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AT A CROSSROADS »

Simon Bolivar traversed the Atlantic world, gaining inspiration from the Enlightenment and revolutionary currents he felt firsthand in Spain, France, the United States, and the Caribbean. On his return to South America, he helped spearhead the movement for independence there. No democrat, Bolívar learned from hard experience that in an independent South America, the rich variety of slaves and other workers would need to be accommodated. (The Art Archive/Museo Historico Nacional Buenos Aires/Gianni Dagli Orti)

# Atlantic Revolutions and the World

## 1750–1830


**The Promise of Enlightenment**

FOCUS What were the major ideas of the Enlightenment and their impacts?

**Revolution in North America**

FOCUS What factors lay behind the war between North American colonists and Great Britain?

**The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire**

FOCUS What changes emerged from the French Revolution and Napoleon's reign?

**Revolution Continued in the Western Hemisphere**

FOCUS What were the motives and methods of revolutionaries in the Caribbean and Latin America?

**COUNTERPOINT: Religious Revival in a Secular Age**

FOCUS What trends in Enlightenment and revolutionary society did religious revival challenge?


Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) began life as the privileged son of a family that in the sixteenth century had settled in Caracas, a city in Spanish-controlled South America (now the capital of Venezuela). His early years were full of personal loss. His father died when he was three, his mother when he was five, and his grandfather, who cared for him after his mother's death, when he was six. Bolívar's extended family sent him to military school and then to Spain to study—typical training for prominent "creoles," as South Americans of European descent were called. Following the death of his young wife, he traveled to Paris to overcome his grief. There Bolívar's life changed: he saw the military hero Napoleon crown himself emperor in 1804 and witnessed crowds of patriotic French fill the streets of the capital with joy. "That moment, I tell you, made me think of the slavery of my country and of the glory that would come to the person who liberated it," he later wrote. After a visit to the newly independent United States, Bolívar returned to his home in 1807, inspired by all he had seen, and determined to reform his homeland by freeing it from the oppressions of Spanish rule. He, too, took up arms, leading military campaigns, which along with popular uprisings eventually ousted Spain's government from much of Latin America. For his revolutionary leadership, contemporaries gave him the title "Liberator."

The creation of independent states in Latin America challenged centuries-old empires and was part of a powerful upheaval in the Atlantic world. North American colonists rebelled against Britain in 1776 and, with the help of the French and Spanish, successfully fought a war of independence, kindling other fires of liberty in the Atlantic world. The French rose up in 1789 against a monarchy that had bankrupted itself, ironically in part by giving military support to the American rebels. In 1791 a massive slave revolt erupted in the prosperous French sugar colony of Saint-Domingue, leading to the creation of the

## BACKSTORY

Rising global trade and maturing slave systems brought wealth to merchants and landowners in many parts of the world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Emboldened by this newfound wealth, they joined bureaucrats and aristocrats in the struggle for more influence, not only in the great land-based empires such as the Qing, Mughal, and Ottoman states but also in some of the small states of Europe. These small European states had developed overseas empires, which after several centuries they hoped to exploit more efficiently. They had also built their military capability and gained administrative experience as they fought one another for greater global influence. Maintaining this influence was costly, however. Simultaneously the Scientific Revolution (see Chapter 20) and the beginnings of a movement to think more rationally about government were causing some critics in Europe to question the traditional political and social order.

independent state of Haiti. The independence of Latin American states took longer to achieve, but it was globally inspirational. The English poet Lord Byron named his yacht Bolívar and in the 1820s went off to liberate Greece from the Ottomans.

These upheavals were connected with a transformation of thought and everyday life in the West called "the Enlightenment." Traders in Asia, Africa, and the Americas had brought ideas and goods to Europe. The arrival of new products such as sugar, coffee, and cotton textiles had freed many Europeans' lives from their former limits, and this newfound abundance led them to readjust their thinking. Wanting even greater wealth, they became discontented with the old order's regulation of trade and livelihoods. Both ordinary people and the upper classes proposed changing society, adding to the calls from Enlightenment thinkers whom the Scientific Revolution, the English Revolution, and global contact influenced to demand more rational government. Such ideas affected North American politicians, Caribbean activists, and creole reformers like Simon Bolívar, transforming them into revolutionaries. Thus, global trading connections played a key role both in creating the conditions that prompted the development of new ideas and in providing pathways for the spread of those ideas.

Indeed, the impulse for change extended far beyond the Atlantic world. In Ottoman-controlled Egypt, French revolutionary forces under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte invaded, claiming to bring new political ideas of liberty. A determined leader, Muhammad Ali, helped drive out the French and then promoted reforms himself. As ideas of freedom took hold and as the increasingly ambitious Bonaparte decided to push into Russia, the old powers united to fight him. Long established empires faced new, often grave challenges in this age of revolution and political change.

In 1830 the map of the world had changed, but that change came at a great cost. Alongside the birth of new nations and a growing belief in political reform, there had been widespread hardship and destruction. Soldiers died by the hundreds of thousands.

# MAPPING THE WORLD

## Wars and Revolutions in the Atlantic World, 1750–1830

Between 1773 and 1830 transplanted Europeans, their descendants, and their slaves and servants overwhelmed the Spanish, British, and French empires in the Western Hemisphere and created many independent nations. Europe and the Mediterranean also experienced revolutionary change as the ideas of just government and citizens' rights traveled the crossroads of the world and caused both transformation and turmoil.

**ROUTES**

- Voyages of Simon Bolívar, 1799–1810
- Independence campaigns of Simon Bolívar, 1817–1825

civilians also perished because political and social change set them against one another. The breakdown of established kingdoms was the work of the warriors, the ... and determined leaders, but this age of revolution crushed many. Napoleon Bonaparte was condemned to exile, and even so privileged a revolutionary as Bolívar died of exhaustion in 1830 just as the new nations of Latin America began their independent existence.

## OVERVIEW QUESTIONS

**The major global development in this chapter:** The Atlantic revolutions and their short- and long-term significance.

**As you read, consider:**

1. What role did the Scientific Revolution and expanding global contacts play in the cultural and social movement known as the Enlightenment?
2. Why did prosperous and poor people alike join revolutions in the Americas and in France?
3. Why were the Atlantic revolutions so influential, even to the present day?

# The Promise of Enlightenment

**FOCUS** What were the major ideas of the Enlightenment and their impacts?

Intense rethinking of society, politics, and the workings of the economy was under way in Europe in the eighteenth century, spurred by the Scientific Revolution's call for observation and rational thinking. Travelers' and missionaries' reports from the rest of the world provided ideas about alternative forms of government and social organization. These reports added to the questioning—already under way in Europe—of beliefs in a uniform, God-given order in all states of the world. New global products such as brightly printed cottons, lacquered furniture, and porcelain raised the issue of where the European artisans learning to produce all these goods fit in a supposedly unchanging social structure. How the social and political order should change inspired lively conversation in salons and cafés as well as profound philosophical reflection in books and essays. Even monarchs began rethinking how the state should be run and their own role in government reform.

## A New World of Ideas

Europeans in the eighteenth century had a great deal to think about. Science had challenged traditional views of nature and offered a new methodology for uncovering nature's laws. Changing techniques in agriculture and rising commerce led people to reflect on the meaning of greater abundance. Reports from around the world on foreign customs, ways of conducting government, and trade practices fueled intense discussion among Europeans. Moreover, participation in this intellectual ferment was not limited to the political and social elite. As literacy spread in Europe, ever more people were caught up in the debate over social, political, and economic change. These wide-ranging reconsiderations have come collectively to be called the Enlightenment.

**contract government** A political theory that views government as stemming from the people, who agree to surrender a measure of personal freedom in return for a government that guarantees protection of citizens' rights and property.



John Locke

Some Enlightenment writers hammered away at the abuses of monarchies and promoted representative rule based on the consent of the governed that later became the foundation of many states. The will of a monarch is not the best basis for government, the English philosopher John Locke wrote late in the seventeenth century. Rather, he maintained, government should be established rationally, by mutual consent of the governed. The idea of compact or **contract government** grew from Locke's philosophy that people were born free, equal and rational, and that natural rights, including personal freedoms, were basic to all humans. In Locke's view, governments were formed when people made the rational choice to give up a measure of freedom and create institutions that could express the people's will, guarantee natural rights, and protect everyone's property. If a government failed to fulfill these purposes, it ceased to be legitimate and the people had the right to replace it. Locke's views had centered on the situation in England, where citizens and the Parliament had, over the course of the seventeenth century, twice ousted their king.

Voltaire and Montesquieu

In contrast to Locke, French writers Voltaire and Baron Louis Montesquieu criticized their own society's religious and political abuses by referring to the political situation elsewhere—in China and outside Europe. They conspicuously set their widely read writings in faraway lands or used wise foreigners as foils to show Europe's backwardness. A wealthy educated jurist, Montesquieu in *The Persian Letters* (1721) featured a Persian ruler visiting Europe and writing back home of the strange goings-on. The continent was full of magicians, Montesquieu's hero reports, such as those who could turn wine and wafers into flesh—a mocking reference to the Christian sacrament of communion. Voltaire, a successful author thrown several times into jail for insulting the authorities, portrayed worthy young men cruelly treated by their supposed betters, such as priests and kings, in his rollicking novels *Zadig* (1747) and *Candide* (1759). From a prosperous family, Voltaire asked for a society based on merit, not on aristocracy of birth: "There is nothing in Asia that resembles the European nobility: nowhere in the Orient does one find an order of citizens distinct from all the rest by their hereditary titles or by exemptions and privileges given them solely by their birth."[2] Voltaire did not have the story quite right, but other Enlightenment thinkers joined his call for merit, hard work, and opportunity in both economic life and politics.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Swiss-born Jean-Jacques Rousseau took up the theme of freedom and opportunity in his many influential writings. In *The Social Contract* (1762) he claimed that "man is born free," but because of despotic government "he is everywhere in chains." Moving beyond the form of government to the process of shaping the modern citizen, Rousseau's best-selling novel *Emile* (1762) describes the ways in which a young boy is educated to develop many practical skills. Instead of learning through rote memory, as was common, Emile learns such skills as carpentry and medicine by actually working at them, and he spends much time outdoors, getting in touch with nature by living a simple life away from corrupt civilization. Like China's Kangxi monarch, whom Enlightenment thinkers held up as a model, Emile becomes a polymath, that is, someone with a knowledge of many subjects and numerous skills—in this case, artisanal and agricultural techniques that could earn him a livelihood. At the end of his apprenticeship in nature, Emile has become the responsible citizen who can fend for himself and regulate his movements according to natural laws, not despotically imposed ones.

Adam Smith

Enlightenment thinkers also redesigned ideas about the economy. In 1776, Scottish philosopher Adam Smith published one of the most influential Enlightenment documents, *The Wealth of Nations*. Citing China as an important example of how specialization of labor leads to prosperity, Smith proposed to free the economy from government monopolies and regulations. Merchants from South America to the Caribbean and Europe embraced the idea of freedom from mercantilist regulations that forced them to send goods exclusively through their national ports before trading them in other markets. This idea of **laissez faire** (French for "let alone") became part of the theory called **liberalism**, which endorsed economic and personal freedom guaranteed by the rule of law. Smith saw trade itself as benefiting an individual's character because it required cooperation with others in the process of exchanging goods. The virtues created by trade were more desirable

**laissez faire** An economic doctrine that advocates freeing economies from government intervention and control.

**liberalism** A political ideology that emphasizes free trade, individual rights, and the rule of law to protect rights as the best means for promoting social and economic improvement.

Spread of Enlightenment Thought

The Public Sphere

## Enlightenment and the Old Order

Enlightened Rulers

# SEEING THE PAST

## Portrait of Catherine the Great

**Catherine the Great as the Roman Goddess Minerva**
[illegible]

[illegible]

### EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE

1. What does this depiction of the empress as Minerva tell you about the society over which Catherine ruled?
2. How does this image of leadership compare with others you have seen, including those of U.S. presidents? How do you account for the differences? For the similarities?

[illegible]

Justification of Slavery

[illegible]



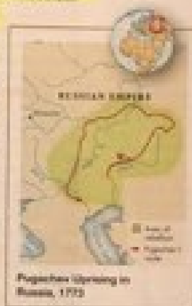


[illegible]

## Popular Revolts in an Age of Enlightenment

Pugachev Rebellion

[illegible]




**Pugachev Uprising in Russia, 1773**

Latin American Uprisings

[illegible]

# Revolution in North America

[illegible]

**FOCUS**
What factors lay behind the war between North American colonists and Great Britain?

Many enlightened North American colonists came to resent Britain's attempts [illegible] them more efficiently, and people from various walks of life soon rebelled against what they saw as government contempt for their own rights as English people. Amid growing tensions and conflict, thirteen North American colonies along the Atlantic seaboard [illegible] to forge an independent nation—the future United States of America.

## The British Empire and the Colonial Crisis 1764–1775

In the eighteenth century European states continued to wage increasingly costly wars for global trade and influence. Where governments were poorly run and taxes did not cover the huge military debts, as in the case of France, financial disaster loomed. The outcome of the Seven Years' War of 1756–1763 was enormous as, for the first time in history, Europeans fought to gain influence in South Asia, the Philippines, the Caribbean, and North America. Ultimately beating both the French and the Spanish, Britain received all of French Canada and Florida at the end of the war (see Map 23.1). It hoped to boost colonial taxation to recoup its expenses and pay the costs of administering its empire.

Taxation Without Representation

In 1764 the British Parliament raised taxes on molasses with the Sugar Act, and in the following year it passed the Stamp Act, which taxed printed material and legal documents—all of them important to colonists' everyday lives. The Townshend Acts of 1767 put duties on other useful commodities, such as paper, glass, and paint, resulting in increasingly radical protests. Driven by England's own history of revolution and by the new political theories, some colonial activists insisted that if they were going to be taxed, they needed direct representation in the English Parliament, which they currently lacked. This argument followed Locke's theory of the social contract: a government where citizens were not represented had no right to take their property in taxes. With a literacy rate of [illegible] percent among men and 40 percent among women in the North American colonies—among the highest rates anywhere—new ideas about government and reports of British misdeeds spread rapidly, especially among townspeople.

## The Birth of the United States 1775–1789

When yet another tax was placed on prized imported tea, a group of Bostonians, disguised as native Americans, dumped a load of tea into the harbor in December 1773. The British government responded to the "Boston Tea Party" by closing the seaport's thriving harbor, while colonial representatives gathered for an all-colony Continental Congress that resulted in a coordinated boycott of British goods.

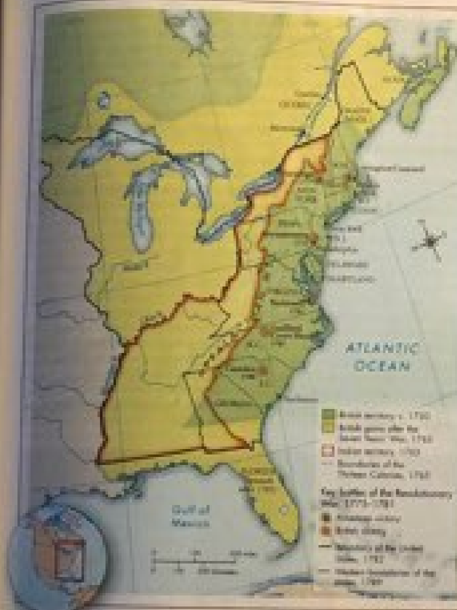
U.S. Declaration of Independence

Tensions escalated. In April 1775 artisans and farmers in Lexington and Concord fought British troops sent to confiscate a stockpile of ammunition from rebellious colonists. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress issued its "Declaration of Independence," a short, dramatic document written largely by Thomas Jefferson that aimed—like the Enlightenment itself—to convert its readers to the side of reason in matters of government. The Declaration argued that the monarchy was tyrannical and had forfeited its right to rule. It went on to articulate an Enlightenment doctrine of rights—the famous rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Some of the rebel colonists likened themselves to "slaves" lacking individual freedom, drawing a parallel—even though Declaration author Thomas Jefferson was himself a slave owner—with slave rebels across the Western world.

The War of Independence

The British sent a powerful army and navy to defeat the colonists. British forces blockaded coastal towns and occupied New York, Philadelphia, and other crucial centers of commerce and government. George Washington of Virginia headed the Continental Army. His forces suffered from lack of clothing, food, pay, and efficient recruiting. Yet the British deployed their larger armies in battle formation, whereas colonists were effective at guerrilla warfare, sniping at the invaders from behind trees and using bows and arrows if they lacked guns. Others joined in: colonial women led armies in their vicinity, knitted and sewed clothing and cared for the wounded. Critical help arrived from countries interested in blocking






MAP 23.1

**Colonial Crisis and Revolution in North America, 1754–1789**

The American Revolution soon followed the Seven Years' War, which had left Great Britain dominant in North America but with a hefty war debt to pay. To help cover the debt, the British government raised taxes on its North American colonies. Many of these colonists, however, were steeped in the ideas of the Enlightenment, and they found the new taxation oppressive and considered it a violation both of the rights of Englishmen and of the social contract between king and subjects. From the imposition of the Stamp Act to the battles of Lexington and Concord the colonists resisted, and with the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781 they won their independence.

British expansionism, foremost among these France but also Spain and the Netherlands. Substantial assistance from the French under the Marquis de Lafayette ultimately brought the British down at Yorktown, where they surrendered their army in 1781 (see again Map 23.1).

The U.S. Constitution

Growing immigration had made the United States ethnically diverse well before its founding. Uprisings and disputes over trade and taxation followed the 1781 victory, showing that a strong **federalism**, or union of states, was needed. The Articles of Confederation, drawn up in 1777 as a provisional constitution, however, proved weak because they gave the central government few powers. As the newly independent thirteen states pursued their own interests under the Articles of Confederation in the aftermath of the war, the "frail and tottering edifice [of the loosely aligned thirteen states] seems ready to fall upon our heads and crush us beneath its ruins," as Alexander Hamilton, Washington's trusted aide during the War of Independence, put it.[7] In 1787, a Constitutional Convention met

**federalism** A union of equal and sovereign states rather than a thoroughly integrated nation.

in Philadelphia to draft a new constitution. Two-thirds of the delegates were also lawyers, grounded intellectually in Enlightenment thought, but there were some of humble beginnings: a delegate from Connecticut had worked as a shoemaker before becoming a merchant, for example. Most, however, were men of property. Indeed, George Washington, who presided over the meeting, not only had a substantial plantation (like others in the group) but also was the owner of hundreds of slaves.

The Constitution reflected the broad understanding of just government shared by these propertied men. In it, the founders enshrined the contract theory of government from the Enlightenment with its opening words: "We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union." However, the document also reflected the authors' material interests. One of their primary motives in creating a strong government was to protect what they saw as a central individual right, the right to private property. The authors did not agree on every point, even when it came to private property. What, for example, should the Constitution say about slaves, individuals who were themselves property? Should slavery be acknowledged, as many of the representatives from the southern states wanted, or should it be abolished, as major participants such as Alexander Hamilton of New York believed? Born in the Caribbean of a poor family, Hamilton was a bookkeeper as a young teenager—a job that gave him valuable connections with merchant families in North America, who helped him relocate to New York City, where he attended Columbia College and then studied law. His roots in the Caribbean made him abhor the slave system. "The existence of slavery," he wrote, "makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason or experience."

Hamilton was to lose this argument. The new Constitution, formally adopted in 1788, echoed the aims of the revolution and the rights of individuals—except slaves and women. It guaranteed the ownership of property and fostered commerce and the spirit of industry by providing stable laws. Its banking structure promoted reliability in the international credit markets, and it advanced U.S. involvement with the global economy by lifting restrictions on production, commerce, and business life. The political rights given to the substantial minority—the enfranchised white men—by the U.S. Constitution and its state

**Samuel Jennings, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences* (1792)** Enlightenment writers debated whether the ideals of liberty and equality should apply to everyone regardless of race, condition of servitude, and gender. This painting, commissioned early in U.S. history to urge the abolition of slavery, shows Liberty with the Cap of Liberty on a staff next to her; she is displaying Enlightenment accomplishments in the arts and sciences to freed slaves. Although in the United States and elsewhere Liberty was usually depicted as a woman, the principles of equal citizenship expressed in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence did not apply to most women, African Americans, or native Americans. (The Library Company of Philadelphia.)



constitutions unleashed this burst of artistic innovation and enterprise. To achieve the Constitution, the founders, as men of the Enlightenment, negotiated, made concessions, and came to hard-fought agreements. The U.S. Constitution thus became a monument to consensus politics and to the form of government called a **republic**. When the heated disputes were over and the Constitution finally framed, George Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette in France that achieving the document was "little short of a miracle."

