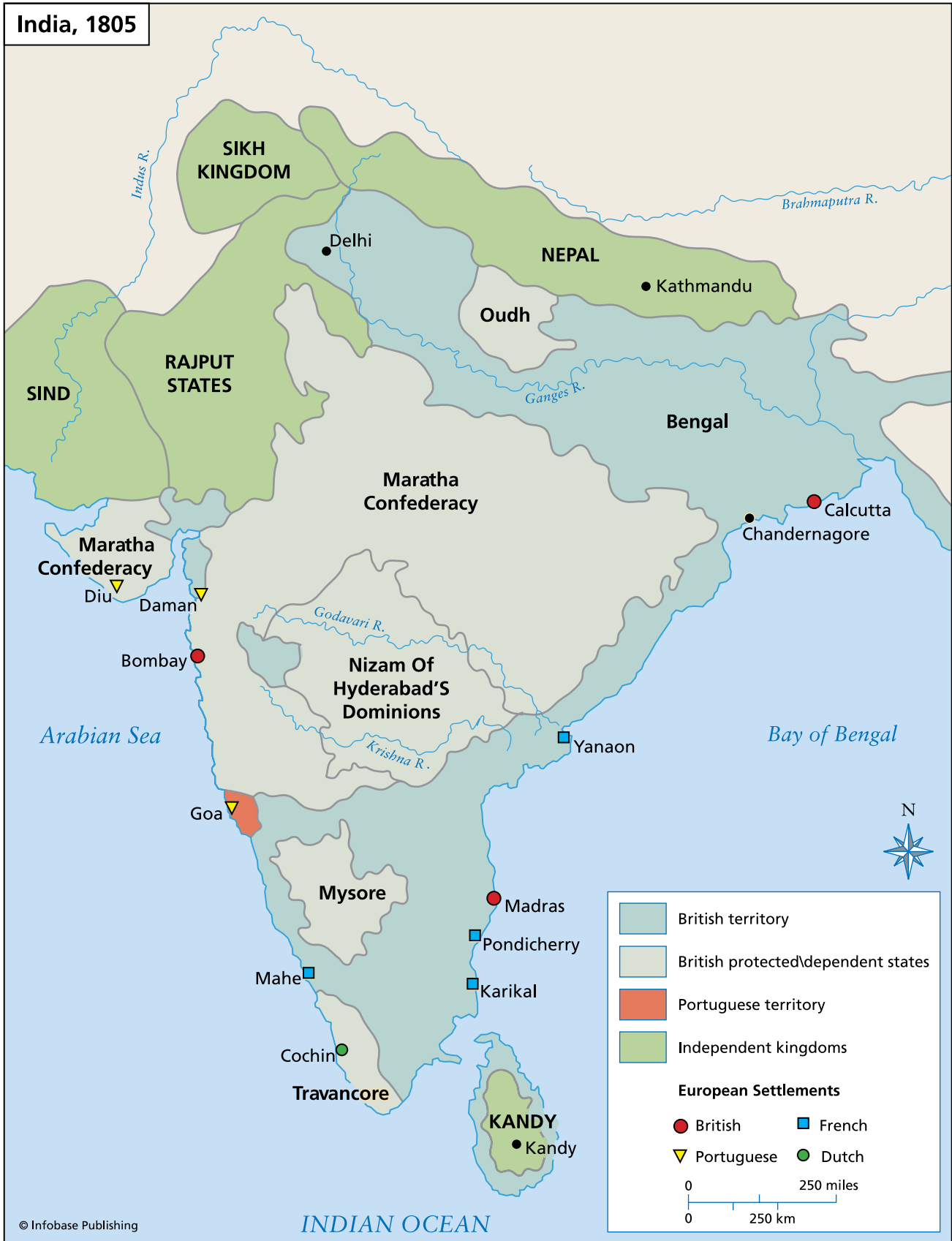


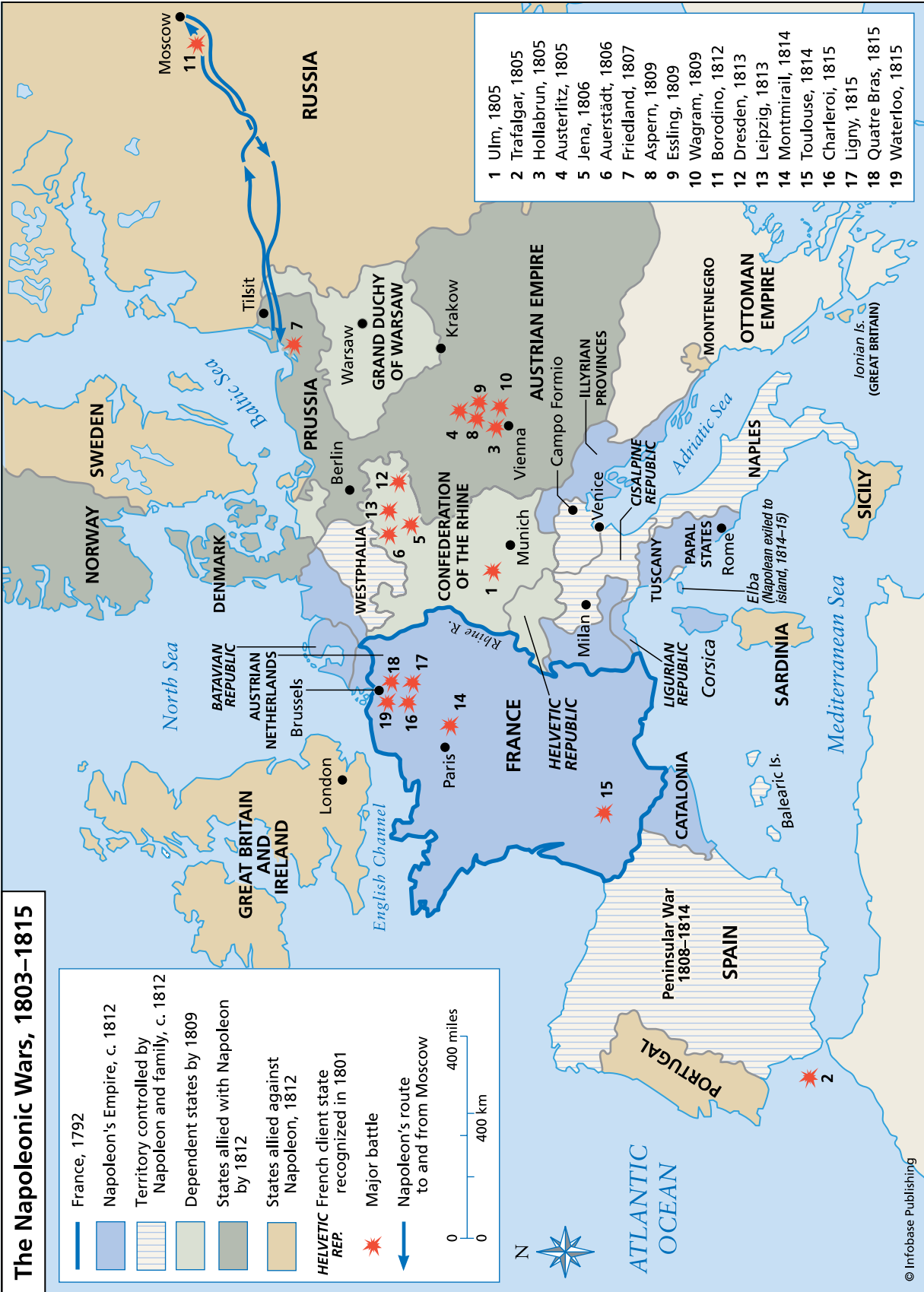


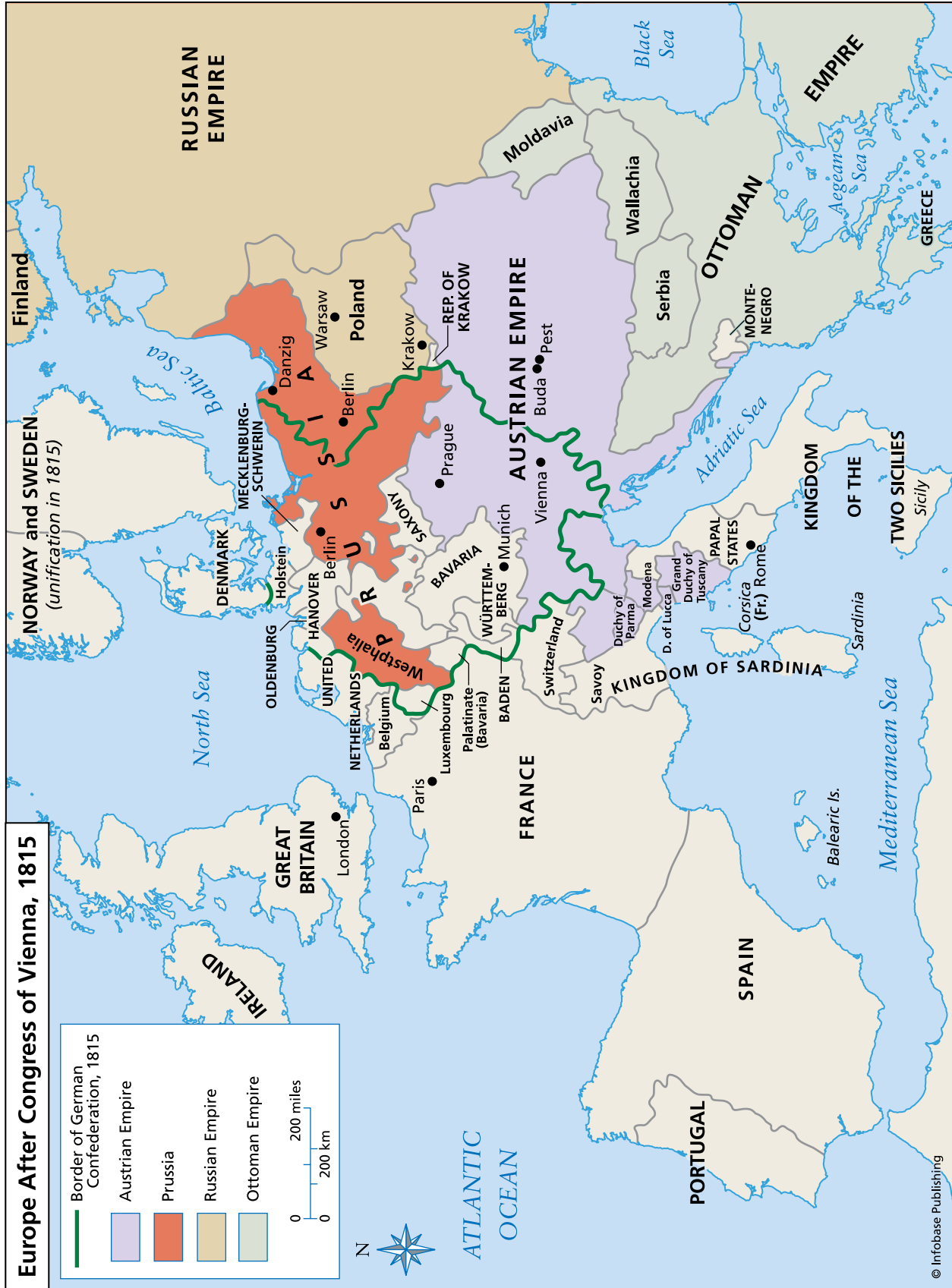


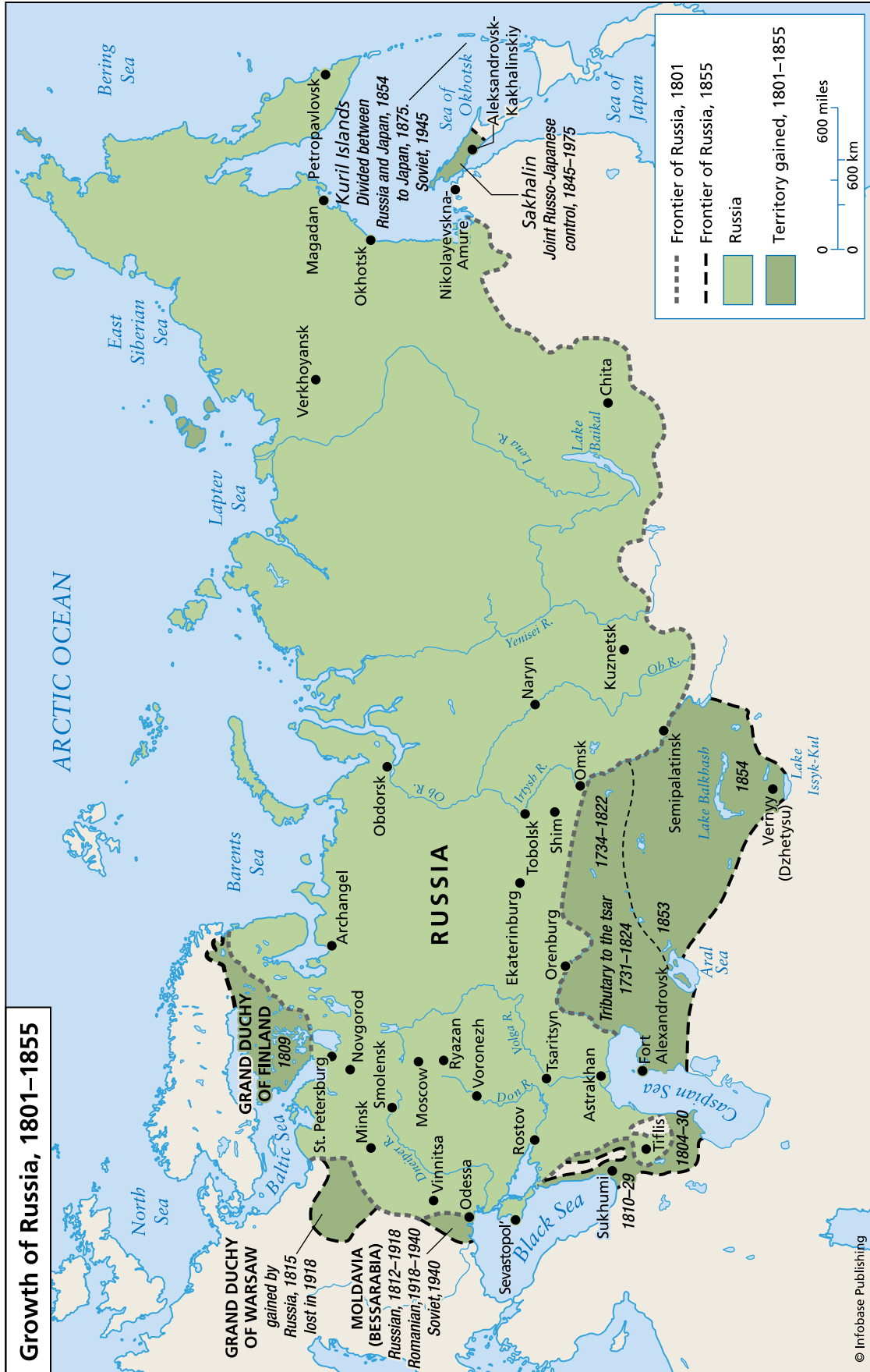




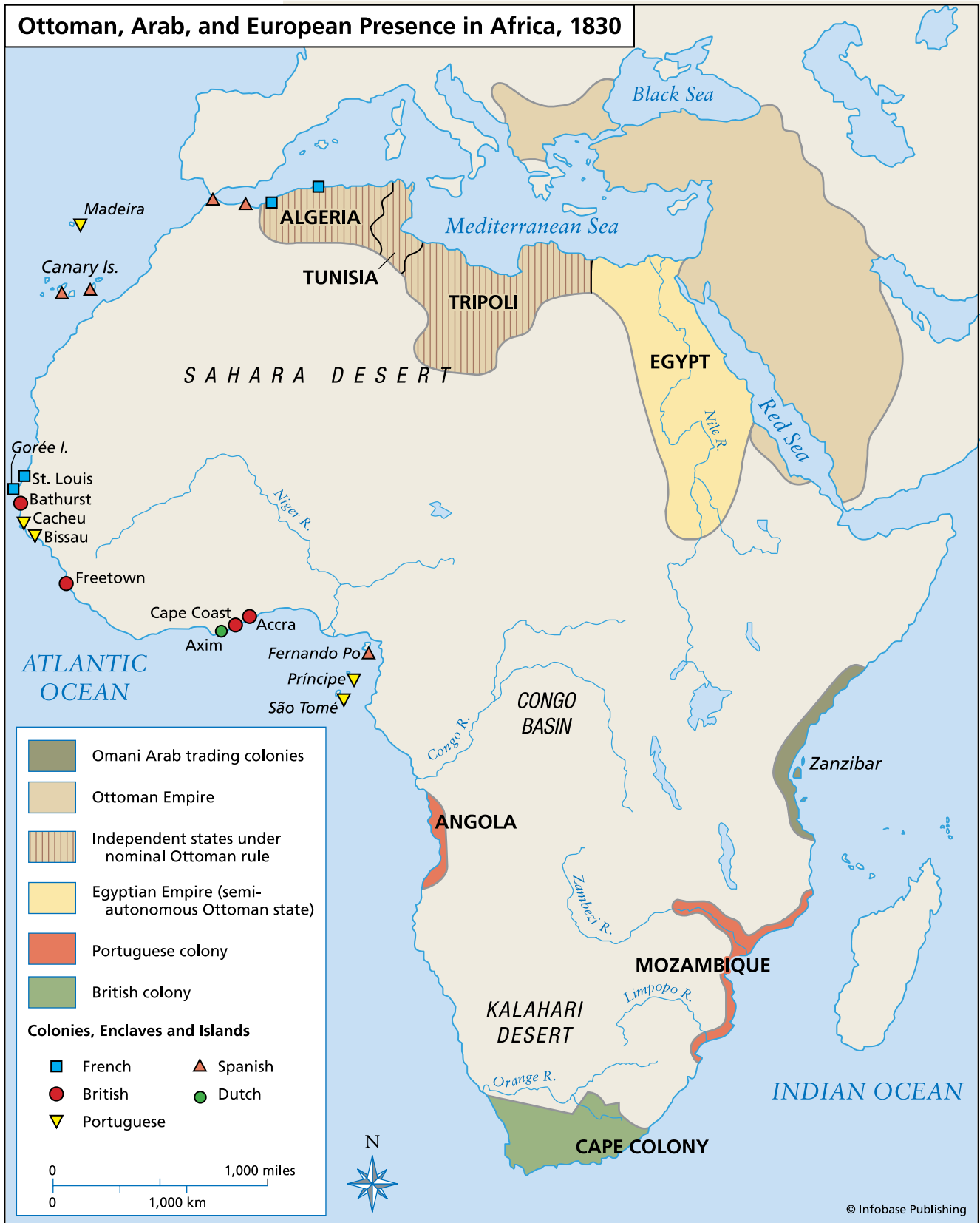