## The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire

**FOCUS**
What changes emerged from the French Revolution and Napoleon's reign?

In 1783, on the eve of victory in its War of Independence, the fledgling United States had only about 2.7 million people, but its triumph had a powerful impact on the far larger population in Europe. "The [French] nation has been awakened by our revolution," Ambassador Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1788 to President George Washington. "they feel their strength, they are enlightened." More directly, the cost of French participation in global warfare with Britain, including the North American War of Independence, hastened the collapse of the monarchy. France's taxation policy put the cost of warfare on the poor and exempted the wealthy from paying their share. In 1789, less than a decade after the victory at Yorktown, the French people took matters into their own hands, ultimately ousting the king and launching a republic. The French Revolution resonated far and wide, and under the French conqueror Napoleon Bonaparte, revolutionary principles advanced across Europe and beyond, even as Europe's monarchs struggled to halt the march of "liberty, equality, fraternity."

### From Monarchy to Republic 1789–1792

Having borrowed recklessly (as had his predecessors) to pursue wars and princely living, the French monarch Louis XVI (r. 1774–1793) in 1787 met with a firm "no" when he asked for more loans from bankers and financial help from the aristocracy. The king was forced to summon the Estates General, a representative body that had not met since 1614, to the royal palace at Versailles to bail out the government. Members of the Estates General arrived at their meeting in May 1789, carrying lists of grievances from people of all occupations and walks of life, who had met in local gatherings across France to help representatives prepare for their momentous assembly.

*Formation of the National Assembly*

There were several competing agendas at the meeting of the Estates General: those of the monarchy to repair its finances; those of the nobility to take power from the king; and those of the common people, who at the time were suffering from crop failures, heavy taxation, government restraints on trade, and a slowdown in business because of bad harvests. The meeting quickly broke down when representatives of the middle classes and common people left the general meeting. They were joined by sympathetic, reform-minded aristocrats and clergymen such as Abbé Sieyès, who asked what the mass of commoners meant to the kingdom. "Everything," he responded to his own question. "What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing." These representatives declared themselves a National Assembly of "citizens" of France, not the lowly subjects of a king. The National Assembly included the lawyers and officials who had represented most of the people in 1789 as well as reform-minded deputies from the clergy and a substantial number of nobles.

*Storming of the Bastille*

Soon much of France was overwhelmed by enthusiasm for this new government based on citizen consent. On July 14, 1789, crowds in Paris stormed the Bastille, a notorious prison where people could be incarcerated simply at the king's orders. The liberation of the Bastille by the people of Paris so symbolized the French Revolution that it became France's national holiday, just as the Declaration of Independence on July 4 eventually made that Independence Day in the United States.

**republic** A political system in which the interests of all citizens are represented in the government.

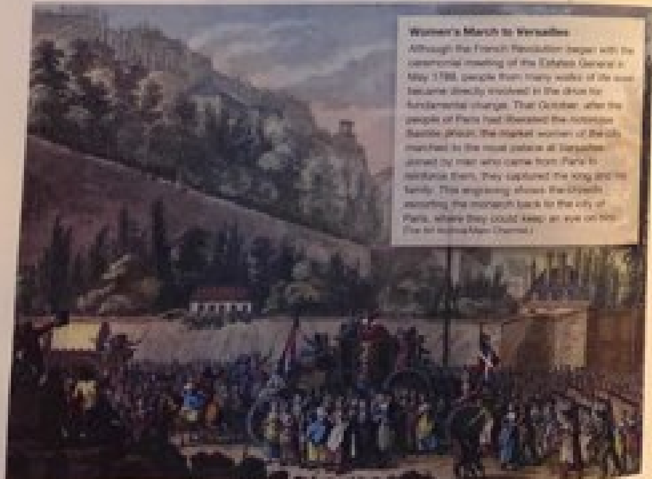
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

In its first years, the revolution was shaped by Enlightenment principles [illegible] were inspired and instructed the legislators of the National Assembly, who like U.S. revolutionary leaders were mostly from the propertied classes. With peasants rioting in the countryside against the unfair rule of aristocratic landowners, in August 1789 the nobility surrendered its privileges, such as its exemption from taxation. Later that month the National Assembly issued the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," a stirring announcement of the basic rights possessed by each new citizen, including rights to free speech, to own property, and to be safe from arbitrary acts of the state. Soon, Olympe de Gouges would issue her own "Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen," declaring, "Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights."

Power to the People

In October 1789, the market women of Paris, protesting the soaring cost of bread, marched to the palace of Versailles twelve miles away and captured the royal family, bringing it to live "with the people" in the city. In so doing, they showed that monarchs existed to serve the people—and that kings ignored this fact at their own peril. The government passed laws reducing the power of the clergy and abolishing the guild system and other institutions that would restrain trade. Suddenly people could pursue the jobs they wanted on their own terms outside guild restrictions. The liberal Enlightenment program of freedom for the person and for trade and property was now accomplished, pushed by enthusiastic demonstrations by newly empowered citizens.

These early acts of the French Revolution stirred the hearts and minds of many. Women petitioned for a range of rights, and for a time the power of the husband over his



**Women's March to Versailles** Although the French Revolution began with the ceremonial meeting of the Estates General in May 1789, people from many walks of life soon became directly involved in the drive for fundamental change. That October, after the people of Paris had liberated the notorious Bastille prison, the market women of the city marched to the royal palace at Versailles. Joined by men who came from Paris to reinforce them, they captured the king and his family. This engraving shows the crowds escorting the monarch back to the city of Paris, where they could keep an eye on him. (The Art Archive/Marc Charmet.)



wife was eliminated. Across the English Channel, poet William Wordsworth captured the mood of youthful belief that through newly active citizens the world would be reborn: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, / But to be young was very heaven!" The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen inspired the addition of a Bill of Rights to the U.S. Constitution, which outlined the essential rights, such as freedom of speech, that the government could never overturn. English author Mary Wollstonecraft penned *A Vindication of the Rights of Man* (1790) in defense of the revolution.

Mary Wollstonecraft

Two years later Wollstonecraft wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a globally influential work that saw men's privileges over women as similar to the French aristocracy's privileges over the peasantry. Current laws in Britain made men into a privileged aristocracy that took women's property and wages on marriage, thus denying women their rights. Wollstonecraft knew all this from bitter experience. Born into a well-to-do family, her brother not only inherited most of the family estate but also confiscated his sisters' inheritances for himself. Destitute, they had to earn a living without having been trained to do so. Wollstonecraft first became a governess and then a journalist, whose classic works presented that the legal privileges of men allowed them to impoverish women.

## War, Terror, and Resistance 1792–1799

War Against France and Execution of the King

As revolutionary fervor spread across national borders, the monarchs and nobility of Europe scrambled to survive. In the spring of 1792 the royal houses of Austria and Prussia declared war on France. Wartime brought to power the lawyer Maximilien Robespierre, leader in the popular Jacobin club, a political group that hoped to sweep away all institutions from the oppressive past. In the face of total defeat by Austria and Prussia and the counterrevolutionary efforts of Louis XVI, Robespierre and other politicians became convinced that it was time to do away with the monarchy; that the nation had to become a republic if the revolution were to survive. Patriotic holidays to replace religious ones, dishes with revolutionary slogans, an entirely new calendar, and new laws making the family more egalitarian turned the country upside down. Workshops were set up for the unemployed to earn a living by making war goods, and all citizens were urged to give their energy to help the war effort. In 1793 both King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette were executed by guillotine—an "enlightened" mode of execution because it killed swiftly and reduced suffering. France stood on the threshold of total transformation.

The Terror

Claiming that there could be no rights in wartime, Robespierre and the newly created Committee of Public Safety stamped out free speech, squashed the various women's clubs that had sprung up to gain the rights of citizenship, and executed people such as Olympe de Gouges whom they judged to be traitors to the republic. This was the Terror, during which the government murdered people from all classes and livelihoods—from the highest to the lowest—because enemies of the republic, the government claimed, lurked on all rungs of the social ladder. To justify its actions, the Committee of Public Safety turned to Rousseau's idea of the **general will**. Rousseau's unique interpretation of the social contract maintained that once agreement among citizens had created a state, that state acted with a higher wisdom with which truly loyal citizens could not disagree, especially in wartime. The "general will" justified the Terror's mass executions and the suspension of individual rights and even free thought. The concept was one of the French Revolution's most powerful revolutionary legacies, enacted not only by totalitarian regimes in the twentieth century but even by democracies during times of stress.

By 1794, largely because the war was turning in France's favor, moderate and propertied politicians were able to regain public support and overthrow Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety. At the same time, France's revolutionary armies went on the offensive, taking the idea of rights, constitutions, and republicanism to countries such as Austria that had tried to stop the revolution. French goals, based on a belief in the superiority of a republican form of government and full, equal citizenship for men, threatened

**general will** The political concept that once agreement among citizens creates a state, that state is endowed with a higher wisdom about policies with which virtuous citizens could not disagree.

especially among common soldiers who found upward mobility in the revolutionary army. No one took more advantage of this opportunity than a newly minted officer, the young Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821).

## Napoleon's Reign 1799–1815

**Napoleon's Rise to Power**

Napoleon Bonaparte, born into a modest Corsican family, became commander in chief of the French revolutionary army in Italy at the age of twenty-seven. A student of Enlightenment thought and an avid reader of history throughout his life, Napoleon had the good fortune to enter the army just as its aristocratic officers were fleeing the revolution in France by moving to other countries. Rising to power through the ranks, he attempted the conquest of Egypt in 1798 but escaped the country as he began to lose the campaign. He returned to France months later, in 1799. There he used the uncertain political scene to establish himself first as co-consul and then, in 1804, as emperor. "As in Rome, it took a dictator to save the Republic,"[14] Napoleon said of the repression that followed his takeover. He reconciled France with the Catholic Church and even called back to his court some of the exiled aristocracy to help add grandeur to his regime.

**The Napoleonic Code**

Yet Napoleon solidified many revolutionary changes, notably those concerning citizenship and the right to private property, as outlined in the Code Napoléon (1801–1804), a new set of basic laws. The Code set rules for property, ending restrictions on sales of the nobility's land and establishing rules for assets such as bonds, stocks, and mortgages. The Code thus advanced prosperity by providing secure laws for commercial, industrial, and agricultural livelihoods. Napoleon's founding of national schools for teachers, engineers, and the military served this end too. In the realm of family law, however, the Code reversed gains made by women during the revolution by making the wages and other property of married women the legal property of their husbands, by forbidding them to appear as witnesses in court, and by not allowing them to be guardians of their own children. Financial impoverishment gave women no choices in life but to remain loyal wives—principles that Napoleon's triumphant armies spread through Europe and that encouraged imitators around the world. Instead of respecting the equality of women suggested by some Enlightenment thinkers, Napoleon enforced Rousseau's idea that women should raise the next generation of citizens but not be equal citizens themselves.

**Napoleon's Military Campaigns**

Maintaining his grip by keeping the nation at war and plundering other countries, Napoleon launched a series of successful wars against Spain, the German states, and Italy (see Map 23.2). Then, in 1812, he made a disastrous attempt to invade and conquer Russia. The Russian army, the Russian people, and deadly winter conditions combined to deal Napoleon a catastrophic defeat. After that, a coalition of German, Russian, Austrian, and British forces defeated Napoleon twice more, once in Paris in 1814 and then, in a victory that crushed Napoleon's forces, at Waterloo in 1815.

**Congress of Vienna**

At the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), the coalition resettled the boundaries of European states. In doing so, many of Europe's rulers sought to overturn revolutionary and Napoleonic reforms to restore their old regimes. It was far too late to stamp out the principles of constitutional government and natural rights, however. Although monarchs (including France's) were restored to their thrones in 1815, there were now limitations on their powers. Moreover, Napoleon's military campaigns, which spread principles of equality and citizenship, ensured the continuation of these new values in people's minds and helped upset power arrangements around the world.

## Muhammad Ali and the Revolutionary Spirit in Egypt

Despite Napoleon's ultimate defeat, the revolutionary legacy fomented reform activity for more rational government not only across Europe but also outside it. When the French



**Napoleon and Egypt**

revolutionary armies under Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798, they faced the forces of the Ottoman Empire, whose administration, like that of other great land-based empires, was in decline. From time to time a modernizing sultan came to power hoping to enact reforms. The entrenched powers of the janissaries (elite troops) and ulamas (Muslim authorities), however, usually put a stop to such efforts. The similarly entrenched Mamluk (MAM-luke) military force that ran the Egyptian government increasingly alienated landlords and other elites with its demands for more taxes.

**MAP 23.2 Napoleonic Europe, 1796–1815**

Under Napoleon the military scene across Europe was tumultuous and bloody until 1815, when the allied forces of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain finally defeated the French emperor's "Grand Army." French forces brought revolutionary ideas and aroused national feeling. Like many empires, Napoleon's suffered from overreach; after its defeat, the victors redrew the political map of Europe to ensure a balance of power across the continent.

**Napoleon Celebrates the Birthday of Muhammad** Napoleon's invasion of Egypt simultaneously brutalized and tried to accommodate Egyptians. The French army ransacked homes and public buildings, but Napoleon himself made sympathetic gestures such as the celebration in 1798 of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad depicted here. Though they labeled the French as hypocrites, some Egyptians welcomed the books and scientific drawings Napoleon made available to them in the name of Enlightenment. (Private Collection/Roger-Viollet, Paris/ Bridgeman Art Library.)

To some among these elites, the Atlantic revolutions provided a wealth of ideas to [illegible]. Napoleon entered the country not only accompanied by a huge team of doctors, artists, scientists, and other learned men, but also armed with proposals for more enlightened rule. Amid combined resistance from the Mamluks, Ottomans, and British who aimed to stop the French, Napoleon and the French army departed Egypt. Nonetheless, they left behind rising interest in European ideas, political innovation, and technology. No one was a better student and imitator than Muhammad Ali, often called the founder of modern Egypt.

Muhammad Ali

An officer in the Ottoman forces, Muhammad Ali had worked his way up the military ranks during the anti-French campaign. Born in the Ottoman Balkans (present-day Albania), Muhammad Ali began his career as a merchant before the Ottoman army drafted him as part of the Albanian quota of young men owed to the Ottomans. Muhammad Ali's rise to power was based on military accomplishments, but also on the negotiating skills he learned as a merchant. As a politician he exchanged favors with ordinary people and persuaded wealthy traders and soldiers alike to support his ouster of the hated Mamluks.

Appointed viceroy in 1805, Muhammad Ali set out to modernize Egypt, hiring French and other European administrators, technicians, and military men to advise him. Illiterate until he was forty-seven, he had many works translated into Arabic, the translations being read to him as they progressed. One major work, a translation of Italian political theorist Machiavelli's *The Prince*, he cut short because the message was "commonplace." Muhammad Ali reportedly announced, "I see clearly that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli. I know many more tricks than he knew."[23] He advanced economic specialization in the country, sponsoring the large-scale production of cotton by several hundred thousand slaves while discouraging agriculture that was not for the market. Centralization of government, founding of public schools, improvement of transportation, and tighter bureaucratic control of Islam rounded out Muhammad Ali's reforms. His death in 1849 left his dream to make Egypt fully independent of the Ottomans unfulfilled, but like Napoleon he proved successful in applying the rational programs of the age.



# Revolution Continued in the Western Hemisphere

Such was the strength of late eighteenth-century global contacts that news of the French and American revolutions quickly spread to other parts of the Atlantic world. In the Western Hemisphere, revolutions broke out on the island of Hispaniola, motivating slave revolts elsewhere and arousing fear among whites. In Latin America, rebellion erupted not only among slaves and oppressed workers but also among middle- and upper-class creoles such as Simón Bolívar who wanted independence from Spain and Portugal. The Napoleonic Wars disturbed global trade, adding further to discontent and swelling the calls for political change. Soon concerted uprisings of peoples—rich, working-class, free peasants, and slaves—rose to fight for freedom in the Caribbean and across Latin America.

**FOCUS** What were the motives and methods of revolutionaries in the Caribbean and Latin America?

## Revolution in Haiti 1791–1804

News of the French Revolution spread to the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, where the sugar plantations and coffee farms enriched merchants, plantation owners, and sugar refiners—whites and free blacks alike. The western part of the island was the French colony of Saint-Domingue (san-doe-MANGH, modern Haiti). The eastern part of Hispaniola was Santo Domingo (modern Dominican Republic), a colony of Spain. Saint-Domingue was the wealthiest colony in the region, in part because the newly independent United States could now purchase sugar from French rather than British plantations, and it did so from Saint-Domingue. This thriving trade inspired investors and merchants in France to pour vast sums into expanding production there.

As we saw in Chapter 22, Caribbean slaves lived under inhumane conditions. The hot, humid climate made laborious work punishing and kept their life span short. Some committed suicide; women used plant medicines to induce abortions and prevent bearing children who would live in misery. Slaves also developed community bonds to sustain them. The spirit of community and resistance arose from the daily trade of vegetables grown by the slaves in their small garden plots, from the use of a common language made up of French and various African dialects, and from joint participation in Vodou—a religious tradition observed by slaves on the islands.

Solidarity and suffering made the Caribbean ripe for revolution. Slave uprisings took place regularly, and individual slaves escaped into the forests and hills to create new communities of independent people, as they did across the Hispanic world. Added to this, the Caribbean—like the entire Atlantic region—was a crossroads of ideas. Among those ideas were freedom and human rights, circulating not only among African and North American slaves but also among the several thousand free blacks and mulattos in Haiti, who constituted some [illegible] percent of the slave owners in the region. When their white counterparts passed legislation putting them at political and economic disadvantage despite their success as plantation owners and traders, many free blacks founded the Society for Friends of the Blacks in 1788 and used it to lobby enlightened politicians in Paris for equality. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, their demands grew louder. "You must return to these oppressed citizens," a group of free blacks reminded the National Assembly in October 1789, "the rights that have been unjustly stripped from them." In the face of continuing white hostility, they became, as one free black put it in 1791, "more committed than ever to uphold [our rights] with the last drop of our blood."[7]

The slaves were roused by news of revolution too. Rumors that French revolutionaries had freed them spread among the slaves, and in 1791 an organized slave uprising erupted in Saint-Domingue (see Map 23.3). From a cluster of leaders, the free black François Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture (too-SAN loo-ver-CHURE) emerged as the most able military commander. The slave revolt moved from success to success, and an enthusiastic French official sent to calm the scene did quite the opposite of what the planters wanted: he issued

**MAP 22.3 Haitian Rebellion and Independence, 1791–1804**
The French colony of Saint-Domingue was a global crossroads for the sale of slaves and the sugar they produced. Commerce brought with it the flow of new ideas from around the world, whereas slavery produced not only grievances but solidarity. Even free blacks faced racism, and the Enlightenment ideas of human rights and dignity inspired them to protest. Soon after the French Revolution broke out in 1789, slaves in Saint-Domingue revolted and ultimately declared themselves the independent nation of Haiti.

a proclamation in 1793 granting slaves their freedom. In 1794, against the wishes of plantation owners and merchants—both black and white—the French revolutionary government formally declared that blacks had rights equal to those of whites. This news quickly passed across the Caribbean and Latin America, sparking further uprisings and rebellions against European rulers.

Conditions in Saint-Domingue evolved rapidly as Toussaint, himself a former slave and one grateful to France for its support of black equality, joined the French in driving back the British and Spanish, who hoped to conquer the French portion of the island for themselves. The black plantation owners refused to cooperate politically or economically with ex-slaves, and civil war broke out. By 1800 Toussaint defeated them [illegible] and issued a series of stiff reforms. Although slaves were free, they were to return to the sugar plantations. Toussaint legislated, and for their work they would receive a quarter of the profits from sugar production. The owners would receive another fourth, and the government would receive half.

By this time, however, Napoleon had come to power in France. Answering the appeal of Saint-Domingue plantation owners—who wanted far more profit than 25 percent—he determined to "pursue the rebels without mercy [and] flush them out," thereby regaining the upper hand in the colony. The campaign led to the capture of Toussaint, who died in jail in 1803. With all blacks now uniting against any French takeover, however, the invading army suffered huge losses—some 50,000 of an army of 58,000—many of them from yellow fever. On January 1, 1804, the black generals who defeated the French proclaimed the independent republic of Haiti.

## Revolutions in Latin America 1810–1830

The thirst for change gripped people in other empires. In Spain's Latin American empire discontent among artisans, agricultural workers, and slaves, along with rivalries among creoles and Spanish-born officials and their homeland, erupted under the pressures of the Napoleonic conquest of the Iberian peninsula in 1808. "It is now time to overthrow the [Spanish] yoke," a group of rebels in La Paz declared in 1809. "It is now time to declare the principle of liberty in these miserable colonies."[18] This spirit swept the Spanish lands, as the government back home in Europe crumbled.

*Impact of the Napoleonic Wars*

When Napoleon invaded Spain and Portugal in 1807, he sent the ruling dynasties packing to give his own family control. With British help, the Portuguese monarch fled to Brazil in hopes of ruling the empire from the colonies, while in Spain the monarch was replaced by Napoleon's brother Joseph. Guerrilla warfare erupted against the French while Spanish activists also organized **juntas** (HUN tahs), or ruling councils, around the country despite French rule. In 1808, a national junta unveiled a broad program for reform. In the Spanish colonies political confusion set in as news of the junta's plan for a constitution-based government spread. Some creole leaders welcomed the planned constitution, but other creoles in business and agriculture sensed an opportunity not simply for constitutional reform but for ousting officials from Spain altogether. Like imperial rulers elsewhere, the Spanish kings had come to treat these colonies as cash cows, milking them dry to pay for a lavish way of life in Europe. In the disorder brought on by the Napoleonic invasions and the appearance of reform-minded leaders in Spain, colonial leaders saw an opportunity to end these heavy burdens.

**junta** A ruling council



The Napoleonic Wars opened up other avenues to economic and political change. Because Spain was allied with Britain in the wars against Napoleon, the people in the Spanish colonies had new contacts and new economic opportunities. Like Britain, Spain had formerly tried to prevent its colonies from manufacturing their own goods or trading directly with other countries. All goods were to be carried in Spanish vessels. Trade-minded local creoles resented these restrictions, as well as the privileged place of Spanish traders and the monopoly on good jobs enjoyed by Spanish aristocrats. The wars upset this state of affairs, throwing open ports to British vessels carrying both new ideas and exciting new products—and of them benefits of unrestricted trade. Mule drivers, parish priests, and market people also spread global news, alerting neighborhoods in distant towns to the possibility for change. Aspiring leaders saw a situation full of potential for new prosperity and freedom. Their struggles for independence would last until 1830 (see Map 22.4).

Reformers and rebels sprang into action throughout Latin America. In the lucrative colony of Mexico, Father Miguel Hidalgo, a Mexican priest trained in Enlightenment thought by the Jesuits and exiled by the Spanish to a rural parish because of his ideas, opened a campaign against colonial rule in 1810. His soldiers were his parishioners, most of them native Americans who worked as day laborers for the Spanish and creoles. The collapse of silver mining and the soaring prices of food made them desperate. Calling for the complete ouster of Spaniards, they wanted their jobs and their standard of living restored. Hidalgo's army swelled to some sixty thousand fighters, who hoped to get paid or fed as they fought. Drawn from the popular classes, the average fighter, in the opinion of the Mexican victors, was a "rabble, assassin, and libertine."[19] Yet most of Hidalgo's followers were motivated by simple outrage at the poverty and oppression they faced—not by robbery or lust. They slaughtered entire contingents of Spaniards, creoles, and anyone else who stood in their path.

Father Hidalgo was captured and executed in 1811, but other armies appeared under the leadership of mulattos, **mestizos** (mixed-blood people of native American and European ancestry), and well-born creoles, who wanted the Spanish out and opportunity offered. These armies—most notably that under the humbly born mestizo priest, Father José María Morelos—carried the uprising to the west of Mexico, using guerrilla tactics and living off the support of legions of women, who provisioned and tended the troops. The Spanish, however, were able to turn other native Americans, slaves, and mestizos against creole-led armies by pointing out that creoles owned the exploitative large farms. By 1815 the Spanish had put an end to this first stage of the Mexican drive for independence and had executed its leaders—adding to the hatred of colonialism that many felt.

Amid ongoing attacks from bandits and personal armies, new leadership emerged in Mexico, one that was more capable of victory. The key to its success lay in creoles' efforts to set aside their prejudices to unite with the native masses. Creoles adopted a nationalist sensibility, accepting the idea to distinguish all those inhabitants of Mexico born in the New World—the *Americanos*—from those born in Spain. Continued guerrilla fighting eroded the institutions of Spanish rule in Mexico, but the decisive move came when the creole leader Augustin de Iturbide (ee-tur-BEE-day) allied his forces with Vicente Guerrero (gair-RER-oh), a leader of the popular armies, himself a mestizo and thus heir to the

**Toussaint Louverture**
In 1791, Toussaint Louverture, a freed slave and slave owner, joined a slave revolt that erupted in Saint-Domingue, the prosperous sugar colony of France in the Caribbean. Louverture, shown here in his general's uniform, possessed strong military skills and soon became the leader of the Haitian Revolution, writing the constitution of the fledgling nation and working to defeat the Spanish, British, and French, who in turn sought to take the former colony for themselves. Ironically, although he modeled the new nation on French ideals of freedom and citizenship, Louverture re-enslaved many Haitians. He died in a French prison in 1803. (Private Collection/Bridgeman Art Library)

**MAP 21.4**

**Revolutions in Latin America, 1810–1830**

The Spanish government, influenced by Enlightenment ideas about rational government, attempted to streamline its rule and enhance colonial profitability. As revolution rolled across the Atlantic world, colonial subjects in Latin America were equally affected by Enlightenment ideas about liberty and the opportunities it would bring. Revolutions in Latin America were prolonged, however, and they were wide-ranging, bringing in people from many walks of life and ethnicities as well as soldiers from different parts of the world—all motivated by the potential for revolutionary transformation.

Independence for Mexico

Morelos legacy of native rights. Iturbide had once served the Spanish as an army officer, winning battles and collecting tribute for the government. As was so often the case, his creole birth blocked his advance in the Spanish colony, despite his record. Resentment of entrenched Spanish privilege made him a natural ally of people who were also held back by what the Spanish saw as low birth—native American, black, mestizo, or mulatto. Iturbide's and Guerrero's forces reached an agreement for a constitutional monarchy independent of Spain. In 1821, the three hundredth anniversary of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Iturbide entered Mexico City as Spanish rule disintegrated. Yet it was not this event but rather the start of Father Hidalgo's uprising of the common people on September 16, 1810 that came to mark Mexico's Day of Independence.

Across South America similar independent rebel armies sprang up, most of them controlled by a local strongman, or caudillo (kaw-DEE-yoh), who was able to raise armies from people of all classes and ethnicities. Such a caudillo was José Gervasio Artigas in Uruguay. Artigas was a rancher, cattle thief, and, by virtue of having his own army, a regional



presidencies. While keeping peace locally, the caudillos had as many problems getting along with one another as they did enduring Spanish rule. One quality these creoles shared, however, was their contempt for native Americans, Africans, mulattos, and mestizos. Simón Bolívar mustered caudillo support to liberate Venezuela in 1811, but at the time he thought/believed that slavery could be maintained in the fight for national independence.

Independence for Peru

Nonetheless, with the Spanish monarchy's return to power after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, it became clear that creoles in Latin America needed to ally themselves with oppressed workers, agricultural laborers, and the llaneros (yah-NEH-rows), or local cowboys of all races (see Lives and Livelihoods: The Cowboy Way of Life). Bolívar made himself one with the llaneros, demonstrating that his troops were militarily fit and daring riders; he called for the forging of a Gran Colombia—a united nation like the United States, composed of all the liberated lands. To create such a state, the foreign-born Spanish must be ousted for good. Stressing Spanish oppression and the appeal to all "Americans" did some good, enabling Bolívar, with the help of black troops, to take Bogotá, Caracas, and Quito by 1822. In the meantime Argentinean general José de San Martín was conquering Buenos Aires, western Argentina, and Chile, moving into Peru in 1818. His armies bogged down in Peru, however, leaving the final task of ousting the Spanish to Bolívar, whose armies finally took Lima in 1824 and upper Peru or Bolivia in 1825 (see again Map 21.4). Both San Martín and Bolívar had originally seen no conflict between their own freedom and the existence of slavery, but as the need for slave support became obvious, Bolívar declared it "madness that a revolution for liberty should try to maintain slavery."[illegible] To get the support of the vast number of slaves, many liberation leaders promised and awarded slave soldiers their emancipation, either immediately as a way of attracting fighters or after the wars as a reward for victory.

Independence for Brazil

Brazil gained its independence from Portugal more tranquilly than the Spanish colonies did from Spain, and with little change in the social situation: slavery and the hierarchy alike were left intact. The ruling family, safe in Brazil, was summoned back to Portugal at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, but the king left his son Pedro behind in the capital of Rio de Janeiro. Pedro proceeded to cooperate with business and other leaders and in 1822 declared Brazil independent of Portugal and made himself king. With the masses set-

**Upper-Class Woman and Her Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Brazil** Many aristocrats and wealthy landowners in prerevolutionary South America followed European customs in such matters as display of class privileges. For instance, in Europe servants wore uniforms or livery, as do these slaves as they carry their upper-class mistress in a sedan chair and follow her on foot. Aristocratic status was often evident in the number of people accompanying a noble person, but these slaves also show the variety in slave livelihoods. ([illegible])

# LIVES AND LIVELIHOODS

## The Cowboy Way of Life

**Gauchos**
Gauchos lived away from towns, cities, and settled ranches. Like cowboys, their North American counterparts, gauchos prided themselves on a range of skills with wild horses and other animals. In this nineteenth-century colored etching, a gaucho hurls a rope with a ball on its end to capture a rhea by entangling its legs in the rope. As South America developed commerce, manufacturing, and modern industry, the gaucho came to symbolize the independent spirit of the young nations. ([illegible])

One of the most important livelihoods in the Western Hemisphere was that of cowboys or cattle hunters, who differed from the later settled ranchers for whom cowboys came to work. Called gauchos in Argentina, llaneros in Venezuela and Colombia, and vaqueros in Mexico, cowboys rode the prairies rounding up the wild horses and cattle that grazed there. They created their livelihood from scratch, for only after 1494 when Columbus first introduced cattle into the Caribbean did cattle spread across both North and South America. As the livestock multiplied, cowboys hunted down the wild animals and slaughtered them. Cowboys developed an entire range of skills, making lassos, for example, from horses' tails. But their most lucrative products were animal hides and byproducts such as leather and tallow for candle-making.

These herdsmen, similar to those on the Asian steppes, were usually nomadic, with their own customs and ways of life. Living as far as possible from cities and the centers of government, they aimed to keep their independence and to escape government regulation, which increased under the Bourbon Reforms. Cowboys in all areas usually refused to ride mares as an unmanly practice and generally prided themselves on maintaining the rough masculine ways of frontiersmen. Enterprising landowners, however, set up vast ranches and challenged the claims of the gauchos, llaneros, and vaqueros who saw wild horses as their own. Settled ranchers hired their own cattle tenders and then encouraged the government to see the independent cowboys as "cattle rustlers" and thieves.

Their independent way of life eventually led nation builders to mythologize gauchos, llaneros, and other cowboys as symbols of freedom for the nation as a whole. However, cowboys played a more direct role in both politics and nation building in the nineteenth century. Their experience with horses made them valuable fighters on both sides in the war for Latin American independence, and their survival skills helped them endure the rough conditions of battle.

### QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. For what reasons would some gauchos and llaneros ally themselves with upper-class creoles in the Latin American independence movements?
2. Why have cowboys become such icons in both North and South America?

**For Further Information**

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against Portuguese foreigners, there was widespread resistance to independence even with major social change. A frontier society like the United States, Brazil beckoned restless peasants, adventurers, and exiles from around the world as a land of opportunity.

Consequences of independence

For the most part, however, the new Latin American countries had been so devastated by years of exploitation, warfare, banditry, and armed uprising that except in Brazil economies were in shambles. Instead of effecting social reform that would have encouraged economic initiative, most new governments worked to ensure creole dominance, [illegible]. In 1799 a Spanish bishop-elect had noted the "great conflict of interests and the hostility which invariably prevails between those who have nothing and those who have everything."[15] Independence did not transform this situation, and thus the popular forces that would have promoted innovation and increased activity of the grassroots did not materialize as effectively as in the newly independent United States.

## New Ideologies and Revolutionary Legacies

The revolutions in the Americas and Europe achieved independence for some states but deliberately failed to bring full and free citizenship to slaves, women, and a range of subordinated and oppressed peoples. Nonetheless, they left aspirations for the economic opportunity and personal freedom that define the term *liberalism*. Inspired by Enlightenment principles, revolutionaries sought to create centralized nation-states ruled under a constitution as opposed to monarchical governments given to arbitrary rulings by aristocrats and princes. In the early days of both the North American and French republics, this faith in a unified nation of like-minded peoples, which came to be known as **nationalism**, went hand in hand with liberalism. The idea was that the unified rule of law under a single nation, as embodied in the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, would guarantee constitutional rights and economic growth through free trade. Latin American leaders such as Bolívar had much less faith in all the people of the nation being ready for participation in government (see Reading the Past: Simón Bolívar on Latin American Independence).

The definition of nationalism became more complicated even as it was being born. For one thing, a host of opponents to the new governments of the United States and France believed that time-honored monarchical traditions were a better guarantee of a peaceful society than constitutions and republics. Such thought was called **conservatism**, and many prominent conservatives across Europe and the Americas argued the case for tradition, continuity, and gradual reform based on practical experience. Appalled by the violence and bloodshed of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke of England attacked Enlightenment ideas of a social contract, citizenship, and new-fangled constitutions as destructive to the wisdom of the ages.

Like conservatism, **romanticism**—a philosophical and artistic movement that glorified nature, emotion, and the imagination—emerged partly in reaction to the Enlightenment's reliance on reason, especially after the violent excesses of the French Revolution. Closely related to early nationalism, romanticism was also a response to the political turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars. There thus grew up a romantic nationalism, especially in territories such as the German states. Romantic nationalists revered language and traditions as sources of a common feeling among peoples—the instinct, among all the German peoples. "Perfect laws are the beautiful and free forms of the interior life of a nation," wrote one German jurist, criticizing reformers' desire to take the Napoleonic Code as a model for change. For him, the Napoleonic Code had not "come out of the life of the German nation."[16] Romantic nationalists took less pride in law codes, well-defined citizenship, and civic rights than in their ancient past and shared cultural experience.

To make the revolutionary legacy more complicated yet, Napoleon Bonaparte and Simón Bolívar ultimately became romantic heroes to rich and poor alike even though they represented Enlightenment ideals of social mobility, consistent systems of laws, a rational approach to government, and economic modernizing. "My wife and I," said one distillery worker in southern France in 1822, "have the emperor in our guts."[17] The many poets,

**nationalism** A belief in the importance of one's nation, stemming from its unique laws, language, traditions, and history.

**conservatism** A political philosophy emphasizing the continuation of traditional institutions and opposition to sudden change in the established order.

**romanticism** A European philosophical and artistic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that valued feeling over reason and glorified traditional customs, nature, and the imagination.

# READING THE PAST

## Simon Bolivar on Latin American Independence

Simon Bolivar was a heroic "Liberator" to some observers, an authoritarian creole to others. Some of these contradictory images come from Bolivar's own views of the situation in Latin America. This document is from Bolivar's "Letter from Jamaica," written in exile after his 1815 flight from Spanish forces. In it Bolivar expresses his thoughts about liberation from the Spanish and the possibilities for representative government thereafter.

> The position of the inhabitants of the American hemisphere has for centuries been purely passive. Its political role nonexistent. We are still at a level lower than slavery, and for that reason it is more difficult for us to raise ourselves to attain the enjoyment of freedom. . . . States are enslaved because of either the nature or the abuse of their constitutions; a people is therefore enslaved when the government by its essential nature or by its vices tramples on and usurps the rights of the citizens or subjects. . . .
>
> As long as our countrymen do not acquire the political capacities and virtues that distinguish our brothers of the north, fully democratic systems, far from working to our advantage, will, I fear, bring about our downfall. Unfortunately, these traits, to the extent to which they are required, do not appear to be within our reach. On the contrary, we are dominated by the vices acquired during the rule of a nation like Spain, which has only distinguished itself in brutality, [illegible], and greed. . . .
>
> South Americans have tried to create [illegible] perfect institutions, doubtless out of that instinct which all men have to attain the greatest happiness possible, which necessarily follows in civil societies founded on the principles of justice, liberty, and equality. But can we maintain in proper balance the difficult charge of a republic? Is it conceivable that a newly liberated people can soar to the height of freedom, . . . without falling into an abyss? Such a marvel is inconceivable and never before seen.

Source: Carta de Jamaica, September 6, 1815, in [illegible] (Madrid: [illegible], [illegible]). Translated by Daniel R. [illegible].

**EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE**

1. How does Bolivar characterize Spanish rule?
2. How does he think this rule has affected his contemporaries' capacity for self-government?
3. What seem to be the political options left to Latin Americans once they have obtained their independence?

musicians, and artists influenced by romanticism earned their livelihoods not only by glorifying feelings instead of reason but by spreading the myth of Napoleon and Simon Bolivar as superhuman rulers who overcame horrific obstacles to become conquerors. These powerful, if conflicting, ideas—liberalism, nationalism, conservatism, and romanticism—resonated down through the next centuries, shaping both local and global politics.

## COUNTERPOINT
## Religious Revival in a Secular Age

**FOCUS**
What trends in Enlightenment and revolutionary society did religious revival challenge?

As we have seen in this chapter, in the challenge to long-established empires, some peoples declared their sovereignty and set up states in opposition to centuries-old forms of rulership. In the influential cases of France and the United States, the principle of a secular state—one tied to no particular religious denomination, supported by the Enlightenment idea that reason rather than faith should determine social, political, and economic regulations. The French under Robespierre devised national festivals to substitute for religious holidays and even, at the height of revolutionary terror, converted churches into "temples of reason." But secularism did not prevail everywhere, and movements arose that countered the weakening of religious belief or its supposedly empty ritual. In Europe and North America, great surges of religious fervor took hold of people's daily lives, and in the Arabian peninsula reformers sought to restore Muslims to the fundamental teachings of Islam.





### Christianity's Great Awakening

*The Great Awakening*

The spirit of Christian revival first took shape in Prussia, where Lutherans had called for a renewal of faith in the late seventeenth century. As Protestant revival spread across the European continent, people joined new evangelical churches, most of them focused on sharpening the inward experience of faith. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a wave of revivals that historians term the "Great Awakening" took place throughout Britain and the North American colonies. Emotional orators such as the English preachers John Wesley and George Whitefield appeared at large rallies, rousing the faithful to break off from the sterile ritual of established churches and to join new communities of faith such as Methodism, the evangelical Protestant church founded by Wesley and characterized by active concern with social welfare and public morals. Some observers were appalled by the sight of worshippers literally weeping at the perils of damnation; in the words of one, the Great Awakening was "horrible beyond expression." Nonetheless, in the middle colonies of British North America alone, some 150 new Protestant congregations were organized between 1740 and 1770.

*New Churches and the State*

Beginning in around 1800, the United States experienced a Second Great Awakening, when thousands at a time flocked to revival meetings. Describing the scene, one commentator wrote that "some of the people were singing, others praying, some praying for mercy," as they testified to their faith in the face of the growth of science, rationalism, and emotional coldness in the old churches. At the same time, African American slaves were also forming churches, finding in religion evidence of their humanity (see Reading the Past: Phillis Wheatley, "On Being Brought from Africa to America"). Religion later provided arguments for an end to slavery and were part of a rising democratic impulse among people who together addressed their comments directly and emotionally to God. Despite the surge in religious enthusiasm, governments such as that of the United States declined to proclaim an official faith because of their people's religious diversity and because of Enlightenment thinkers' suspicion of churches as institutions.

### Government and Religion Allied

In some instances, ties between government and religion became stronger, not weaker. In the Arabian peninsula an eighteenth-century religious reformer, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, developed a strong alliance with Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, the head of a small market town. Ibn Abd al-Wahhab called on Muslims to return to the tenets of Islam, most importantly the worship of the single god, Allah. He felt that Islam had been betrayed by an overemphasis on the Prophet Muhammad and other human saints. At the time, in fact, people worshiped local fortunetell[illegible]

**Mecca and Wahhabism**
Wahhabis fought for a purified Islamic faith, one that eliminated the common practice in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Muslim world of worshiping at religious shrines and the tombs of saints. They destroyed the tombs of the Prophet Muhammad's family but were stopped from destroying the tomb of the Prophet himself. Because the pilgrimage to Mecca was one of the five "pillars" of the faith, Mecca itself, depicted here, remained a center of religious devotion that grew in importance as Islam spread around the world. (Popular Traditions Museum, [illegible] / Bridgeman Art Library.)