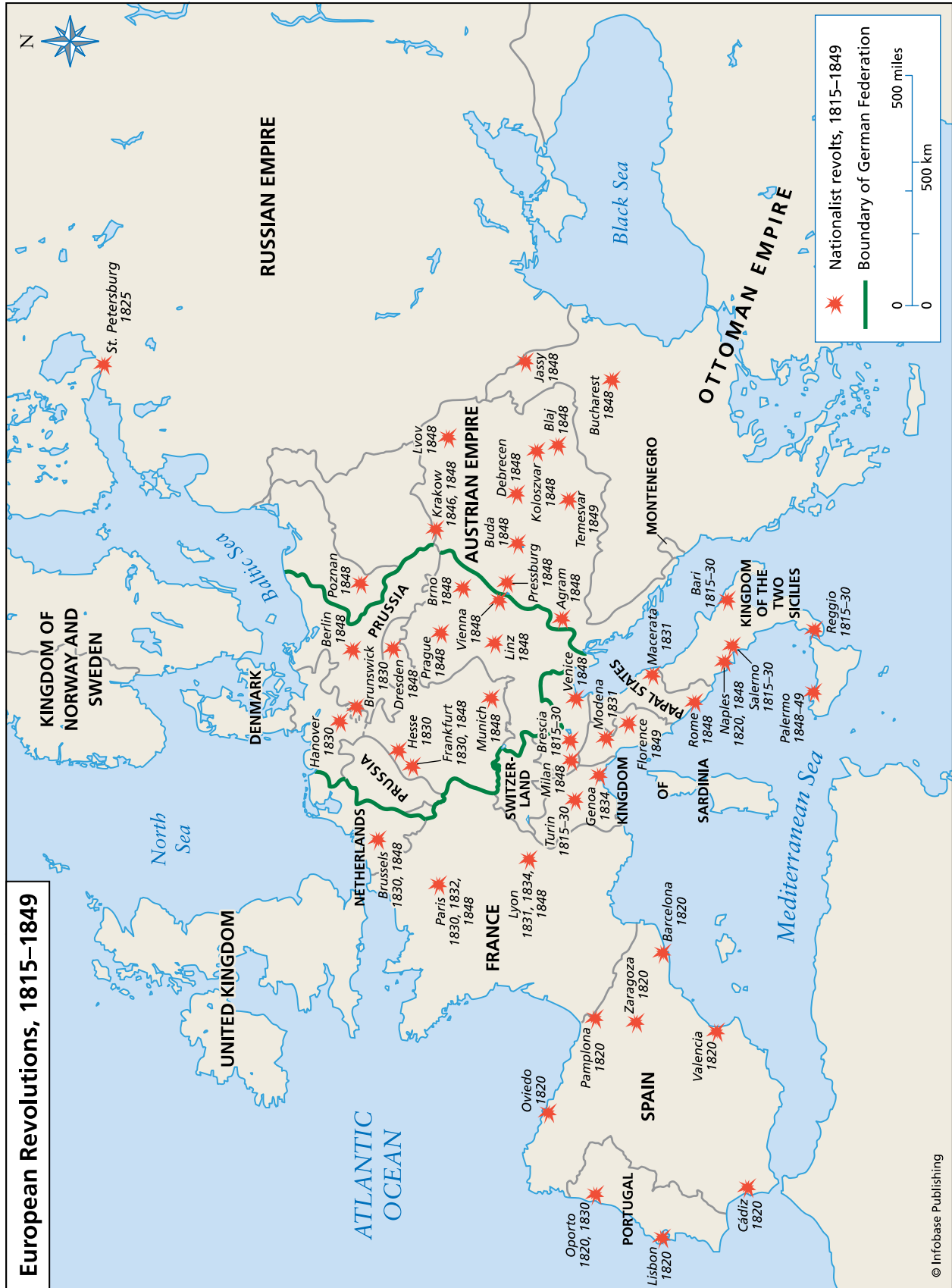






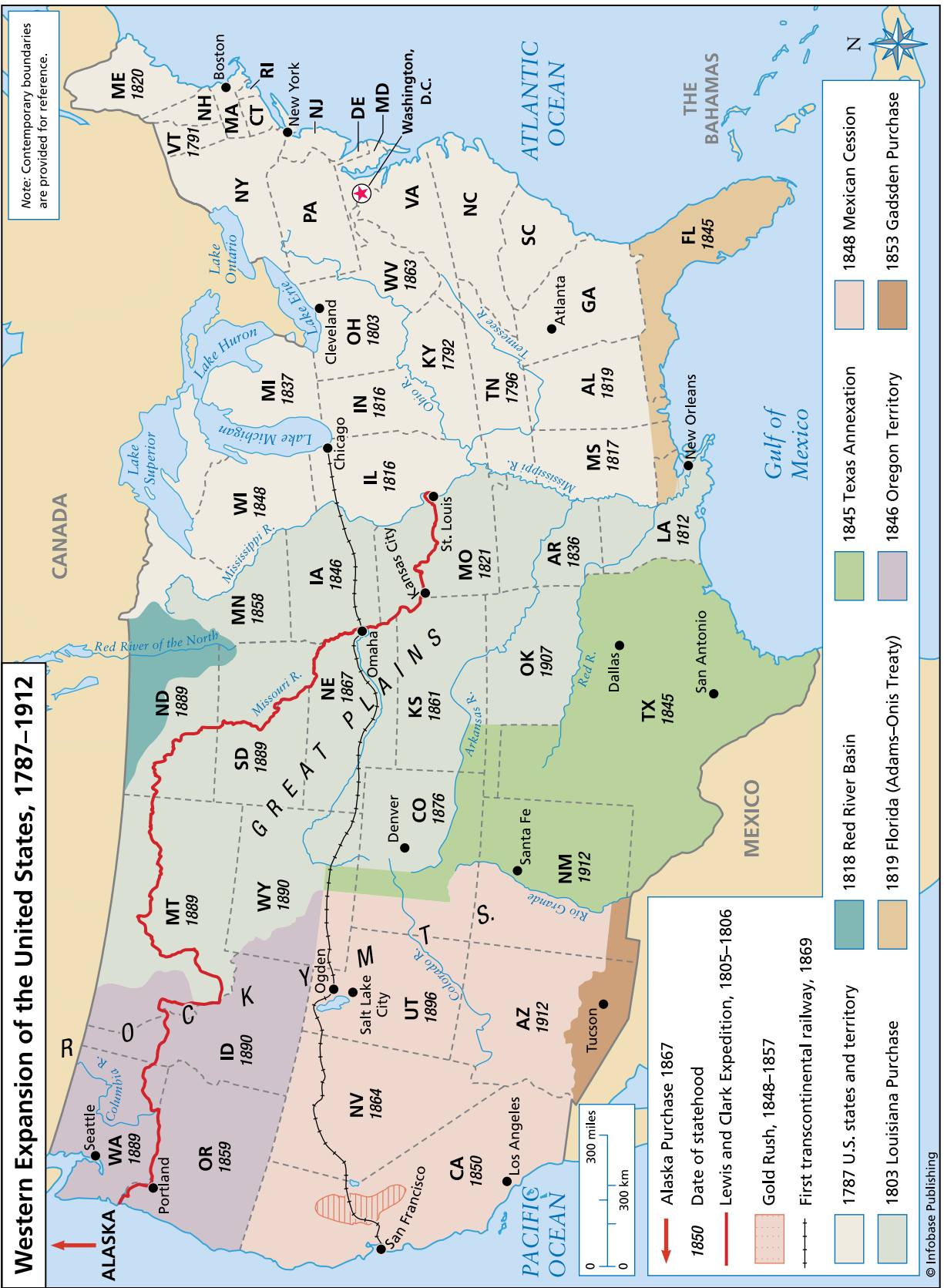