# READING THE PAST

## Phillis Wheatley, "On Being Brought from Africa to America"

Born in Senegal in 1753, Phillis Wheatley was seven when she was sold into slavery to a Boston family, who educated her along with their children. Wheatley published celebrated poetry while a slave, becoming a sensation in New England and even traveling to England in 1773. A voyager to three continents, Wheatley was a true child of the Atlantic world. This celebrated poem, written while she was a teenager, contains a host of ideas and images about slavery and her own condition. As you read, consider why this short verse might pose problems for some modern readers.

> 'Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,
> Taught my benighted soul to understand
> That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too:
> Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
> Some view our sable race with scornful eye,
> "Their colour is a diabolic die."
> Remember, Christians, Negroes, black as Cain,
> May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train.

### EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE

1. In what ways does this poem reflect Enlightenment thought?
2. How does it relate to the Great Awakening?
3. Which ideas in the poem might present-day critics condemn? Which ideas might they praise?

Arabia, 1800–1807

ers and healers as well as graves, rocks, and trees. One traveler found Arabs "so negligent of religion" that they were "generally considered infidels." This was certainly the opinion of ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his followers, who declared these departures from the tenets of Islam to be paganism itself. He got help in his quest to return Arabs to the basic principles of Islam not only from his large and active following but from the house of Sa'ud—the town's leading family. Unity of worship would come with political unity, led in ibn Abd al-Wahhab's mind by the Sa'uds. They would unite the various tribes under a purified Islamic practice, realizing al-Wahhab's belief that "Arab" meant Muslim.

Wahhabi-Sa'ud Alliance

Muslims, if they are physically able, are instructed to make a pilgrimage to Mecca during their lifetime as one of their basic obligations. The Wahhabis, as the reformer's followers came to be called (at first, by their enemies), were determined to take control of Mecca for the Sa'uds and for the cause of Islamic fundamentalism. In 1802, making their first attempt, they destroyed all mosques dedicated to the worship of Muhammad. Being connected with the Sa'uds put real muscle to the Wahhabis' religious fervor, and in 1807 they finally wrenched the religious sites of Mecca and Medina from Ottoman control. Although the Ottomans would regain possession in 1840, the alliance between the Sa'uds and the Wahhabis remained and became ever more powerful in the twentieth century as the discovery of oil in the region fortified the Sa'uds and the Wahhabis along with them.[17]

## Conclusion

This period saw widespread challenges to centuries-old empires in the Americas, Europe, the Caribbean, West Asia, and Egypt. The most direct of these challenges came from the popular uprisings known as the Atlantic revolutions. In these revolutions, state power and rigid social structures impinged on people's lives by promoting high taxes and controlling commerce. Deepening poverty and frustrated ambitions afflicted ordinary folk, whether in





France or in Peru, causing both riots and political activism. These economic conditions awakened some revolutionaries. Others were inspired to push for political reform by Enlightenment ideas about government based on individual rights and the rational rule of law rather than on inherited privilege and notions of a divine order. Simón Bolívar was one such secular-minded revolutionary and state builder. Other political actors, such as the Wahhabis of the Arabian peninsula, drew on religious fervor in their state building, forming a counterpoint to the general trend.

Independence in the Western Hemisphere affected the entire world. As frontier societies, North American and Latin American countries served as magnets for European investment and for people searching for better livelihoods. Still, countless people of all classes and ethnicities who participated in the uprisings in the Atlantic world benefited not at all or in the most limited way. Slavery remained entrenched in some countries, and women, free blacks, and other people of color were usually disqualified from participating in politics. As representative government developed, it was uneven, especially in Latin America, where a creole elite dominated the new nations.

These political revolutions nonetheless formed a platform for further social and economic change, and we remember them for their powerful and enduring influence. In the short term, the revolutions created conditions for heightened manufacturing and eventually the Industrial Revolution. In the long term, they gave citizens confidence to use their freedom. "It is harder to release a nation from servitude than to enslave a free nation," Bolívar had written, and in this respect the age of revolutions nurtured aspirations and opened up opportunities.

### NOTES

[illegible]

[illegible footnotes 21–25]

## RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH

### The Promise of Enlightenment

[illegible]

### Revolution in North America

[illegible]

### The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire

[illegible]

Hunt, Lynn. *Inventing Human Rights: A History.* 2007.
[illegible]
Todd, Janet. *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Life.* 2000.

### Revolution Continued in the Western Hemisphere

[illegible]

Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution.* 2004.
[illegible]

### COUNTERPOINT: Religious Revival in a Secular Age

[illegible]

- For additional primary sources from this period, see *Sources of Global Crossroads* [illegible]
- For Web sites, images, and documents related to topics in this chapter, see *Make History* at bedfordstmartins.com/smith.

# REVIEW

Online Study Guide
bedfordstmartins.com/smith

**The major global development in this chapter** ► The Atlantic revolutions and their short- and long-term significance.

### IMPORTANT EVENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1751–1772 | Publication of the *Encyclopedia* |
| 1762 | Jean-Jacques Rousseau publishes *The Social Contract* and *Emile* |
| 1775–1787 | Revolution in North America |
| 1776 | Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* |
| 1789 | U.S. Constitution formally adopted; revolution begins in France |
| 1791 | Revolution begins in Haiti |
| 1792 | France declared a republic; Mary Wollstonecraft writes *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* |
| 1799 | Napoleon comes to power |
| 1804 | Haiti becomes independent from France |
| 1811 | Simon Bolivar first takes up arms against Spain |
| 1815 | Napoleon defeated at Waterloo; Congress of Vienna resettles the boundaries of European states |
| 1816 | Argentina becomes independent from Spain |
| 1818 | Chile becomes independent from Spain |
| 1821 | Mexico and Peru become independent from Spain |
| 1822 | Brazil becomes independent from Portugal |
| 1825 | Bolivia becomes independent from Spain |

### KEY TERMS

**conservatism** (p. 783)
**contract government** (p. 763)
**Deism** (p. 760)
**general will** (p. 770)
[illegible] (p. 778)
**laissez faire** (p. 765)
**liberalism** (p. 783)
**nationalism** (p. 783)
**public sphere** (p. 764)
**republic** (p. 771)
**romanticism** (p. 780)

### CHAPTER OVERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What role did the Scientific Revolution and expanding global contacts play in the cultural and social movement known as the Enlightenment?
2. Why did prosperous and poor people alike join revolutions in the Americas and in France?
3. Why were the Atlantic revolutions so influential, even to the present day?

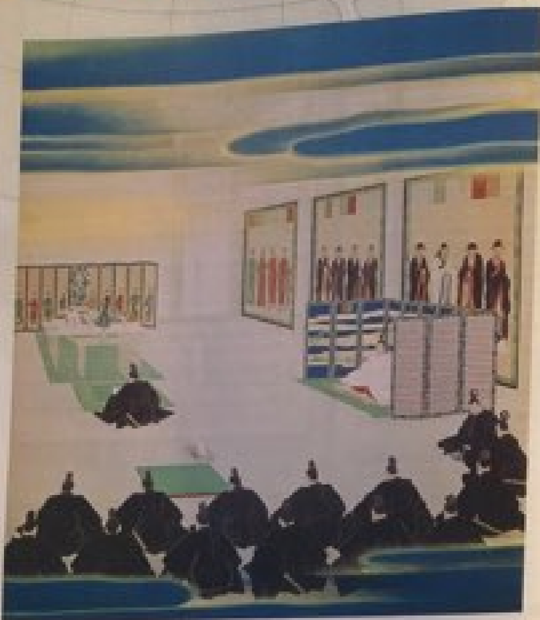
### SECTION FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What were the major ideas of the Enlightenment and their impacts?
2. What factors lay behind the war between North American colonists and Great Britain?
3. What changes emerged from the French Revolution and Napoleon's reign?
4. What were the motives and methods of revolutionaries in the Caribbean and Latin America?
5. What trends in Enlightenment and revolutionary society did religious revival challenge?

### MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. What was the relationship between the Enlightenment and the political revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?
2. What are the common challenges that centuries-old empires faced during this period?
3. What makes Napoleon a significant historical figure?
4. Why was there so much bloodshed in the various efforts to achieve political and social change?

25



**AT A CROSSROADS ▲**

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 was the foundation of Japanese nation building and industrialization. Its Charter Oath, the founding document of Japan's new regime, is shown here being read in the presence of the emperor. The Charter Oath established the rule of law over "evil customs" of the past and opened the door to freedom in livelihoods. It also called on the Japanese to scour the world for new findings and advances, making Japan a crossroads of nation building and economic development. (Art Resource, NY)

# The Rise of Modern Nation-States

## 1850–1900

**Modernizing Nations**

FOCUS How did some states transform themselves into modern nations?

**Emerging Powers: The United States and Japan**

FOCUS How did the United States and Japan make their governments politically and economically powerful in the nineteenth century?

**The Culture of Nations**

FOCUS What part did culture play in forging a national identity?

**COUNTERPOINT: Outsiders Inside the Nation-State**

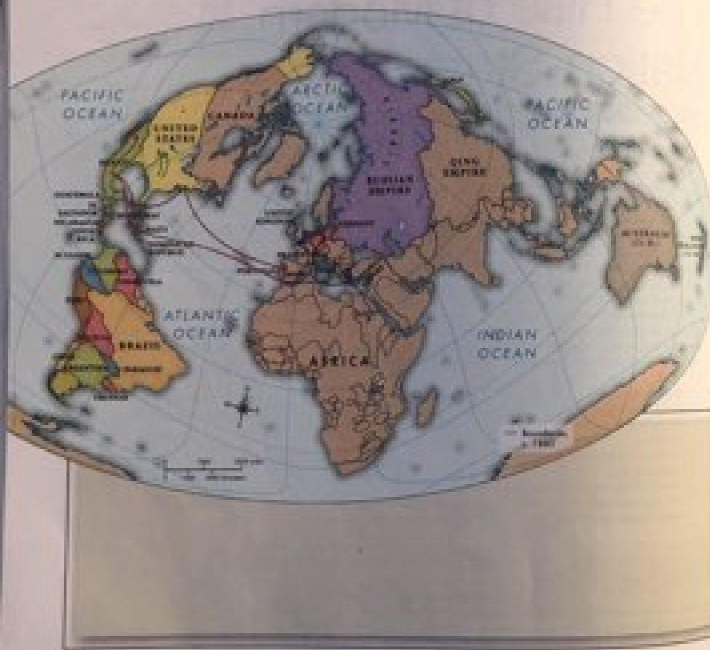
FOCUS Which groups were excluded from full participation in the nation-state, and why?

In 1862 Matsuo Taseko, a prosperous Japanese peasant, packed a few possessions and, leaving her family behind, made her way to the capital at Kyoto. The trip was an unusual one for a woman to make on her own, and even more so because of its goal: to overthrow the country's civilian leadership. Taseko belonged to a group of conservative activists eager to restore the power of the Japanese emperor, who for centuries had played second fiddle to the Tokugawa shogun, or first minister. So subordinate was the emperor that he received just 5 percent of the government's revenues while the shogun took 25 percent. To those in Taseko's group, the shogun's position was a reversal of the natural order. In a proper world, decision making and revenue should have been the other way around. "Despicable charlatans," she called the shogun's administration. Even worse to Taseko was the presence of foreigners in the country's port cities, notably the Americans and British, who had demanded in the 1850s that Japan open its harbors to global trade. Taseko wrote this poem about them:

> The superficial
> foreign barbarians
> pile up mountains
> of silver,
> but even I, who am not
> a brave warrior
> from the land of the rising sun,
> I do not want their money.
> I would rather be poor.[1]

## BACKSTORY

As we saw in Chapter 24, throughout the nineteenth century Europe and the United States industrialized rapidly, if unevenly, allowing the West to catch up economically with India and China. Industrialization offered a host of advantages to the West. Both Europe and the United States excelled in producing weaponry, which made them especially successful in opening trade and gaining diplomatic power. Industrializing nations engaged in increasingly global commerce, enjoyed greater productivity, and developed dense networks of swift transportation. As the West's newly industrialized states extended their power around the world, industrialization also produced internal transformations. It gave rise to new social classes and new occupations, swelling the middle and working classes and giving both a stake in the growing prosperity of their nations. These groups had the awareness, and some of them the wealth, to challenge the political and social values of kings and the aristocracy, sometimes overthrowing existing political institutions entirely and at other times working to modify them.






Beginning in 1862 members of Taseko's conservative group, aiming to free Japan from outside influences and to restore the emperor, took part in a virtual civil war with reformers who wanted trade, the latest technology, and a modern nation-state. Assassinations, riots, and street violence plagued the country, causing Taseko herself, who was sometimes seen as a spy by political opposites, to go into hiding in the spring of 1863 and eventually to return to her hometown. By 1868 the reformers had restored the emperor to his central position in a nation-building revolution that became known as the Meiji Restoration.

The Meiji Restoration was primarily the work of prepared individuals who wanted to update Japan's government and economy. It was part of a global nineteenth-century trend toward building strong states whose people felt bound together as part of a single political unity. In Latin America, leaders in Mexico, Argentina, and other states struggled to develop national institutions and to create connections between the central government and local elites. In Europe the nation-states of Germany and Italy unified amid economic ferment and calls for social and political reform. The United States fought a destructive civil war and killed and displaced native Americans to create a mighty continent-state stretching thousands of miles. Russia freed its serfs and reformed its legal and military systems—reforms designed to make it more competitive in a modernizing and global economic system.

Historians sometimes treat the rise of powerful nation-states and the sense of national identity among peoples as part of an inevitable process. However, it was not. As Italy and Germany were forming unified nations and Latin Americans were developing notions of modern citizenship, millions of individuals in the Austrian Empire, Africa, and Oceania, for example, held on to local identities based on village life or ethnic ties. Moreover, many

## MAPPING THE WORLD

### Nation-States, c. 1880

In many cases, but not all, industrial growth and revolutionary uprisings often led kingdoms to develop into nation-states. Around the world, nations reformed their administrative structures, created more effective armies, and encouraged national spirit. From Russia to Australia and across the Western Hemisphere, war and the seizure of native peoples' lands accompanied the rise of the nation-state.

**ROUTES**

- Forced migrations of Native Americans, 1830–1835
- Travels of Florence Nightingale, 1820–1855
- Travels of Camillo di Cavour, 1830–1838
- Travels of Angela Peralta, 1862–1883

1833–1855 Mexican caudillo Santa Anna serves at intervals to lead the government

1846–1848 Mexican-American War

1853–1856 Crimean War

1861–1865 U.S. Civil War

1859–1870 Unification of Italy

1863 Emancipation Proclamation in the United States

1860s Popular uprisings in Japan

1889 Brazilian emperor Pedro II abdicates and republic is installed

1840 | 1850 | 1860 | 1880 | 1890 | 1900

Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass 1855

1860s Height of opera singer Angela Peralta's career

Emancipation of the serfs in Russia 1861

Meiji Restoration in Japan 1868

Unification of Germany 1866–1871

1881 Young rebels assassinate Alexander II of Russia

1888 Emancipation of slaves in Brazil

Fukuzawa Yukichi, Encouragement of Learning

rulers had no interest in political and economic reforms, preferring to embrace [illegible] rather than change.

Other less-powerful states labored unsuccessfully to meet the challenges of [illegible], rising populations, and the growing industrial power of Europe. The Ottoman [illegible] found it difficult to modernize their administration of a complex empire [illegible] such as the rulers of Egypt modernized cities, transportation, and other [illegible] their own. China's leaders failed to reform its governmental structures sufficiently to [illegible] off the inroads made by the European powers, even though segments of its [illegible] were pushing for modern institutions and growing rich by dealing with the West.

Matsuo was a traditionalist—eager to restore the emperor to power and to [illegible] of outside influence. Although she was a peasant, she was well educated. [illegible] that also contributed to nation building as people circulated and debated political and philosophical writings, poetry, and other works. People came to be united not only by institutions, but also by a common culture. However, modern nation-states also denied certain people within their borders full citizenship. Immigrants, women, and the [illegible] local peoples of Australia and the United States worked and paid taxes [illegible], but they did not enjoy full equality and rights such as being able to vote. People hotly debated who did and did not belong to the nation, and Matsuo Taseko engaged in such debates, fighting for ideals that were centuries old. Even though she longed for an older way of doing things, she participated in the development of "the public," [illegible] arena of concerns and values that were beyond individual or family interests to create a shared national way of life. Thus, the era of nation building saw many forms of nation-states taking shape, all of them influenced by the public voices of many different people.

OVERVIEW
QUESTIONS

**The major global development in this chapter:** The causes and consequences of nation building in the nineteenth century.

**As you read, consider:**

1. Why did nation-states become so important to people in the nineteenth century?
2. What was the role of war in the rise of the nation-state?
3. What was the role of ordinary people in nation building?
4. Are nation-states still important today, and are there still outsiders inside nations?

# Modernizing Nations

FOCUS
How did some states transform themselves into modern nations?

Politicians of this time and the citizens who backed them worked to bring varied peoples into cohesive nations and to develop more effective governments. This was an age of national growth and nation building when states industrialized and politicians changed the nature of government. To prosper in a more competitive and connected economic world, some even created entirely new entities, as occurred in Italy and Germany. Even where industry was slow[illegible]



[illegible] nation building occurred. People in the newly independent nations of Latin America began to develop a sense of themselves as citizens with common values. In Eurasia the mighty Russian Empire instituted dramatic reforms as part of a nationalizing effort after being decisively beaten in the Crimean War. What emerged from these efforts was a political and cultural form—the nation-state—that has shaped the course of modern world history, both for good and for ill.

## "What Is a Nation?"

In an 1882 lecture, French writer Ernest Renan asked, "What is a nation?" The concept was a new one, and subject to debate. Nations came to be seen as political units in which citizens feel an allegiance to one another and are actors in the government or state that represents them. Thus nation-state and nation are often treated as synonyms. A **nation** differs dramatically from a kingdom. A princely kingdom is the personal domain of a monarch, who sees people as subjects to be governed, not as active citizens with a political voice. Despite differences in their form, nations rely on the allegiance of a wide range of people within their geographic borders, who as citizens demand the rule of law and involvement in government. This active civic voice was essential to the rise of modern nations. Facing an enemy from without, people proudly protected the nation—that is, themselves and their community—as patriotic soldiers rather than military recruits forced to defend royal interests, as in a kingdom. Although women did not take up arms and lacked political rights, they too began to consider themselves active contributors to a nation's well-being, rearing young children to be virtuous citizens and volunteering their efforts in times of trouble.

In the nineteenth century and thereafter, politicians sought to mobilize whole populations to build powerful nation-states. Some waged external and civil wars in hopes of creating or maintaining national unity. The U.S. Civil War, for example, can be seen as a war for national unity waged by the North against the South. Other wars were fought to force [illegible] states to join a powerful military state permanently; this happened with Prussia, which formed the core of the new Germany. Historians have called the development of the nation-state a modernizing influence because the unity it created helped economic development spread over a wider territory. The nation-state also aided economic expansion by eliminating tariffs among cities and localities and by working to replace disruptive regional armies with a single fighting force operating to advance national, not local, power. Nation builders hoped to provide effective, centralized institutions—constitutions, bureaucracies, laws and common military, education, and transportation systems. [illegible] was a multifaceted undertaking in which centralizing authorities sought to challenge local identities and strengthen the connections and loyalties that bound populations together.

## Latin American Nation Building

While the regions of South and Central America gained independence from Spain and Portugal early in the nineteenth century, they did not generally develop efficient or smoothly functioning democracies. But they did lay the groundwork for nation-states. Wars between states and civil wars between supporters of centralization and those wanting regional self-rule affected nation-building efforts. Although some people of individual nations were developing a sense of themselves as citizens, Latin American nation building was complex and often difficult (see Map 25.1).