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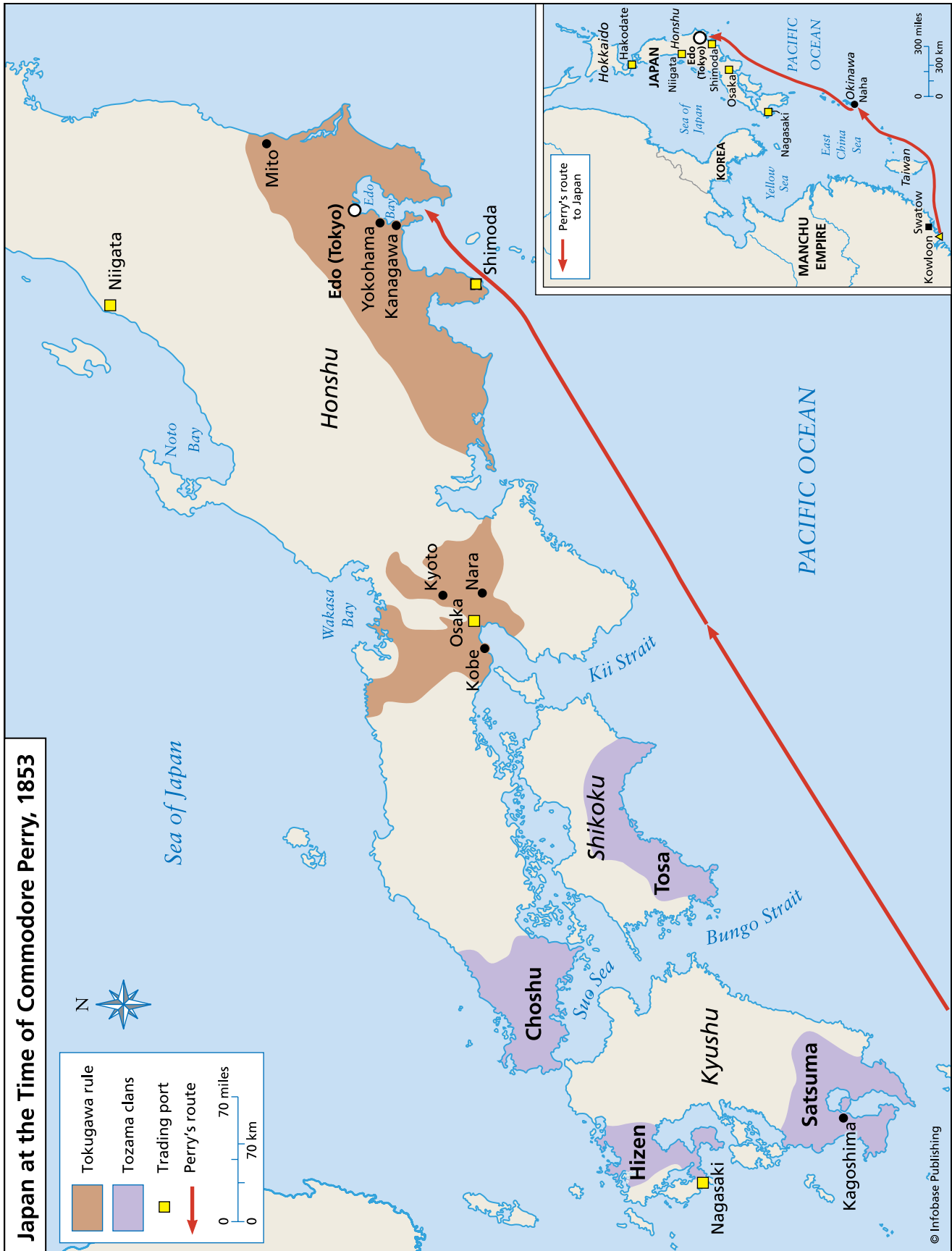






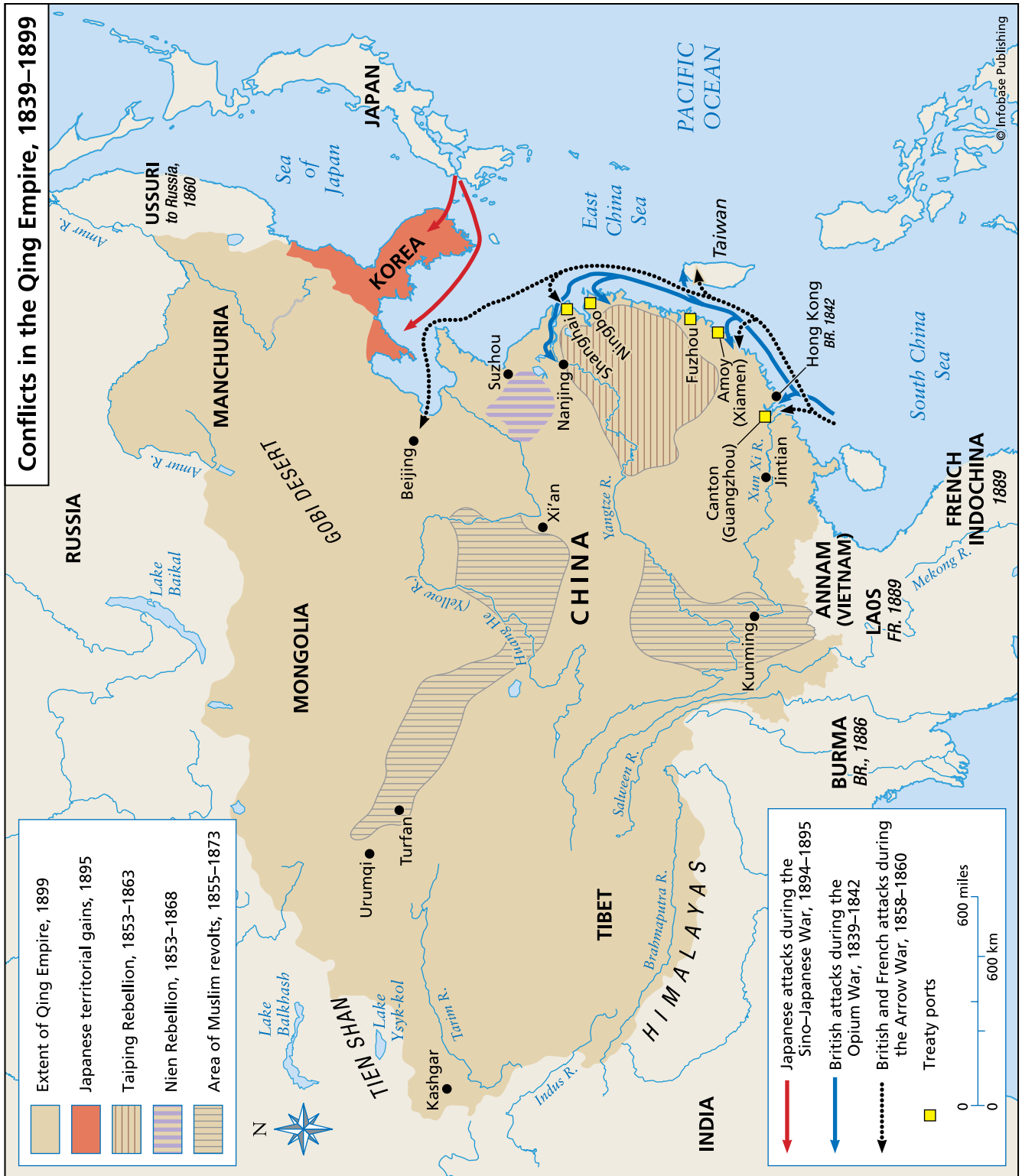