Brazil Takes the Lead

Brazil's dominant ruler for more than five decades was the emperor Pedro II (r. 1831–1889)—a committed nation builder. "I have no rights; all I have is a power stemming from birth and chance," he claimed. "It is my duty to use it for the welfare, the progress, and the liberty of my people." Pedro II tried to centralize government by gaining dominance over the wealthy landowning families and factions that controlled the countryside. The capital of Rio de Janeiro prospered. Brazil fought a war against Paraguay

**nation** A sovereign political entity and defined territory of modern times representing a supposedly united people.

**MAP 25.1**

**Latin America, c. 1900**

The new nations of Latin America worked to create effective governments and engage citizens in the nation-building process. Like the new United States of America to the north, these nations often fought with their neighbors to expand boundaries and crushed native Americans to gain their lands. Simultaneously they created important institutions, such as systems of law, education, and culture, that would both enhance government power and advance citizens' capabilities.

(1864–1870), which built allegiance to the central government. A firm believer that nation building depended on legal equality and opportunity, Pedro surrounded himself with people of all races. He ended the slave trade in 1850, partly in response to the growing voice of people of color expressed through their newspapers and clubs. Brazil ended slavery altogether in 1888 and it also tried to eliminate hierarchies based on skin color and racial ancestry. In its openness to change, Brazil seemed to be ahead of all its neighbors. It produced one of the greatest Latin American writers, Joachim Machado de Assis (ma-SHA-do dee ah-SEES). Of African descent, Machado de Assis's masterful novels do not portray a rosy society of the sort that Pedro hoped for. They are full of satire, as Machado explores the worlds of the old entrenched classes, the new bureaucracies of the rising nation-state, and the outsider status of women—all shaped by the legacy of slavery.

**Nation Versus Region**

National cohesion quickly fell apart in Brazil. The emancipation of Brazil's slaves enraged plantation and mine owners in the countryside, who relied on cheap slave labor for their profits. Believers in small government, hierarchical social arrangements including slavery, and regional autonomy, they hailed themselves as "federalists" and "liberals."

**Brazilian Plantation Workers**

Pedro II freed Brazil's slaves in 1888 as part of his nation-building efforts, believing that modern, unified nations needed to integrate all races into citizenship. Once regional leaders overthrew his monarchy, however, the weakened national authority could not protect newly freed workers from exploitation. The lack of protection for workers and the free hand given large landowners produced a huge disparity between the upper classes, who were virtually omnipotent, and impoverished ordinary people such as these workers on a manioc plantation in the 1890s. (The Art Archive/Museu Nacional de Belas Artes Rio de Janeiro Brazil/Gianni Dagli Orti.)

In 1889 they overthrew Pedro's centralizing monarchy, returning power to provincial governments that they themselves controlled. Under the landlords' rule, movement toward a strong, tolerant nation-state seemed to go backward. As one newspaper complained in 1900 of the takeover, "In Brazil there are no more citizens; we are all slaves!"

In fact, most of Latin America was shaped by the bold, powerful landowners in the countryside who controlled the production of minerals, coffee, sugar, and other commodities sold on the global market. Such men believed that their wealth and power rested on the liberal, eighteenth-century belief in minimal government and the building of individual wealth. They felt that any policy or reform that challenged these principles should be resisted at all costs. In an age of nation building, their stance against strong centralized institutions went against the prevailing trend and kept individual states in turmoil. Almost every Latin American state experienced this contest between centralization and federalism.

**Caudillos**

Many wealthy landowners were themselves strongmen with their own armies, but there were also independent military leaders, caudillos, men at the head of unofficial bands of warriors who controlled the countryside by force. Caudillos ruled regions so far removed from the capital cities that they functioned as a law unto themselves. They gained the support of peasants, workers, and the poor by offering protection in a turbulent countryside where the peasantry on large estates was intensely exploited.

Some caudillos stabilized the central government by acting as temporary dictators. General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was the quintessential caudillo. In Mexico, the period from the 1830s to 1850 is called the "Age of Santa Anna" because he wielded so much personal influence. In this period, conservatives favored the rule of large landowners, while the Catholic Church battled reformers who championed individual rights, foreign investment, and trade. During their disputes Santa Anna, who was called "Defender of the Homeland," was summoned some dozen times to head the government and stabilize the nation between 1833 and 1855. During this time of instability Mexico lost much of its territory to the United States in the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). Nonetheless, the

**federalism** A form of government in which power and administration are located in regions such as provinces and states rather than in a centralized administration.

caudillo remained an important figure in Latin American nation building, [illegible] rescued nations from dissolution.

Although caudillos could mobilize armies of workers and peasants to [illegible], gradually governments built state institutions such as national armies and [illegible] to train nationally oriented officers. Governments also took control of [illegible] to railroads and ports along Latin America's extensive coastline. In the second [illegible] of the nineteenth century, state bureaucracies grew as the educated middle class came [illegible] government offices. Regional economic interests gave way to national economic [illegible]. For instance, local tariffs enacted by the different regions of a nation gave way to [illegible] levied at national borders.

A Sense of Citizenship

During the struggles to construct new, centralized governments, many people [illegible] Latin American countries developed a sense of belonging and citizenship that was crucial to nation building. José Gregorio Paz Soldán, a judge in Peru, had first [illegible] slavery in the new republic but soon became an ardent supporter of liberty and equal treatment for all, commenting that "The Indians are no more savage or ferocious than other people who have been attracted to a social and civilized life." Paz Soldán wanted [illegible] among citizens of all classes. Employers, he urged, should give laborers "a salary and good treatment." The Peruvian constitution of 1828 stated that "All citizens may be admitted to public employment, without any difference except that of their talents and virtues." The qualifications for participating in the nation were in theory the same for everyone, uniting people of different ethnicities and classes instead of dividing them as the Spanish monarchy had done by giving preference to the Spanish-born.

Even in Cuba, where the Spanish crown still ruled, people came to believe in a common citizenship characteristic of an independent nation-state. Free blacks in Havana protested their exclusion from service in the militia because of their race, citing their equality with other citizens: "Mulattoes and blacks, we are the ones who practice the mechanical arts to the highest degree of perfection, to the admiration and wonder of [illegible] from other enlightened nations. We own property—houses that we live in with our families, workshops, and buildings to rent out to those who need them. We have farms and slaves in the same proportions as those other members of the people of Havana who possess such property." The Spanish put down the protest, but they could not quell the sense of citizenship that gave rise to it.

After independence, cities in Latin American countries had thriving political clubs, mutual aid societies, newspapers and journals, and economic organizations that concerned themselves not only with the welfare of the community but with the nation as a whole. Although a nation might have a dictatorial ruler or a corrupt administration, commercial groups took part in public debate over building a strong national economy, and mutual aid societies focused on well-being in neighborhoods. "Clubs have enabled us to replace tyranny with liberty," was the opinion of one Mexican newspaper in 1851. "They have provided the government with a way to become acquainted with public opinion, and this is the reason we support them." People became interested in the public affairs of their nation as never before. Thus, the connections among citizens that were central to the nation-state were not solely the product of state policies imposed from the top down. They were also created from the bottom up by citizens themselves.

## The Russian Empire's New Course

Other countries that seemed unlikely to embrace the institutions and values of modern nation-states were often transformed by events such as peasant uprisings, [illegible] low productivity, and the revelation of internal problems from external defeat. The Russian Empire, for example, modernized its institutions when wartime defeat dramatically revealed the need for change. In the 1850s, Russia continued its centuries-old expansion into Asia and the Middle East. Just as the British aimed for inroads in China, Tsar Nicholas I wanted to absorb much of the Ottoman Empire, which was fast becoming



known as "the sick man of Europe" because of the disintegrating administration of its lands. As Russia grew more aggressive, war erupted in October 1853. The Crimean War (1853–1856) began as a conflict between the Russian and Ottoman empires but ended as a war with long-lasting consequences for Russia, much of Europe, and, indeed, for the world (see Map 23.2).

The war disrupted Europe's balance of power, as France and Great Britain, enemies for more than a century, united in declaring war on Russia to defend the Ottoman Empire's sovereignty. Their goal was to maintain power in the global economy by securing their full access to the eastern Mediterranean. British and French troops landed in the Crimea in September 1854 and waged a long siege of the Russian naval base at Sevastopol on the Black Sea. The war coincided with the continuing spread of the Industrial Revolution, which introduced powerful new technologies into warfare: the railroad, shell-firing cannon, breech-loading rifles, steam-powered ships, and the telegraph. With the telegraph and increased press coverage, the relationship of the home front to the battlefront changed. Home audiences received news from the Crimean front lines more rapidly and in more detail than ever before, intensifying national unity and thus nation building across Europe.

Despite the new weaponry, Sevastopol fell only after a year of savage and costly combat. Generals on both sides were incompetent, and governments failed to provide combatants with even minimal supplies, sanitation, and medical care. A million men died, more than two-thirds from disease and starvation. The casualties resulting from incompetence and poor sanitation showed that nations needed strong institutions. London reformer Florence Nightingale seized the moment to escape the confines of middle-class domesticity by organizing a battlefield nursing service to care for British troops. Through her tough-minded organization of nursing units, she pioneered nursing as a profession and also better sanitary conditions both in armies and in society in general. After the war, she contributed to nation building by publishing statistical studies showing that national effectiveness depended on public health and a scientifically prepared and centrally directed military.

MAP 23.2 The Crimean War and Postwar Settlement, 1853–1856

The Crimean War has been called senseless, but it was rich in consequences. By splitting the conservative alliance between Austria and Russia that had effectively kept France and indeed all of Europe in check, it opened the way for ambitious politicians in Italy and Germany to unify their fragmented states into two strong nations. Additionally, its defeat caused Russia to free the serfs and institute significant reforms; the Ottoman Empire continued to attempt modern nation building as well.

The war exposed Russia's weakness and transformed the global balance of power. With casualties mounting, Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) asked for peace. As a result of the peace treaty of 1856, the Black Sea was declared neutral waters and Russia lost its claim to protect Christians in Ottoman lands. Austria's and Russia's grip on European affairs weakened, making way for the rise of new regional and global powers. The defeat forced the authoritarian Russian state to embark on a long-overdue renovation of the empire.

Serfdom in Russia

When Russia lost the Crimean War, the educated public, including some government officials, found the poor performance of serf-conscripted armies to be a disgrace. When a serf was conscripted into the Russian army for the regular twenty-five-year term, parents held funerals because the army experience was so long and brutal and the chance of return so slight. The system of serf labor was also seen as an intolerable liability for a country that needed economic and institutional modernization to be an effective nation-state on the world stage. The Russian economy had stagnated compared with western

**Russian Peasants at a Soup Kitchen**
Even after emancipation from serfdom in 1861 and other reforms that followed, Russian peasants were hard-pressed to earn a living. As a condition of emancipation, they were burdened with debt for farmland and could not migrate freely in search of greater opportunity. Tensions in the countryside grew, alleviated only by acts of charity and relief programs, such as the soup kitchen shown here. (Sovfoto)

Europe. Old-fashioned farming techniques led to worn-out soil and food shortages. For serfs, everyday life brought constant toil and obedience to flighty or cruel masters, who could marry them off at will or rent them out at great distances from home.

Challenges to serfdom had begun to grow during the decades before the Crimean War. Serf defiance ranged from malingering while at forced labor to small uprisings. Works of art such as novelist Ivan Turgenev's *A Hunter's Sketches* (1852) contributed to a spirit of reform with their sympathetic portrayals of serfs and frank depiction of brutal masters. "O Lord Jesus Christ!" one of his characters thunders. "Am I not free to act with slaves as I wish?" But other inspiration came from serf artists and writers—the lucky ones among the serf population who were assigned artistic tasks such as piano tuning, fine cabinetry, or portrait painting on estates; some even became highly educated.

One of these was Alexander Nikitenko, born a serf in 1804. His father had been sent to sing in one of Russia's famous boys' choirs for his owner, a great landowner. Though a serf being returned to the estate still a serf, Nikitenko's father, who had learned to read while in the choir, made sure that his son received a good education. Alexander also learned at the injustice of his serf condition, especially as he became known as one of the most learned young men in the land. In the late 1820s, a powerful Russian prince obtained Nikitenko's freedom, allowing him to become a high government official. Educated serfs such as Nikitenko were among the most bitter and vocal advocates of change. (see Reading the Past: The Russian People Under Serfdom.)

# READING THE PAST

## The Russian People Under Serfdom

Alexander Nikitenko gained his freedom from serfdom after proving himself a learned and conscientious teacher as well as an outstanding manager of households and general man of all work. Many serfs were accomplished: their achievements included painting and traveling in troupes of actors and singers, which brought Russians in contact with one another across vast spaces. Like Nikitenko, some of these serfs reached national eminence and came to be respected, but Nikitenko felt the degradation of serfdom long after he was free. These excerpts from his autobiography, first published in 1824, concern the early nineteenth century when he was between six and ten years old. They do not reflect the thinking of a child, however; Nikitenko observed serfdom for decades while honing this account of his life.

> The peasants suffered beneath the yoke of serfdom. If a master was wealthy and owned several thousand serfs, they suffered less oppression because most of them were tenant farmers. . . . On the other hand, small [landowners] literally sucked out the strength of unfortunates in their power. Neither time nor land was at their disposal. . . . In addition, sometimes there was inhuman treatment, and often cruelty was accompanied by debauchery. . . .
>
> People could be bought and sold wholesale or in small numbers, by families, or singly like bulls and sheep. Tsar Alexander I, during the humanitarian phase of his reign, talked about improving the lot of his serf subjects, but attempts to limit the [landowners'] power vanished without a trace. The nobility wanted to live in luxury befitting its station.
>
> [E]veryone bore the burdens generated by the People's War [Napoleon's 1812 invasion] without complaint. They supplied and equipped recruits at great personal expense. Yet I did not detect in their conversations a sign of deep interest in the events of the times. Evidently everyone was interested solely in their own affairs. The mention of Napoleon's name evoked awe rather than hate. The nonchalant attitude of our community toward the disaster hanging over Russia was startling. This may have been due in part to the distance of the theater of war.
>
> But I think the main reason was apathy, characteristic of a people estranged from participation in society's affairs, as Russians were then. They were not accustomed to discussion [of] what went on around them and unconditionally obeyed the orders of the authorities.

Source: [illegible]

**EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE**

1. How does Nikitenko characterize Russian serfs?
2. How did serfdom affect the Russian people and state more generally?
3. What was the mood of the Russian people as a nation facing the Napoleonic invasion of 1812? How might the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 have changed that mood?

**Emancipation of the Serfs**

Faced with Russia's dire situation, Alexander II proved more flexible than his predecessors in modernizing society. Better educated and more widely traveled, he ushered in what came to be known as the Great Reforms, granting Russians new rights from above as a way to ensure that violent action from below would not force change. The most dramatic reform was the emancipation of almost 50 million serfs beginning in 1861. Under the terms of emancipation, communities of former serfs, headed by male village elders, were given their personal freedom and grants of land. Each community, called a ***mir*** (meer), was given full power to distribute this land among its members and to direct their own economic activity. Thus, although the serfs were free, the requirements of communal landowning and decision-making held back individuals with new ideas and those who wanted to find opportunity elsewhere. Nonetheless, millions surely received this news as former serf Alexander Nikitenko did: "with an inexpressible feeling of joy." Ending serfdom and slavery was often the foundation for creating citizens and for nation building.

***mir*** In Russia, the organization of land and former serfs following the emancipation of the serfs.

The state awarded peasant communities some 13 percent less land than they [illegible] under serfdom, forced them to "redeem" or pay the government for this land [illegible] loans, and in fact awarded the best land to the nobility. Although some landlords [illegible] mented with modern farming techniques, which made Russia the largest grain [illegible] nation by 1900, the conditions of emancipation held Russian agriculture back. [illegible] less, idealistic reformers believed the emancipation of the serfs, whom the nobility treated virtually as livestock, had produced miraculous results. As one writer put it: "The people are without any exaggeration transfigured from head to foot. . . . The walk, the speech, everything is changed."

**Other Nation-Building Reforms**

The state also reformed local administration, the judiciary, and the military. [illegible] ernment set up zemstvos (ZEMST-vohs), regional councils through which [illegible] could revive neglected public institutions for education, public health, and [illegible]. As aristocrats gained responsibility for local well-being, some became invested in [illegible] health as a nation. Judicial reform in 1864 gave all Russians, even former serfs, access to modern civil courts, where ordinary people for the first time benefited from the principle of equality of all persons, regardless of social rank, under a unified set of laws. Military reform followed in 1874 when the government ended the twenty-five-year term of conscription, substituting a six-year term and devoting more attention to education, efficiency, and the humane treatment of recruits. These changes improved the [illegible] of Russian soldiers, helping them identify with the nation as a whole.

**Limits of the Great Reforms**

Alexander's reforms encouraged modernizers and gave many in the upper classes a more worldly outlook, but nation building also diminished the personal prerogatives of the nobility, leaving its authority generally weakened and sparking intergenerational rebellion. "An epidemic seemed to seize upon [noble] children . . . an epidemic of fleeing from the parental roof," one observer noted. Rejecting aristocratic values, youthful rebels from the upper class valued practical activity and sometimes identified with peasants and workers. Some formed communes, where they joined together in cooperative living to do humble manual labor. Others turned to higher education, especially the sciences, to get modern knowledge. Rebellious daughters of the nobility flouted parental expectations by cropping their hair short, wearing black, and escaping from home through marriages in name only so they could study medicine and the sciences in European universities.

This repudiation of traditional society led Turgenev to label radical youth as nihilists (from the Latin for "nothing"), meaning people who lack belief in any values whatsoever. In fact, these individual rebellions showed a spirit of defiance percolating in Russian society that would soon fuel assassinations, including that of the reformer Alexander II in 1881, and ultimately produce the revolutions that would shape the world in the next century. For the time being, the tsarist regime only partially succeeded in developing the administrative, economic, and civic institutions that were strengthening nation-states elsewhere. The tsar and his inner circle held tightly to the reins of government, slowing the development of consensus politics and modern citizenship.

## A Unified Italy and a United Germany

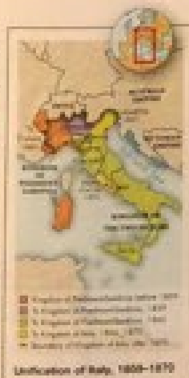
With the European powers divided over the Crimean War of 1853 to 1856, politicians in the German and Italian states took advantage of the opportunity to unify their respective countries. In 1848 workers, students, and professionals had revolted in many of the individual Italian and German states, hoping to reform and unify their countries. Despite this failure, the issue of unification simmered until two practical but visionary leaders took charge: Camillo di Cavour of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia in the economically modernizing north of Italy, and Otto von Bismarck from the prosperous agrarian kingdom of Prussia. Both depended on modern railroads, strong armies, and power diplomacy to transform disunited states into coherent nations with a presence on the world stage.

**Italy**

The architect of the new Italy was Camillo di Cavour, prime minister of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia from 1852 until his death in 1861. A rebel in his youth, the young



Cavour had conducted agricultural experiments on his aristocratic father's land. He organized steamship companies, played the stock market, and inhaled the fresh air of modernization during his travels to Paris and London. Cavour promoted economic development rather than democratic uprising as the means to achieve a united Italy. As prime minister, he helped develop a healthy Piedmontese economy, a modern army, and a liberal political climate to anchor Piedmont's drive to unite the Italian states.



Unification of Italy, 1859–1870

To achieve this goal, however, Piedmont would have to confront Austria, which governed the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia and had a strong influence on most of the peninsula. Realizing that Austria was too powerful for Piedmont to take on by itself, Cavour first got a promise of help from France and then provoked the Austrians to invade northern Italy in April 1859. Nationalists seeking unity and political liberals seeking constitutions and modern institutions in Tuscany and other central Italian states joined the Piedmontese cause. Using the newly built Piedmontese railroad to move troops, the French and Piedmontese armies achieved rapid victories in the north. In May 1860 Giuseppe Garibaldi, an inspired guerrilla fighter and veteran of the revolutions of 1848, set sail from Genoa to liberate Sicily with a thousand red-shirted volunteers, many of them teenage boys and half from the urban working class, "splendid in the dress and cap of the student, and in the more humble dress of the bricklayer, the carpenter, and the [blacksmith]," as Garibaldi himself put it.[11]

Across the Sicilian countryside peasant revolts against landlords and the corrupt government were under way in anticipation of Risorgimento, the "rebirth" of a strong Italian state. Anger in the countryside was so violent against these oppressors that the farmers [illegible] opponents, leaving them to be "devoured by dogs. . . . torn to pieces by their own brothers with a fury which would have horrified the hyenas."[12] Successfully mastering the scene in the south, Garibaldi threw his support to Piedmont-Sardinia's leadership. In 1861, the kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. Exhausted by a decade of overwork, Cavour soon died, but despite huge difficulties such as poverty in the south, many citizens of the new country took pride in the Italian nation and came to see themselves as one people.

**Germany**

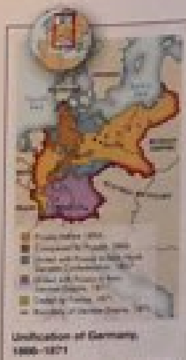
A momentous act of nation building, for both Europe and the world, was the creation of a united Germany in 1871. The Prussian state brought an array of cities and kingdoms under its control within a single decade by using both the conservative military to wage war on behalf of unification and the liberal businessman's enthusiasm for the profits to be gained from a single national market. The newly unified Germany promoted commerce to consolidate its economic might as business people small and large wanted a bigger market to pursue profits. Its growing industrial and commercial wealth would make Germany the foremost power on the European continent by the end of the nineteenth century.

The architect of a unified Germany was Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian minister-president. Bismarck came from landed nobility on his father's side; his mother's family included high-ranking bureaucrats and middle-class intellectuals. As a university student, the young Bismarck had gambled and womanized; he was interested in only one course, on the economic foundations of politics. After failing in the civil service he worked to modernize operations on his family's estates while leading an otherwise rowdy life. His marriage to a pious Lutheran woman worked a transformation and gave him new purpose: to establish Prussia as a respected and dominant power.

In 1862, the king of Prussia appointed Bismarck prime minister in hopes that he would block the growing power of the liberals, who were the reformers and modernizers in the Prussian parliament, and instead build the army over their objections. Bismarck

zemstvo: Regional council of the Russian nobility established after the emancipation of the serfs to deal with education and local welfare issues.

Risorgimento: Italian for "rebirth," a nineteenth-century rallying cry for the unification of the Italian states.



Unification of Germany, 1866–1871

indeed managed to turn through programs to build the [illegible] the opposition's belief in parliamentary control. His [illegible] building was based on realpolitik—a political strategy [illegible] realism, armed might, and rapid industrial and [illegible] development. "Germany looks not to Prussia's liberalism, [illegible] power," he preached. "The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions . . . but by iron and blood."

After his triumph over the parliament, Bismarck led Prussia into a series of victorious wars: against Denmark in 1864, against Austria in 1866, and, finally, against France in 1870. His war with Austria-Hungary, which claimed to be the leader of the German states, allowed Bismarck to create a North German Confederation led by Prussia. Prussia's swift victory over France persuaded all the German states to unify under Prussia's leadership. In January 1871, the king of Prussia was proclaimed the Kaiser, or emperor, of a new, imperial Germany.

Despite the growing wealth of liberal business people, the constitution of the newly unified empire ensured the continued political dominance of the aristocracy and monarchy. The Kaiser, who also remained Prussia's king, controlled the military and appointed Bismarck to the powerful position of chancellor for the Reich (empire). Bismarck balanced the right to vote, which the constitution granted to men, with an unequal electoral system in Prussia, which continued to be the dominant state within the German Empire. In the Prussian system, votes from the upper classes counted more than those from the lower. Bismarck's nation building also worked, allowing Germany, even more than Italy, to focus its national energy on industrial growth and power politics. Europe would never be the same.

## Emerging Powers: The United States and Japan

**FOCUS**
How did the United States and Japan make their governments politically and economically powerful in the nineteenth century?

Two other newcomers, the United States and Japan, were also eager for global wealth and influence. These two states built national power in the nineteenth century and drastically reformed their societies and political structures to industrialize and to make their governments more focused and effective. By 1900 the United States and Japan were beginning to rival the great European powers as nation building promoted their economic strength and pumped ordinary people's ambitions.

### Expansion and Consolidation of the United States

The United States went from a cluster of states hugging the eastern seaboard in the eighteenth century to a growing power in the nineteenth century. Like Germany and Italy, it did so through warfare. Confronted with the pressures of migration and the demands for raw materials, it fought Mexico and Indian peoples in order to seize their resources and land. It also engaged in a devastating civil war over issues arising from the brisk global trade in cotton, slaves, and—increasingly—industrial products. The series of wars the United States pursued in the nineteenth century expanded its territory and unified a rambunctious nation of adventurers, immigrants, farmers, ranchers, miners, entrepreneurs, and industrial innovators. Amid all this turmoil, the nation built up its common institutions, such as schools and transportation networks, and widened its global connections.

realpolitik A practical, tough-minded approach to politics, adopted most famously by Otto von Bismarck in Germany.



**Westward Expansion and Manifest Destiny**

U.S. settlers continued to push westward in the nineteenth century, seeking more land to profit from the global trade in raw materials, particularly cotton. They drove into Native territory in the continent's southeast, where struggles for control of both trade and territory resulted in sporadic warfare. Between 1846 and 1848 the United States first provoked and then won a war with Mexico over land in Mexico's north, and as a result almost doubled its territory, annexing Texas as well as large portions of California and the Southwest (see Map 25.3). Simultaneously, immigrants from around the world flocked to California and later to other places where gold was discovered. Americans came to see this western expansion as part of the nation's Manifest Destiny—that is, the belief that white Americans had a God-given right to control the entire continent no matter how many native Americans were killed or displaced.

Manifest Destiny The nineteenth-century doctrine that the United States had the right and duty to expand throughout the North American continent.

MAP 25.3 U.S. Civil War and Westward Expansion
U.S. nation building advanced through the war with Mexico, the Civil War, and ongoing battles to take the land of native Americans. Calls for unity during wartime and appeals asserting the superiority of white Americans welded the country together both politically and culturally. These shared values helped the United States forge ahead economically, with innovation coming to justify U.S. claims to being more advanced than those whose property the expanding nation took.

Politicians and citizens alike argued over the status of the new western lands. [illegible] quarrels came over the expansion of slavery to the new territories, and the [illegible] Should the West be settled by free white farmers, or could southern [illegible] owners bring in their slaves, against whose unpaid labor white farmers could [illegible] Like many Latin American nation builders, some saw equal legal status [illegible] essential to a thriving nation, but others disagreed so strongly that the [illegible] polarized. In the North, where abolitionists had a strong organization to [illegible] slavery, the new Republican Party called for "free soil, free labor, free men." [illegible] few Republicans backed the abolitionists' demand for an immediate [illegible] in the South. In the months following Republican Abraham [illegible] election to the presidency in 1860, most of the southern slaveholding [illegible] seceded to form the Confederate States of America.

Under Lincoln's leadership the North fought the South [illegible] from 1861 to 1865 to uphold the union. Lincoln did not [illegible] abolish slavery, but in January 1863 his Emancipation Proclamation came into force as a wartime measure officially freeing all slaves in the Confederate States and turning the war into a fight not only for union but for the end of slavery—thus creating a pool of workers who were entirely free and connecting nation building to the liberal program of rights and opportunity. While the war dragged on, northern industrialism flourished. "Believe me," remarked one Pennsylvania industrialist, "I am not eager for peace."[17] The North's superior industrial strength and military might ultimately overpowered the South, and in April 1865 the principal Confederacy surrendered. For Lincoln, the victory was short-lived. Within days a Confederate sympathizer had assassinated the president.

During the postwar period known as Reconstruction (1865–1877), constitutional amendments ended slavery and granted the rights of citizenship and voting to black males. For a time under Reconstruction, the newly liberated slaves received land and education, and some served in government or moved up in the world of business and work. The way was open for continent-wide industrial expansion and commercial agriculture, based on a free labor force, common rights for citizens, and migration from virtually every continent. The country would soon become a thriving nation-state.

A final piece of the nation-building effort in the United States was crushing the native American peoples by forcibly taking their North American homelands or killing them to open up resources for whites. "Manifest Destiny" became a strong post-Civil War rallying cry. In the 1830s the state of Georgia simply took the land of the Cherokee, a group of native Americans who had a constitution and practiced settled farming, forcing them to migrate westward along the "Trail of Tears"—so named because of the number of deaths along the way. Pushed from the east coast westward by European settlers in the seventeenth century, tens of thousands of North American Indians had moved onto the Great Plains by the end of the eighteenth century. Numerous other native Americans had settled there for centuries. Many were horse traders and herders of an estimated 40 million buffalo, exchanging goods with communities in New Mexico to the south and the British and French to the north. "There was always fat meat, glad singing, and much dancing in our lodges," one Crow woman remembered of her people's mid-nineteenth-century prosperity.[18]

All that was before Europeans moved onto the Plains themselves in the nineteenth century, wiping out the buffalo and spreading European diseases widely through [illegible] traders and immigrants. The Mandan tribes numbered some 15,000 in 1750; a hundred years later only 138 survived. Hundreds of thousands of native Americans perished as the U.S. military finished the conquest, carrying out government orders to drive remaining native Americans onto reservations in Oklahoma and other states, where they had no rights to vote or to participate in U.S. institutions (see again Map 25.1). As one Apache survivor described it, whites considered reservations "a good place for the Apache—a good place for them to die."[19] For white Americans at the time, the conquest of native

**English Porcelain Statue of Abraham Lincoln**

Although the British generally backed the Confederate cause because they needed southern cotton for its textile industry, the Staffordshire porcelain company issued this statue on Abraham Lincoln's inauguration in 1861. The oddly regal garment Lincoln is wearing and the highly decorated horse he is riding were based on an earlier representation of King George III. Portrayals of political heroes such as Lincoln grew with the spread of the nation-state. (The Art Archive/Private Collection/Eileen Tweedy)

Civil War and Reconstruction



Americans across the continent helped industry thrive, helped immigrants find new livelihoods, and helped the nation to unify.

## Dramatic Change in Japan

When the United States forced the opening of Japan to foreigners in the 1850s, it disturbed the country's peace and, as the activism of Matsuo Taseko shows, threw Japan into political turmoil. Strange, unruly white men walked the streets of port cities and Western emissaries made demands on the government. All the same, even some of Japan's provincial rulers sensed the excitement and opportunity. There was money to be made; local notables [illegible] and they resented the Tokugawa shogun's control of trade with the foreigners and [illegible] his monopoly on profits. More conservative leaders found the break with the traditional [illegible] relative isolation an affront to Japan's greatness, and they were willing to use violence to suppress Japanese contact with the outside world. For example, conservatives assassinated an official who accepted trade treaties with foreigners and murdered a scholar who used a Western saddle on his horse. Such traditionalists shared Matsuo Taseko's desire to drive the "barbarians" from Japan and return the Japanese people to their traditions.

The furor over political and economic life led to a dramatic realignment of power in Japan. Many of the provincial rulers adopted the goal of restoring the emperor Komei to the full dignity of his office. The emperor was their "jewel," and Japanese of almost all political positions now unified around him. By late 1867, support for the shogun's long-standing power had dwindled to virtually nothing, and he was forced to resign.

**Sioux Women Line Up for Rations**

Nation building allowed many citizens to prosper because of the rule of law and new rights and opportunities. For many others, however, nation building was a disaster. Whereas once the Sioux had prospered, by the 1890s they were confined to small sections of the continent that was their homeland. Native Americans were the last group given the vote in the United States, although romanticized portrayals of native Americans who aided the European colonists as well as tales of native American "savagery" became staples of U.S. nation-building lore. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, photo by [illegible], Call number [illegible])

Meiji Restoration

The restoration of power to the emperor did not, however, bring with it a [illegible] return to Japanese isolation as conservatives such as Matsuo Taseko had [illegible]. Although a series of shoguns had recognized the importance of relationships [illegible] West, Emperor Komei had been against it. Conveniently for the modernizers, [illegible] and died as the shogunate collapsed, leaving the throne to his fifteen-year-old [illegible] Mutsuhito (r. 1868–1912). The resulting new government revived the imperial [illegible] gave priority to Westernization and the shogun's more open, global policies [illegible] protect Japan from further inroads by foreigners. Having fought to gain influence [illegible] nations, reform-minded elites crafted an assembly of high-ranking men such as [illegible] to determine the laws, making imperial rule much less than absolute. The government announced the "Meiji Restoration"—Meiji means "enlightened rule"—as a [illegible] of "Western science and Eastern values" offering both innovation and continuity. [illegible] the revival of imperial power partly masked the reality of revolutionary change. Japan would be transformed by its new relationship with the West, but its leaders hoped that by embracing aspects of Western [illegible] nation they could control that transformation, ensuring that the process would serve Japan's interests, and not those of the West (see Map 25.4).

The Meiji government stabilized itself through a series of necessary changes. A pressing issue was overcoming the older decentralization of power embodied in the system of local lords, the daimyo, and their loyal retainers, the samurai. The government successfully centralized power by forcing the daimyo to surrender their political and economic control of the countryside and giving them large payments or positions in the new government instead. The tens of thousands of samurai, who became unemployed once their local lords had no need for them, were potentially troublesome members of the new social order—a good many of them had no skills at all, except swordfighting. The government bought them off with pensions and later with government bonds. The nation's state further declared as some of the most prominent politicians toured the world to gain ideas for modernization and concluded that a centralized conscript army would be far more reliable than Japan's traditional, samurai-based forces. Whereas the samurai mostly relied on a code of individual heroism, a national, conscript army was a disciplined fighting machine trained to cooperate in the use of modern weaponry. As a result of these findings, Japan instituted universal military conscription. It simultaneously created a hereditary nobility, as in Europe, and limited the powers of elected representatives who might come from the people. These last changes, enshrined in the constitution of 1889, showed that despite centralization, the government would not be fully based on republican institutions or popular rule.

The first two decades of the Meiji Restoration were tumultuous. Discontent and disorder persisted, as people from many walks of life remade the economy. The first to revolt were the displaced samurai, followed by farmers such as Matsuo Taseko, merchants, and countless others who had fought to bring back the emperor and face down the "barbarian" challenge. Now the same people struggled for the recognition of what were called "People's Rights" within

MAP 25.4 Japan, c. 1850–1890
Japan's rapid development of a more modern administration and economy cost many people their livelihoods, most notably the samurai. The changes the new government imposed during the Meiji Restoration of 1868 stirred uprisings and peasant revolts, particularly because Western nations appeared to be forcing Japan open with the goal of foreign domination.



the imperial system. They drafted constitutions of their own that laid out the fundamental powers of the people who, after all, were the building blocks of the nation. When their constitutions were ignored by the government during these first two decades of Meiji rule, they took up arms.

Social Unrest and Rebellion

Throughout the early Meiji period, people of the rural lower classes launched a series of rebellions. They found themselves squeezed by high taxes, intended to finance Japan's modernization and industrialization, and by a drop in agricultural prices that resulted from increased global competition. The new officials of the Meiji government, instead of supporting those on the land, seemed to inflict them with hardship even as cities were thriving. In Chichibu outside Tokyo, one resident expressed his despair: "The wind blows, / The rain falls, / Young men die. The [illegible] of poverty / Flutter like flags in the wind."[illegible] In 1884, an army of eight thousand peasants in Chichibu began fighting for the people's rights, fully believing that they could force the central government to negotiate. In the Chichibu uprising, the armed populace talked about "deposing evil rulers" and "changing the mandate" as part of the program of ousting corrupt officials. Government forces crushed the uprising, imprisoning and executing many participants. Meiji officials attributed the uprising to criminals, but in fact this revolt, like others occurring across Japan, showed that successful nation building required more attention to the needs of the Japanese population as a whole. In the decades to come, Japan would continue on the difficult path to the creation of a modern nation-state.

## The Culture of Nations

FOCUS
What part did culture play in forging a national identity?

History, music, art, and other cultural works helped peoples forge national identities and built bonds across regions and localities. National cultures sometimes focused on reviving a country's literary past and celebrating long-dead authors' works. In other instances, people invented customs such as special dress or songs that over time came to be seen as "traditional." Still other peoples prized their nation's modernity, and citizens traveled miles to experience firsthand new technology like the railroad or to see for themselves modern new structures such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris. Widely circulated books and newspapers for the masses also brought people together in national and even global unity. Cultural leaders such as composers, artists, editors, and even some university professors shaped the attitudes and aspirations of a growing number of citizens, uniting them around shared knowledge and public achievement.

### The Culture of Tradition

In the early days of the Meiji Restoration, Matsuo Taseko was invited to the home of a prince, where she heard a Western organ played. Taseko was appalled at the declining appreciation for Japan's own instruments and sent a poem to the princess: "In Japan / the tone cannot be quick / but I ask you not to listen gladly / to this barbarian harp / no matter how clever it is."[illegible] Taseko's nationalism was built on honoring the past and rejecting [illegible] from outside influences and from cultural imports such as the playing of a Western instrument. She herself wrote hundreds of poems modeled on those from earlier centuries. In the culture of tradition, one followed not only the form but even the exact words of earlier poetry. As public schools developed, children across the nation recited poetic masterpieces from the past as a way to create and to participate in a national culture.

Forging National Unity

Symbols of monarchies, republics, and empires became symbols of national unity. Taseko carefully guarded gifts from the emperor to show to her closest friends and to pass down to her children and grandchildren as emblems of patriotism. Monarchs' and presidents' portraits appeared on dishware and on household walls and adorned public

# SEEING THE PAST

## The Korean Flag

**The Korean Flag**
([illegible])

Flags existed in ancient times to distinguish regiments of an army, as was the case with Egyptian standards. Over the centuries, most flags continued to be standards for armies, but they also became important symbols of the nation. Designing a single flag around which citizens of an entire country could rally became a crucial part of the process of nation building. Colors were carefully chosen to represent virtues such as courage and purity, and figures like lions, eagles, stars, and the sun were [illegible] to portray a nation's strength and magn[illegible]

In the 1880s, as China, Russia, and Ja[pan] greedily eyed Korea for conquest, the kin[g] adopted the more impressive title of emp[eror]; they also designed a flag. Its central figure [repres]ents the balance of yin and yang in the [illegible], while the four corners indicate the element[s] [illegible] water, earth, and air—and the four seasons. [illegible] Japan had defeated both China and Russi[a] [dis]cussed in Chapter 26, it established a [illegible] over Korea in 1905 and then annexed it [illegible] replacing the Korean flag with its own. On the defeat of Japan in World War II, the nineteenth-century flag became the standard of South Korea.

**EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE**

1. What makes this flag or any flag distinctive to the nation?
2. Compare the Korean flag with the U.S. flag. What do the differences reveal about the political culture and national identity of each country?

spaces such as schools and office buildings, thus providing a unifying symbol. National flags were designed to serve a similar purpose (see Seeing the Past: The Korean Flag). Royal births were widely reported in the press, and in Britain, for example, officials carefully staged royal marriages, birthdays, and funerals as public ceremonies, which were not only viewed by the growing urban population but also commemorated with the new photographic technology. Nishimiya Hide, daughter of a samurai and lady-in-waiting to a member of the high Japanese nobility, found a way to use her knowledge of court traditions after the samurai and grand nobility had lost their leading role. She supported herself in part under the Meiji Restoration by teaching court ceremonies from an earlier time to members of the new elite.

Writing and teaching history became a popular way to legitimate nations (see Lives and Livelihoods: Historians of the Nation-State). The public latched onto the story of the rise of the nation-state from its origins as a princely kingdom to its current modern might. Historical pageantry was popular in the nineteenth century in the form of parades, theater, and the revival of rituals at shrines. Governments erected monuments in the capital and other cities to celebrate great moments in the nation's past; these suggested the nation's durability and antiquity, even though most nations were actually quite new. Official historians eventually integrated the story of native peoples to build pride in the nation's progress from barbarism





to civilization. Governments built museums to house collections of national documents and other treasures, but also native artifacts such as baskets, arrowheads, and headdresses to illustrate the "primitive" conditions before the nation took shape.

**Romanticizing the Past**

The reality of nation building was brutal, producing hundreds of thousands of casualties and entailing real suffering, but the stories of nation building told by artists and writers were often romantic and inspiring. From the late nineteenth century to the present, authors and artists have presented accounts of the birth of Latin American nations, the Italian Risorgimento, and the U.S. Civil War as glamorous, heart-thumping adventures. Young heroes such as Simón Bolívar and their soldiers, officers, and families were portrayed as sacrificing for a greater good—the nation. The idea of "founding fathers" erased the fact that people lived in the region before the nation-state appeared, and appeals to ancient gods and goddesses supported claims of a nation-state's eternal existence. Biographies of nation builders became popular reading from the nineteenth century on, which helped replace people's local identities with a shared national culture.