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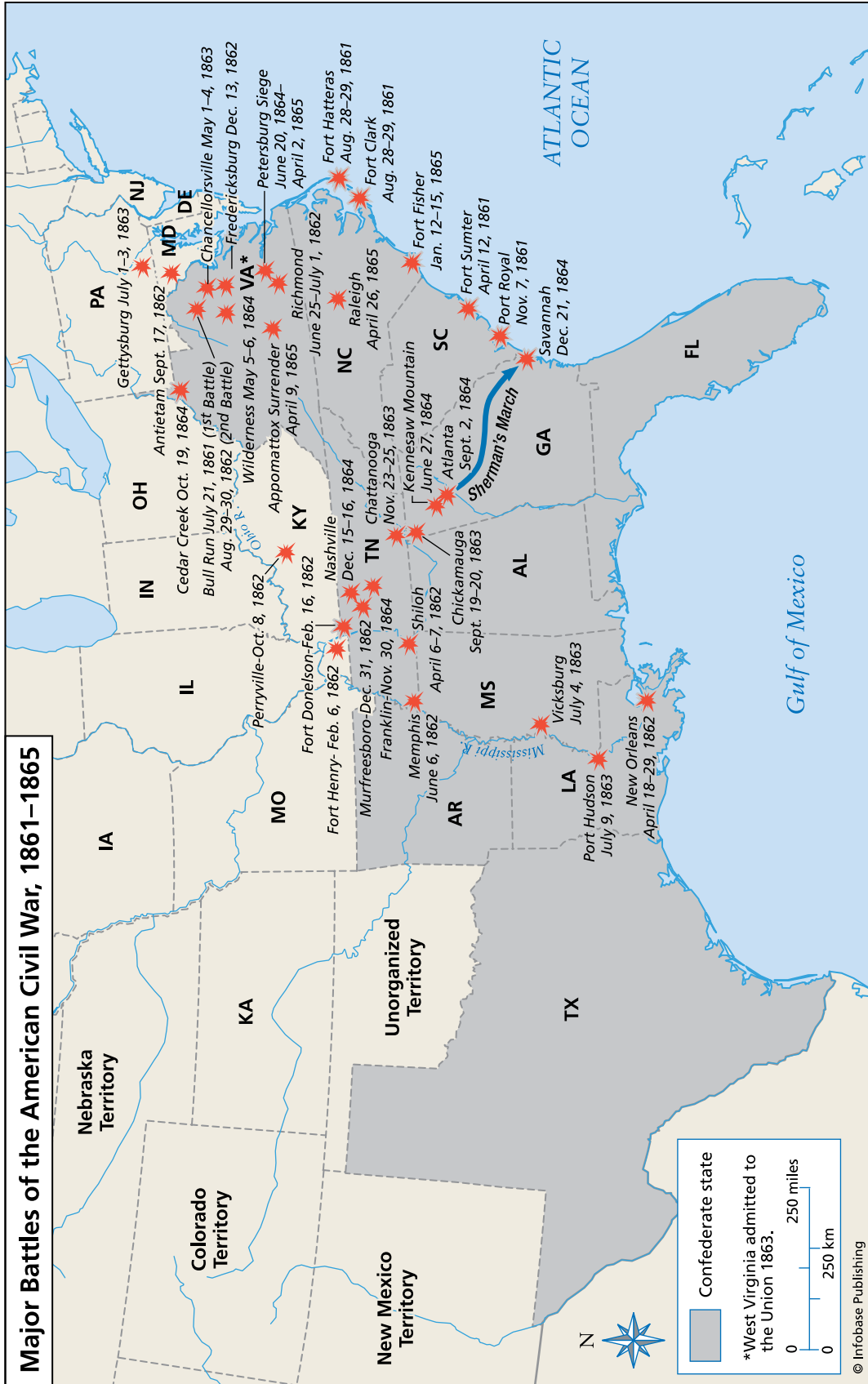