## Westernization

The power of the nation-state fostered world trade, of both goods and ideas. Readers in East Asia and South America, for example, studied works by contemporary Western writers such as the Englishmen John Stuart Mill and Charles Darwin and the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky. The eighteenth-century French social and political theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau was especially popular among reformers and modernizers for his ideas of the social contract and natural rights. Rapid steamships carried potential leaders from Asia, Africa, and South America to Europe for their education, and sometimes to the United States for firsthand observation of popular government and nation building. Japanese leaders were among those who identified military power as the foundation of Western success, and they visited Europe, especially Germany, and the United States to learn about new weaponry and modern military training techniques. Influences went in many directions: young Chinese people who wanted their nation to modernize studied in Japan, which was increasingly seen as strong and modern.

**Recasting Western Culture**

Back home, reformers popularized ideas from the West. Sometimes writers modified Western theories to suit the local situation. Japanese author and educator Fukuzawa Yukichi came from an impoverished samurai family but quickly achieved fame and fortune through his innovative reform message. Best-selling works such as *Encouragement of Learning* (1872–1876) made people aware of current thinking in the West. Fukuzawa maintained, like Rousseau, that the entire population created the state, agreeing to a social contract through a constitution, and that they entered this contract from a position of complete equality—a totally novel concept for the Japanese. Fukuzawa's theory differed from much of Western constitutional thought, however, when it maintained that once people had agreed to the formation of a state, they surrendered their right to criticize or protest. In this way, he recast Western liberal theory into a form that suited the Meiji Restoration, justifying reform but also fortifying an authoritarian, emperor-centered state.

Angela Peralta was a Mexican opera performer whose popularization of European opera helped build her country's national culture. Born in 1845, at a time when Mexicans were already wild about opera, she took audiences to new heights of rapture with her rendition of the most difficult European operas. Described as "angelic in voice and in name," Peralta sang across Europe and in Egypt. Her real triumphs, however, occurred in Mexico, where she traveled from city to city mobbed by fans—"an incomparable woman," they called her—and spreading her fame and the culture of opera. News of Peralta's comings and goings passed from city to village and back to other cities, uniting Mexicans culturally, as Santa Anna and other rulers were trying to do politically. By the time of her death from yellow fever at the age of thirty-seven, many a theater owner had become wealthy from her performances, and opera had received such a boost that Mexican composers began writing operas about Aztec princesses and other Mexican peoples, creating "national" traditions

# LIVES AND LIVELIHOODS



## Historians of the Nation-State

With the rise of the nation-state, the study of history became a profession in the nineteenth century. Historians—whether in Japan, Latin America, Europe, or North America—set out to collect the major documents that legitimated the rise of the unified nation-state. They concerned themselves above all with the story of institutional development, the formation of states and governments, and the expansion of imperial power. The tradition of official history writing went way back in China to the Han dynasty; in the eighteenth century, the Chinese emperors charged court historians with the job of celebrating their conquests to the west. Nineteenth-century nation builders appointed professional historians, trained in the study of the past, to posts in prestigious universities, where they were to research and write true, verifiable accounts of the national past.

The model of the new professional historian arose in Germany, and Leopold von Ranke and his followers became the most honored historians of their day, even in foreign lands. Merchants actually stood outside Ranke's classroom to sell his photograph to admiring students. Ranke was swept up by the enthusiasm for unity that gripped the German states. Nations drew individuals together, and he believed in a strong central government. He joined in the investigation and verification of documents to provide an objective account of Germany's development over the centuries. Ranke had his disciples, such as Heinrich von Treitschke, who even as a supposedly dispassionate scholar lectured to his students about the genius of the German nation: "It is for us to stand together in manly discipline and self restraint, and to pass on the bulwark of our unity, the German kingdom, to our sons." These professional historians often advised rulers while they usually kept from their classrooms the same groups of people kept from citizenship—women and many people of color.

Source: Quoted in Andreas Dorpalen, Heinrich von Treitschke (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957), 156.

**Leopold von Ranke**

Historians wrote the story of a nation, giving it a solid foundation in facts and research. The most enduring figure in the professionalization of history is Leopold von Ranke, who took the writing of history out of the hands of amateurs and put it into those of university-trained scholars. Ranke wrote histories of Prussia and of Germany, basing his work on archival and documentary research and thus reinforcing the idea of the nation itself as true, reliable, and authoritative. (bpk, Berlin / Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin/Andres Kilger/Art Resource, NY)

**QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER**

1. Why did nation-states promote history as a profession?
2. Compare this textbook with the description of Ranke's historical writing. What differences and similarities do you perceive, and what do these suggest about history as a field of study?

through a Western cultural form. Her tombstone reads: "She sang like no one has ever sung in this world."[12]

### National Institutions

Institutional innovations helped consolidate and modernize the state. Citizens took pride in the modernization of their cities, especially capital cities such as Cairo, Tokyo, and Paris. Bureaucrats undertook efforts to improve sanitation, medicine, and other institutions to promote public health. Reformers recognized public education as a crucial ingredient of national development. A Japanese law of 1872, for example, mandated universal education so that in the modernized Meiji state there would be "no community with an illiterate family nor a family with an illiterate person."[13] Improved facilities, whether public transportation or cultural institutions such as opera houses, theaters, and museums, testified to a nation's power and greatness.

**Public Education**

Ordinary persons in agrarian societies based on traditional rhythms of planting and harvest were often illiterate and uneducated. The nation-state was based on citizen participation and required a more literate population with a common culture and common skills and ideals. China had long offered more widespread education than elsewhere because for centuries the positions of government officials had required literacy and rigorous training. Nationally minded reformers sought not only to imitate the Chinese tradition of an educated officialdom but also to expand education more generally as the foundation of strong nations. Although he ruled an agrarian state, the emperor Pedro II of Brazil established a record number of schools as part of his commitment to nation building. When he came to power in 1831, the capital of Rio de Janeiro had 18 primary schools; when he abdicated in 1889, the number had climbed to 118. Schools built a sense of common purpose. "We must constantly strive to work diligently at our tasks," a third-grade Japanese textbook of 1892 instructed, "and, when an emergency arises, defend our nation."[14]

French emperor Napoleon III (r. 1852–1870) was among the first to see the importance of science, math, and engineering to national power, and he ordered the development of high-level technical schools to teach advanced skills such as engineering. Thereafter secondary and postsecondary education advanced across Europe and the United States. Universities added modern subjects such as science and math to the list of prestigious courses in the second half of the century, reshaping the curriculum to make it better serve the national interest in a competitive global environment.

Reformers bucked tradition when they opened public schools for girls and young women. Across the globe these activists touted the education of women as key to modernization, because ignorant or illiterate mothers would give children a poor start. By contrast, the educated mother, instructed in both national culture and practical skills, provided a living example of the cultivated citizen and had the capacity to begin the educational process for preschool offspring (see Reading the Past: "Good Wives, Wise Mothers" Build Japan). Primary, secondary, and even university education for young women developed in the second half of the nineteenth century in most parts of the world. These changes were hotly contested, however, often, the education of women was seen as the final blow in the collapse of tradition.

**Cultural Unity**

Another tactic of nation building was to foster a uniform culture and uniform beliefs. The Russian Empire, comprising more than a hundred ethnicities, sought to reduce the threat of future rebellion by forcing all its ethnic groups, from Poles to Afghans, to adopt the Russian language and culture and to worship in the Russian Orthodox church. When resistance to this "Russification" mounted, the government allowed some leniency to encourage continued acceptance of the nation-state. Across Latin America, plantation owners had tolerated the many different religious practices that African slaves had brought with them because the differences, it was thought, would keep slaves divided and less likely to rebel.

With independence, however, nation builders in some countries tried to impose greater control over religious life, seeking to replace loyalty to religion with loyalty to

**Angela Peralta**

Mexican singer Angela Peralta was famed in her time for her range as a soprano and for the delicate beauty of her voice—"like the trill of a goldfinch," one critic noted in his diary. Peralta sang before kings and emperors and performed in the major opera houses of Europe. She toured Mexico itself, becoming an icon as she helped build a shared culture for its people. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division [illegible])

# READING THE PAST

## "Good Wives, Wise Mothers" Build Japan

In 1874 a group of reformers, many of them samurai, established a new Japanese journal, *Meiroku Zasshi*, to bring readers knowledge of Western philosophy, science, and customs—among them current attitudes toward women. Nakamura Masanao, of samurai background, brought to Japanese readers the new idea that mothers should actively raise their children as part of nation building. By 1900 the slogan "good wives, wise mothers" dominated the national ideology about women, making women's connection to children and love for their husbands part of patriotism.

> Thus we must invariably have fine mothers if we want effectively to advance the people to the area of enlightenment and to alter their customs and conditions for the good. If the mothers are superb, they can have superb children, and Japan can become a splendid country in later generations. We can then have people trained in religious and moral education as well as in the sciences and arts whose intellects are advanced, whose minds are elevated, and whose conduct is high. . . .
>
> Now to develop fine mothers, there is nothing better than to educate daughters. . . . It is then not excessive even to say that the foundations for [a man's] virtues of bravery, endurance, and perseverance of a later day were laid while he was still playing in his cradle and receiving his mother's milk. To fear harm from equal rights for men and women is no more than to fear that the uneducated woman will sit on her husband. This anxiety would not exist if women honored [illegible] Providence, respected noble sentiments, [illegible] arts, appreciated science, and helped their [illegible] and if husbands and wives mutually loved and [illegible] each other.
>
> Aside from the matter of equal rights, the [illegible] of men and women should be equal and not of [illegible] types. If we desire to preserve an extremely high and extremely pure level among human beings, we should accord both men and women the same [illegible] of upbringing and enable them to progress equally. A wife possessed of a feeling of deep love will bring her husband ease and happiness and encourage him to exert himself in enterprises useful to the country.

Source: *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, trans. and ed. William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 401–403.

### EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE

1. What are the groups of people that Nakamura identifies?
2. How are they supposed to support the nation?
3. How do men and women compare in their standing in the nation?

the nation-state. Latin American officials made Carnival celebrations less African and more uniformly Spanish. In Germany in the 1870s, Otto von Bismarck sought to build cultural unity by striking out against Catholicism; he expelled the Jesuits, increased the government's power over the clergy, and introduced obligatory civil marriage. His *Kulturkampf*, or culture war, aimed to weaken allegiance to religion and to redirect it to the German nation. German Catholics and other citizens rebelled at this attack on freedom of religion, but overall Bismarck's achievements fostered a strong sense of German identity, especially because an excellent public school system served the cause of cultural uniformity.

Support of Multiculturalism

Some nations built their common ideology around multiculturalism, which allowed citizens to take pride in their diversity or regional strengths. In the United States, for instance, the poet Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855) celebrated the many types of ordinary people working across the country. African Americans developed powerful musical forms such as blues and jazz from the African tradition of the griot [illegible] and the sounds, rhythms, and tonalities of African and local music. Many Americans increasingly saw this music as part of American rather than African heritage. In Japan, even as a Shinto religion was declared to be the "traditional" Japanese faith, religious





pluralism existed, and cultural leaders announced that this pluralism was part of the nation's cultural evolution. Although multiple religions and cultural traditions were allowed, they argued, the Japanese should nonetheless choose the highest form of religion and culture—which was none other than Shintoism—and Japanese forms of poetry such as the brief verses called haiku. Controversies over culture persisted over the course of nation building down to the present, but these debates can also bring people together around the search for consensus.

## COUNTERPOINT

## Outsiders Inside the Nation-State

FOCUS

Which groups were excluded from full participation in the nation-state, and why?

Defining who was a true Brazilian, Russian, Japanese, or other citizen was an essential part of the process of nation building. Nation-states are a contradiction between the ideal of universal membership and the exclusion of certain people from political participation and thus full citizenship. Sometimes these people—native Americans, for example—were those who had resisted nation building, often because it threatened their livelihoods, took their land, and devalued their beliefs. Other outsiders, notably women, often had helped in nation building from the start but were still excluded. Nation building created a body of "we's," insiders who felt their citizenship most keenly when they discriminated against a set of "they's," the outsiders.

### People of Color

Native Peoples

From Japan to South America, nation-building efforts had a devastating effect on indigenous peoples. Settlers in South America, Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia treated native peoples—who had lived in the territory for centuries and even for millennia—as remnants of barbarism. "In point of fact," the *New York World* told its readers in 1874, "the country never belonged to the Indians in any other sense than it belonged to the wolves and bears, which white settlers shoot without mercy."[17] Indigenous civilization was dismissed, even when settlement usually depended on learning the skills and receiving aid in food and medicine from local peoples. Native peoples generally lived within national borders but without the rights of citizens. In the United States they were excluded from voting and full protection of the law until 1924, and in Peru Indians paid an extra tax, which constituted almost half of Peru's national income. The Australian and Canadian governments took native children from their families, sending them to live in white homes or in boarding schools to be "civilized." Russian officials simply moved settlers into the far reaches of Siberia and displaced reindeer herders in the name of strengthening the nation. As an article in one U.S. newspaper argued, settlers "are the people who develop a country who carry a civilization with them."[18]

Ethnic and racial thinking justified exploitation in the name of civilized nation building, even though the people exploited were subject to the nation's laws and taxes. Japanese nation builders taught that the Ainu peoples on the country's outer islands were dirty and disheveled; their habits and physical features were judged as hideous. The caste systems of the Spanish Empire and of Brazil ranked people of pure European blood highest and those of native or African blood lowest; those of mixed blood fell in the middle. Whether it was the mother or father, a free or unfree parent, who had the darker skin could also alter one's status. In the long run, however, the hierarchy was simple: the darker the skin, the lower the person.

Former U.S. Slaves

In the United States the withdrawal of Union troops from the South in 1877 signaled the end of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of the rights to citizenship granted black men in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Southerners passed "Jim Crow" laws segregating blacks from whites in public places and effectively disenfranchising them with a variety of regulations. The Ku Klux Klan, a paramilitary group of white Southerners, terrorized blacks and lynched and mutilated black men, whom they falsely accused of raping white women. Unprotected by U.S. laws, blacks fought back in ways both brave and subtle. One woman took as her goal in life keeping her daughter from the common livelihood for African American girls and women of domestic service in a white family. "for [Southern men] consider the colored girl their special prey." The exclusion of blacks and native Americans from rights became a unifying ideal for many white Americans.

## Women

From Italy and Germany to the United States, and in the case of Mexico, Turkey, Japan, women joined the effort to create and preserve strong nation-states. "I am a U.S. soldier," wrote Clara Barton, nurse on a U.S. Civil War battlefield. Women such as Barton were subject to the laws and taxes of the nation-state, but they too were denied rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, to own property, and to participate in public life. In countries as distant from one another as Japan and France, the government made it a crime for women to participate in political meetings under pain of arrest and imprisonment. Rape, other forms of physical abuse, and inequality of wages (and sometimes no wages at all) were seen as normal treatment for women.

Nonetheless, women became central to national myths of origin. In almost every modernizing country, the self-sacrifice of women to their nation or family was held up as a common model for citizenship. Just as women put aside their self-interest when being "good wives, wise mothers," as the new, nationalist Japanese slogan went, so women sacrificed their personal interests to strengthen the nation, even if this meant accepting beatings and the taxation and confiscation of their property by men and governments. Countries such as the United States, France, and Germany took mythical women—in these examples, Columbia, Marianne, and Germania—as their symbols on coins and other official artifacts even as they denied women the rights of citizenship.

**Frederick Douglass**

Frederick Douglass was an escaped slave, journalist, and civil rights pioneer of the nineteenth century. His goal was freedom for slaves and civil rights for all, and as such he became a hero to all outsiders down to the present day. As outsiders have been integrated, national histories make heroes of them to build a portrait of the nation as all-encompassing and based on mass participation of its citizenry. (National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, NY.)

**Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain**

Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain was an outsider to political life, as women generally lived in seclusion from society. In 1905 this Muslim woman, born in present-day Bangladesh, wrote an unusual short story that described what a nation—"Ladyland," she called it—would be like if women ruled with their brains instead of men ruling with their muscle. Ladyland ran smoothly because the women harnessed high-tech solar power; men remained safely tucked away in seclusion, the way women had once been.

## The Struggle for Citizens' Rights

Throughout the nineteenth century, reformers asserted the rights of native peoples, former slaves, and women. Juan Manuel de Rosas, the powerful caudillo of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and its countryside, combatted prejudice against people of Indian and African ancestry by incorporating them into his armies, promoting them to high ranks in the military, and giving them farms for their service. He built a loyal following, not through discrimination, but through nondiscrimination. In the United States, Frederick Douglass had been an abolitionist before the Civil War; after it he worked for the rights of freed black men. Ida B. Wells, U.S. newspaper woman and daughter of a former slave, campaigned in the late nineteenth century to end segregation of public facilities and, more forcefully and dangerously, to stop the lynching of black men. "I felt I owed it to myself and to my race to tell the whole truth now," Wells explained in her autobiography. She received death threats and was forced to go into hiding. Across Latin America and the United States reformers worked, often for free, with native peoples, freed slaves, and poverty-stricken urban dwellers to build solidarity, provide education, and teach new work skills—all in the name of improving the nation by improving conditions within it.

Simultaneously, however, minorities such as African Americans in the United States and former slaves in the Caribbean began to see the source of their common nationality not in the Western Hemisphere, which to them was a place of captivity, but in Africa. By the end of the century **pan-Africanism**, an ideology that stresses the common bonds of all people of African descent, had taken root. Similarly, Jews, who were discriminated against in many parts of the world, also fought back with thoughts of building a nation of their own where they would have full rights. "Why should we be any less worthy than any other people?" one Jewish leader asked. "What about our nation, our language, our land?" Jewish intellectuals began drawing upon Jewish folklore, language, customs, and history to establish a national identity parallel to that of other Europeans. By the late nineteenth century, a nationalist movement called **Zionism**, led by Hungarian-born writer Theodor Herzl, advocated the migration of Jews to their ancestral homeland of Palestine and the creation there of a Jewish nation-state.

Because rising nation-states refused women a whole series of rights, activists began lobbying for women's full citizenship. As the Chinese moved toward a program of national strengthening, activists denounced foot-binding and the lack of education for women. Activists often blamed men directly—"[illegible]," one German doctor called

**pan-Africanism** Originating in the late nineteenth century, an ideology that stresses the bonds of all people of African descent, both on the African continent and beyond.

**Zionism** A movement that began in the late nineteenth century among European Jews to form a Jewish state.

them.[26] In the United States the leading activists among a wide variety of [illegible] women's organizations were Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton; [illegible] ists included Sojourner Truth and Maria Cooper, who worked for the [illegible] ends of both racial and gender equality. In 1903 the most militant of suffrage [illegible] arose in England, there Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters founded the [illegible] Social and Political Union in the belief that women would accomplish nothing [illegible] threatened men's property. In 1907, WSPU members staged parades in English [illegible] in 1909 they began a campaign of violence, blowing up railroad stations, slashing works of art, and chaining themselves to the gates of Parliament.

When nationalist movements became strong in India, Egypt, the Middle East, and China, activist women focused on gaining rights and equality within an independent nation. Although these groups often looked to Western **suffragists** for some of their ideas, European suffragists were themselves inspired by non-Western women's less restrictive clothing, ownership of property, and recognized political roles. Latin American activists were also vocal, concerning themselves with education, the status of children, and the legal rights of women. Feminism thus became a global movement as women's writings, fictional and nonfictional, were translated across national boundaries and women from around the world met at international suffrage meetings. By 1904 feminist organizations from countries on almost all continents joined to form the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. International connections among feminist, African, and African American groups showed the ways in which national movements for citizenship took shape within a global context. The goal of most, however, was no longer to be an outsider to the nation by gaining full insider rights.

## Conclusion

Regions throughout the world witnessed revolutionary change in the second half of the nineteenth century as leaders joined with ordinary people to create strong, centralized nation-states. Sometimes these striving nations, such as many in Latin America, simultaneously felt the strong, divisive forces of regionalism. The United States experienced a devastating civil war over competing political and economic systems that threatened to divide the country in two. In Russia, fear of revolution made that government change policies, liberating the serfs as a way to strengthen the state. But Russia remained an autocracy that failed to listen to the voice of the people—even the wealthy ones. This meant that fundamental flaws, unrecognized at the time, were woven into its nation-building efforts, which around the world were promoting access to education, urban improvements in sanitation, transport, and communications, and the development of public institutions such as museums and libraries.