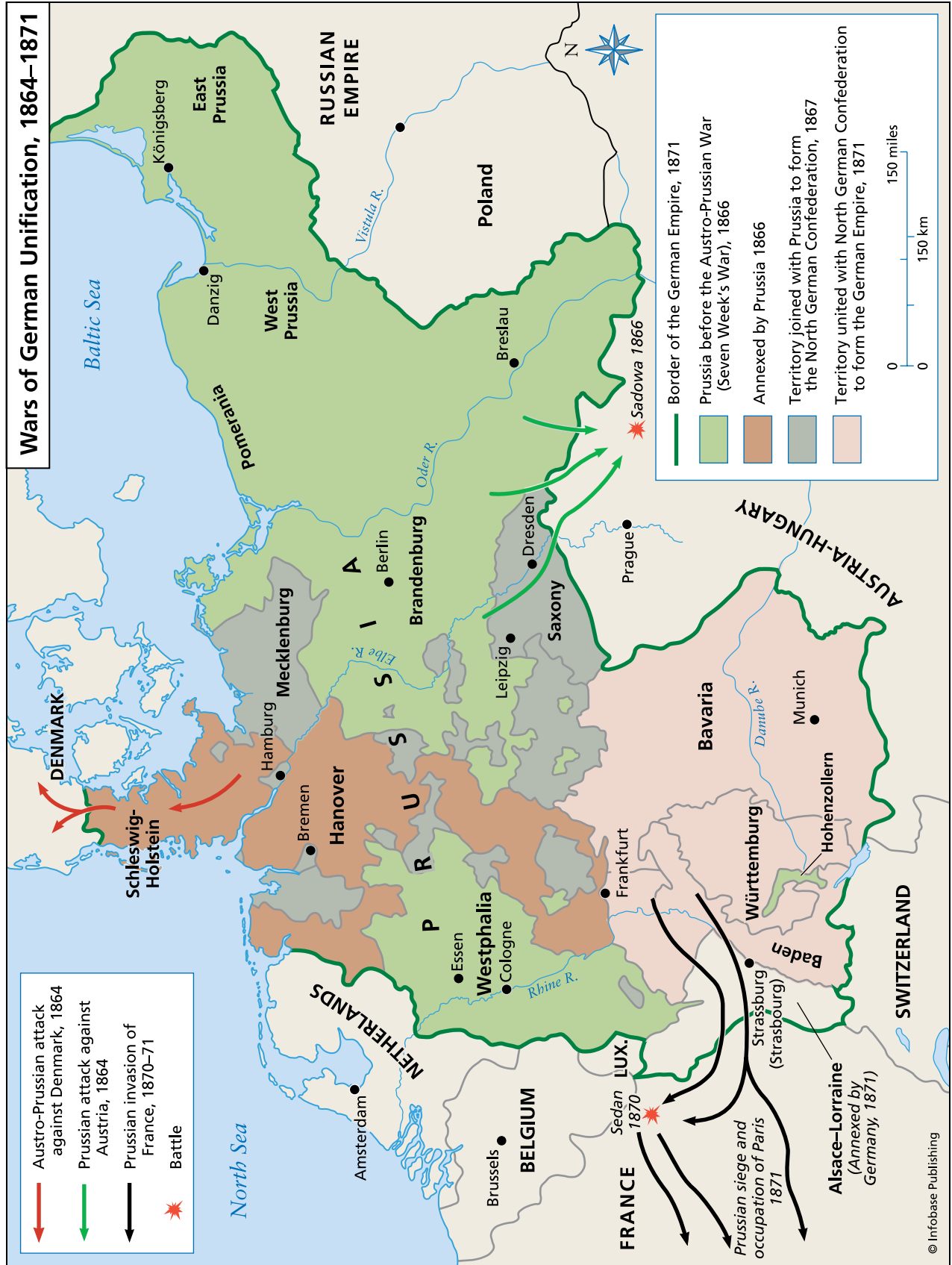
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M122 Major Battles of the American Civil War, 1861–1865





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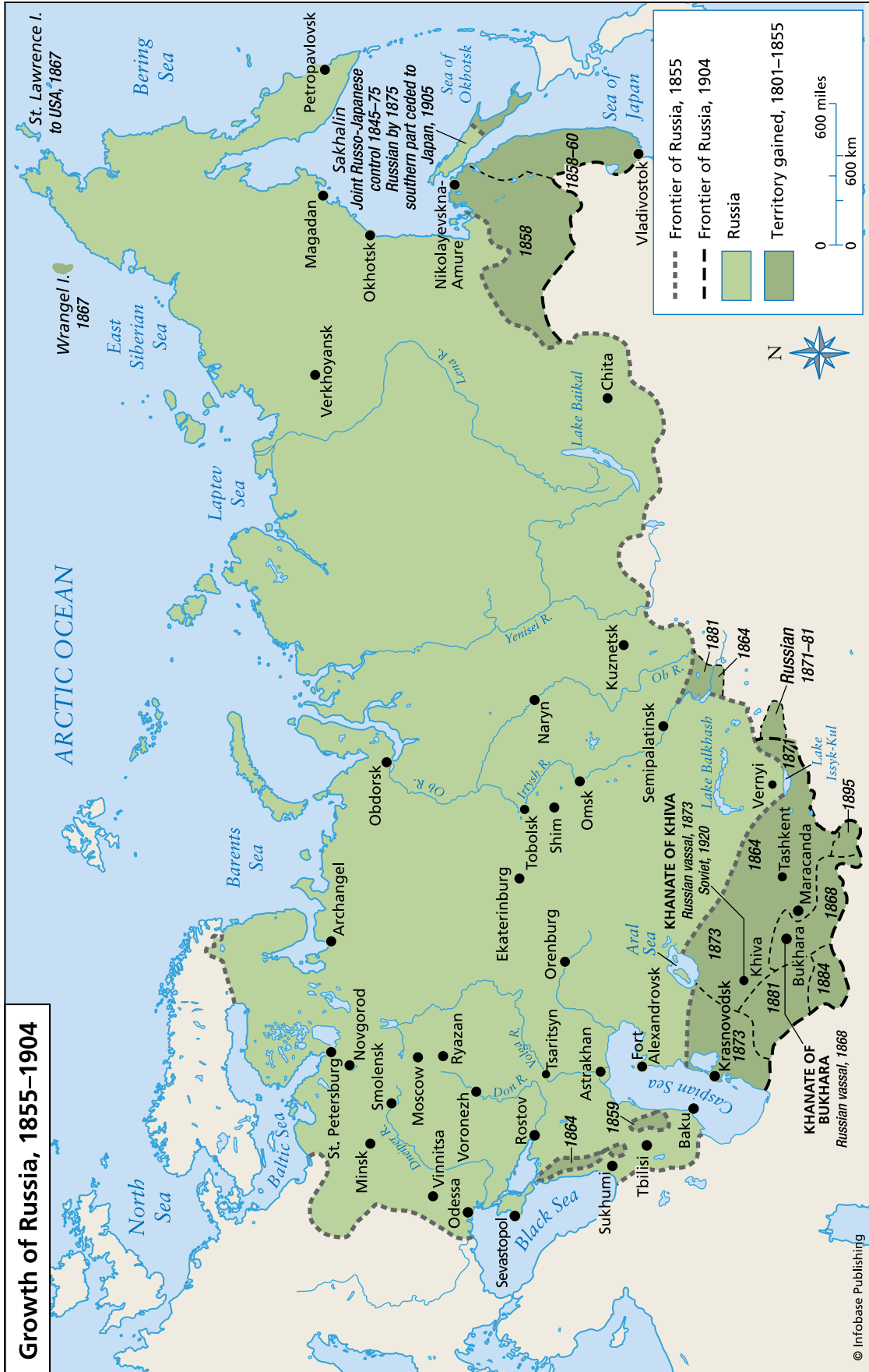






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M128 World Trade, 19th Century