Though it became increasingly central to nation building in the nineteenth century, nationalism ultimately became a destructive force. Critics add that the widespread discrimination against "outsiders" such as women and people of other races and ethnicities is unfortunately a characteristic of how nation-states create unity among those privileged to be its citizens. Nation building did not happen everywhere, nor did it proceed evenly. It did not eliminate monarchies and empires, although, as Matsuo Taseko witnessed, it changed them. Nation builders around the world recognized that, given the global web of trade, communications, and industrialization, the nation-state was an effective means of focusing political, economic, and military power, even becoming a tool for moving beyond the nation-state to create far-flung empires. Those who lacked the concentrated force of the nation-state were ripe for colonization rather than independence and prosperity.

**suffragist** An activist on behalf of the vote for women



## NOTES

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19. Quoted in [illegible], *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, [illegible] (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, [illegible]), [illegible].
20. Quoted in Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcastes*, [illegible].
21. Quoted in Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [illegible]), [illegible].
22. Ibid., [illegible].
23. "The Race Problem: An Autobiography: A Southern Colored Woman," *The Independent* [illegible].
24. Quoted in Stephen Oates, *A Woman of Valor: Clara Barton and the Civil War* (New York: Free Press, [illegible]), [illegible].
25. Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [illegible]), [illegible].
26. [illegible], *The Sexual Crisis*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: The Critic and Guide Company, [illegible]), [illegible].

## RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH

### Modernizing Nations

Nations modernized and built their strength in different ways, but the common trend involved upgrading the education and general welfare of a wider segment of the population. Forment's book describes popular movements and official policies that worked toward that change.


Blackbourn, David. *Fontana History of Germany, 1780–1918: The Long Nineteenth Century.* 1997.

Forment, Carlos. *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900: Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru.* 2003.

*Mexican-American War, 1846–1848.* [illegible] PBS Online. www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/.

Meyer, Michael C., and William H. Beezley. *Oxford History of Mexico.* 2000.

*Nikitenko, Alexander. *Up from Serfdom: My Childhood and Youth in Russia, 1804–1824.* Translated by Helen Saltz Jacobson. 2001.

**Emerging Powers: The United States and Japan**

Two surprising newcomers on the nineteenth-century international stage were the United States and Japan, whose rise to prominence was full of struggle and bloodshed, as described in these works.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War.* 2008.

Foner, Eric. *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery.* 2010.

Keene, Donald. *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912.* 2002.

Love, Eric T. L. *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900.* 2004.

Walthall, Anne. *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration.* 1998.

**The Culture of Nations**

Culture was an integral part of creating a national identity. Stites's book shows how serf artists shaped not only the culture of the Russian Empire but its national politics.

Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000.* 2004.

Huffman, James L. *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan.* 1997.

Marchand, Suzanne, and David Lindenfeld, eds. *Germany at the Fin de Siècle: Culture, Politics, and Ideas.* 2004.

Stites, Richard. *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power.* 2005.

Walthall, Anne, ed. *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan.* 2002.

**COUNTERPOINT: Outsiders Inside the Nation-State**

In an age when nations were defining themselves, outsiders to the nation were those who lived within its boundaries but were kept from full citizenship. The battles for full rights continue to this day, especially as citizenship becomes global rather than national.

Bay, Mia. *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells.* 2009.

Calloway, Colin G. *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian Peoples.* 2011.

*Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself.* 1845.

Lowy, Dina. *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity.* 2007.

Lynch, John. *Argentine Caudillo: Juan Manuel de Rosas.* 2001.

* Primary source.



▸ **For additional primary sources from this period,** see Sources of Crossroads and Cultures.

▸ **For Web sites, images, and documents related to topics in this chapter,** see Make History at bedfordstmartins.com/smith.


# REVIEW

Online Study Guide bedfordstmartins.com/smith

**The major global development in this chapter** ▸ The causes and consequences of nation building in the nineteenth century.

## IMPORTANT EVENTS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1833–1855 | Mexican caudillo Santa Anna serves at intervals to lead the government |
| 1846–1848 | Mexican-American War |
| 1853–1856 | Crimean War |
| 1855 | Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass |
| 1858–1870 | Unification of Italy |
| 1860s | Height of opera singer Angela Peralta's career |
| 1861 | Emancipation of the serfs in Russia |
| 1861–1865 | U.S. Civil War |
| 1863 | Emancipation Proclamation in the United States |
| 1866–1871 | Unification of Germany |
| 1868 | Meiji Restoration of Japan |
| 1872–1876 | Fukuzawa Yukichi, Encouragement of Learning |
| 1880s | Popular uprisings in Japan |
| 1881 | Young rebels assassinate Alexander II of Russia |
| 1888 | Emancipation of slaves in Brazil |
| 1889 | Brazilian emperor Pedro II abdicates and republic is installed |

## KEY TERMS

**federalism** (p. 831)
**Manifest Destiny** (p. 839)
**mir** (p. 833)
**nation** (p. 829)
**pan-Africanism** (p. 851)
**realpolitik** (p. 838)
**Risorgimento** (p. 837)
**suffragist** (p. 853)
**zemstvo** (p. 837)
**Zionism** (p. 851)

## CHAPTER OVERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why did nation-states become so important to people in the nineteenth century?
2. What was the role of war in the rise of the nation-state?
3. What was the role of ordinary people in nation building?
4. Are nation-states still important today, and are there still outsiders inside nations?

## SECTION FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. How did some states transform themselves into modern nations?
2. How did the United States and Japan make their governments politically and economically powerful in the nineteenth century?
3. What part did culture play in forging a national identity?
4. What groups were excluded from full participation in the nation-state, and why?

## MAKING CONNECTIONS

1. How did the spread of industrialization (see Chapter 24) affect the rise of modern nation-states?
2. What was the legacy of slavery in the new nations? Did it make a difference to nation building that some states—Germany and Italy, for example—did not have large numbers of slaves in their homelands?
3. Why did Russia fail to offer rights to citizens equal to those offered by Western nations?

**CORE 133: World Civilizations, 1453-1914**
Quiz #4

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*Please provide answers to each of the following questions. Answers should be based upon your reading of the textbook (Chapters 23 and 25), Sven Beckert's Empire of Cotton (Introduction and Chapter 2), and selections from The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Complete sentences are not necessary, but if you choose to use a bulleted outline format for your answers, be sure to be as specific as possible and reference/cite the source or document. Each question is worth 1 point for a total of 5 points. (this translates to 5% of your total course grade)*

1. Most historians argue that the modern nation-state has its origins in the French Revolution. Based on your reading of the textbook (Chapter 23), why do you think this is true?

2. How did states nation-build in the nineteenth century? Please support your answer using two examples from this list of five: Russia, the United States, Italy, Germany, or Japan.

3. What does Sven Beckert mean by the term *war capitalism*?

4. In the modern period, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels believe that society has been divided into two "hostile camps." They are ______________________________

______________________________________________________________.

5. According to Marx and Engels, how is it that the bourgeoisie "produces…its own grave diggers?"
   a. Because the bourgeoisie created industry, which in turn created a need for wage labor, and the sheer number of wage laborers whose interest is opposed to the bourgeoisie will eventually overwhelm and destroy them.
   b. Because in their voracious appetite for profit, the bourgeoisie creates crises in industry, which in turn worsens the condition of the proletariat who are politicized in the process and eventually convinced that they must pursue revolutionary upheaval.
   c. Because the bourgeoisie so brutally oppresses the proletariat that over time the proletariat realize their class plight (or "consciousness") and rise up against their bourgeoisie oppressors.
   d. Because the bourgeoisie politicized the proletariat by using them against the aristocracy in their own quest for power and thus ignited in the proletariat a revolutionary fervor.

*Bonus Question - What does Fichte mean when he speaks of the unity that exists between Germans and how does the idea of race play a role in that unity?

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*Introduction*

Edgar Degas views the empire of cotton: merchants in New Orleans, 1873. (Credit int.1)

In late January 1860, the members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce assembled in that city's town hall for their annual meeting. Prominent among the sixty-eight men who gathered in the center of what was then the most industrialized city in the world were cotton merchants and manufacturers. In the previous eighty years, these men had transformed the surrounding countryside into the hub of something never before seen—a global web of agriculture, commerce, and industrial production. Merchants bought raw cotton from around the world and took it to British factories, home to two-thirds of the world's cotton spindles. An army of workers spun that cotton into thread and wove it into finished fabrics; then dealers sent those wares out to the world's markets.

The assembled gentlemen were in a celebratory mood.

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President Edmund Potter reminded his audience of the "amazing increase" of their industry and "the general prosperity of the whole country, and more particularly of this district." Their discussions were expansive, touching on the affairs of Manchester, Great Britain, Europe, the United States, China, India, South America, and Africa. Cotton manufacturer Henry Ashworth added superlatives of his own, celebrating "a degree of prosperity in business which has probably been unequalled in any previous time."[1]

These self-satisfied cotton manufacturers and merchants had reason to be smug: They stood at the center of a world-spanning empire—the empire of cotton. They ruled over factories in which tens of thousands of workers operated huge spinning machines and noisy power looms. They acquired cotton from the slave plantations of the Americas and sold the products of their mills to markets in the most distant corners of the world. The cotton men debated the affairs of the world with surprising nonchalance, even though their own occupations were almost banal—making and hawking cotton thread and cloth. They owned noisy, dirty, crowded, and decidedly unrefined factories; they lived in cities black with soot from coal-fueled steam engines; they breathed the stench of human sweat and human waste. They ran an empire, but hardly seemed like emperors.

Only a hundred years earlier, the ancestors of these cotton men would have laughed at the thought of a cotton empire. Cotton was grown in small batches and worked up by the hearth; the cotton industry played a marginal role at best in the United Kingdom. To be sure, some Europeans knew of beautiful Indian muslins, chintzes, and calicoes, what the French called *indiennes*, arriving in the ports of London, Barcelona, Le Havre, Hamburg, and Trieste. Women and men in the European countryside spun and wove cottons, modest competitors to the finery of the East. In the Americas, in Africa, and especially in Asia, people sowed cotton among their yam, corn, and jowar. They spun the fiber and wove it into the fabrics that their households needed or their rulers demanded. As they had for centuries, even millennia, people in Dhaka, Kano, and Teotihuacán, among many other places, made cotton cloth and applied beautiful colors to it. Some of these fabrics were traded globally. Some were of such extraordinary

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fineness that contemporaries called them "woven wind."

Instead of women on low stools spinning on small wooden wheels in their cottages, or using a distaff and spinning bowl in front of their hut, in 1860 millions of mechanical spindles—powered by steam engines and operated by wage workers, many of them children—turned for up to fourteen hours a day, producing millions of pounds of yarn. Instead of householders growing cotton and turning it into homespun thread and hand-loomed cloth, millions of slaves labored on plantations in the Americas, thousands of miles away from the hungry factories they supplied, factories that in turn were thousands of miles removed from eventual consumers of the cloth. Instead of caravans carrying West African cloth across the Sahara on camels, steamships plied the world's oceans, loaded with cotton from the American South or with British-made cotton fabrics. By 1860, the cotton capitalists who assembled to celebrate their accomplishments took as a fact of nature history's first globally integrated cotton manufacturing complex, even though the world they had helped create was of very recent vintage.

But in 1860, the future was nearly as unimaginable as the past. Manufacturers and merchants alike would have scoffed if told how radically the world of cotton would change in the following century. By 1960, most raw cotton came again from Asia, China, the Soviet Union, and India, as did the bulk of cotton yarn and cloth. In Britain, as well as in the rest of Europe and New England, few cotton factories remained. The former centers of cotton manufacturing—Manchester, Mulhouse, Barmen, and Lowell among them—were littered with abandoned mills and haunted by unemployed workers. Indeed, in 1963 the Liverpool Cotton Association, once one of cotton's most important trade associations, sold its furniture at auction.[2] The empire of cotton, at least the part dominated by Europe, had come crashing down.

—

This book is the story of the rise and fall of the European-dominated empire of cotton. But because of the centrality of cotton, its story is also the story of the making and remaking of global capitalism and with it of the modern world. Foregrounding

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a global scale of analysis we will learn how, in a remarkably brief period, enterprising entrepreneurs and powerful statesmen in Europe recast the world's most significant manufacturing industry by combining imperial expansion and slave labor with new machines and wage workers. The very particular organization of trade, production, and consumption they created exploded the disparate worlds of cotton that had existed for millennia. They animated cotton, invested it with world-changing energy, and then used it as a lever to transform the world. Capturing the biological bounty of an ancient plant, and the skills and huge markets of an old industry in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, European entrepreneurs and statesmen built an empire of cotton of tremendous scope and energy. Ironically, their shocking success also awakened the very forces that eventually would marginalize them within the empire they had created.

Along the way, millions of people spent their lives working the acres of cotton that slowly spread across the world, plucking billions of bolls from resistant cotton plants, carrying bales of cotton from cart to boat and from boat to train, and working, often at very young ages, at "satanic mills" from New England to China. Countries fought wars for access to these fertile fields, planters put untold numbers of people into shackles, employers abbreviated the childhoods of their operatives, the introduction of new machines led to the depopulation of ancient industrial centers, and workers, both slave and free, struggled for freedom and a living wage. Men and women who had long sustained themselves through small plots of land, growing cotton alongside their food, saw their way of life end. They left behind their agricultural tools and headed to the factory. In other parts of the world, many who had worked at their looms and who wore clothing that they themselves had woven found their products overwhelmed by the ceaseless output of machines. They left their spinning wheels and moved into the fields, now trapped in a cycle of endless pressure and endless debt. The empire of cotton was, from the beginning, a site of constant global struggle between slaves and planters, merchants and statesmen, farmers and merchants, workers and factory owners. In this as in so many other ways, the empire of cotton ushered in the modern world.

Today cotton is so ubiquitous that it is hard to see it for what it

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is: one of mankind's great achievements. As you read this sentence, chances are you are wearing something woven from cotton. And it is just as likely that you have never plucked a cotton boll from its stem, seen a wispy strand of raw cotton fiber, or heard the deafening noise of a spinning mule and a power loom. Cotton is as familiar as it is unknown. We take its perpetual presence for granted. We wear it close to our skin. We sleep under it. We swaddle our newborns in it. Cotton is in the banknotes we use, the coffee filters that help us awaken in the morning, the vegetable oil we use for cooking, the soap we wash with, and the gunpowder that fights our wars (indeed, Alfred Nobel won a British patent for his invention of "guncotton"). Cotton is even a component of the book you hold in your hands.

For about nine hundred years, from 1000 to 1900 CE, cotton was the world's most important manufacturing industry. Though it now has been surpassed by other industries, cotton remains important in terms of employment and global trade. It is so ubiquitous that in 2013 the world produced at least 123 million cotton bales, each weighing about four hundred pounds—enough to produce twenty T-shirts for each living person. Stacked on top of one another, the bales would create a tower forty thousand miles high; laid horizontally the bales would circle the globe one and a half times. Huge cotton plantations dot the earth, from China to India and the United States, from West Africa to Central Asia. The raw strands they produce, tightly packed in bales, are still shipped around the globe, to factories employing hundreds of thousands of workers. The finished pieces are then sold everywhere, from remote village stores to Walmart. Indeed, cotton might be one of the very few human-made goods that is available virtually anywhere, testifying both to cotton's utility and to capitalism's awe-inspiring increases in human productivity and consumption. As a recent advertising campaign in the United States announced, quite accurately, "Cotton is the fabric of our lives."[1]

Take a moment and imagine, if you can, a world without cotton. You wake up in the morning on a bed covered in fur or straw. You dress in woolens or, depending on the climate and your wealth, in linens or even silks. Because it is hard to wash your clothes, and because they are expensive or, if you make your own, labor-

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intensive, you change them irregularly. They smell and scratch. They are largely monochromatic, since, unlike cottons, wool and other natural fibers do not take colors very well. And you are surrounded by sheep: it would take approximately 7 billion sheep to produce a quantity of wool equivalent to the world's current cotton crop. Those 7 billion sheep would need 700 million hectares of land for grazing, about 1.6 times the surface area of today's European Union.[4]

Hard to imagine. But in a patch of land on the westernmost edge of the Eurasian landmass, such a world without cotton was long the norm. That land was Europe. Until the nineteenth century, cotton, while not unknown, was marginal to European textile production and consumption.

Why was it that the part of the world that had the least to do with cotton—Europe—created and came to dominate the empire of cotton? Any reasonable observer in, say, 1700, would have expected the world's cotton production to remain centered in India, or perhaps in China. And indeed, until 1780 these countries produced vastly more raw cotton and cotton textiles than Europe and North America. But then things changed. European capitalists and states, with startling swiftness, moved to the center of the cotton industry. They used their new position to ignite an Industrial Revolution. China and India, along with many other parts of the world, became ever more subservient to the Europe-centered empire of cotton. These Europeans then used their dynamic cotton industry as a platform to create other industries; indeed, cotton became the launching pad for the broader Industrial Revolution.

Edward Baines, a newspaper proprietor in Leeds, called cotton in 1835 a "spectacle unparalleled in the annals of industry." He argued that analyzing this spectacle was "more worthy the pains of the student" than the study of "wars and dynasties." I agree. Following cotton, as we shall see, will lead us to the origins of the modern world, industrialization, rapid and continuous economic growth, enormous productivity increase, and staggering social inequality. Historians, social scientists, policy makers, and ideologues of all stripes have tried to disentangle these origins. Particularly vexing is the question of why, after many millennia of

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slow economic growth, a few strands of humanity in the late eighteenth century suddenly got much richer. Scholars now refer to these few decades as the "great divergence"—the beginning of the vast divides that still structure today's world, the divide between those countries that industrialized and those that did not, between colonizers and colonized, between the global North and the global South. Grand arguments are easily made, some deeply pessimistic, some hopeful. In this book, however, I take a global and fundamentally historical approach to this puzzle: I begin by investigating the industry that stood at the very beginning of the "great divergence."[5]

A focus on cotton and its very concrete and often brutal development, casts doubt on several explanations that all too many observers tend to take for granted: that Europe's explosive economic development can be explained by Europeans' more rational religious beliefs, their Enlightenment traditions, the climate in which they live, the continent's geography, or benign institutions such as the Bank of England or the rule of law. Such essential and all too often unchangeable attributes, however, cannot account for the history of the cotton empire or explain the constantly shifting structure of capitalism. And they are often also wrong. The first industrial nation, Great Britain, was hardly a liberal, lean state with dependable but impartial institutions as it is often portrayed. Instead it was an imperial nation characterized by enormous military expenditures, a nearly constant state of war, a powerful and interventionist bureaucracy, high taxes, skyrocketing government debt, and protectionist tariffs—and it was certainly not democratic. Accounts of the "great divergence" that focus exclusively on conflicts between social classes within particular regions or countries are just as flawed. This book, in contrast, embraces a global perspective to show how Europeans united the power of capital and the power of the state to forge, often violently, a global production complex, and then used the capital, skills, networks, and institutions of cotton to embark upon the upswing in technology and wealth that defines the modern world. By looking at capitalism's past, this book offers a history of capitalism in action.[6]

Unlike much of what has been written on the history of capitalism, *Empire of Cotton* does not search for explanations in

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just one part of the world. It understands capitalism in the only way it can be properly understood—in a global frame. The movement of capital, people, goods, and raw materials around the globe and the connections forged between distant areas of the world are at the very core of the grand transformation of capitalism and they are at the core of this book.

—

Such a thorough and rapid re-creation of the world was possible only because of the emergence of new ways of organizing production, trade, and consumption. Slavery, the expropriation of indigenous peoples, imperial expansion, armed trade, and the assertion of sovereignty over people and land by entrepreneurs were at its core. I call this system *war capitalism.*

We usually think of capitalism, at least the globalized, mass-production type that we recognize today, as emerging around 1780 with the Industrial Revolution. But war capitalism, which began to develop in the sixteenth century, came long before machines and factories. War capitalism flourished not in the factory but in the field; it was not mechanized but land- and labor-intensive, resting on the violent expropriation of land and labor in Africa and the Americas. From these expropriations came great wealth and new knowledge, and these in turn strengthened European institutions and states—all crucial preconditions for Europe's extraordinary economic development by the nineteeth century and beyond.

Many historians have called this the age of "merchant" or "mercantile" capitalism, but "war capitalism" better expresses its rawness and violence as well as its intimate connection to European imperial expansion. War capitalism, a particularly important but often unrecognized phase in the development of capitalism, unfolded in a constantly shifting set of places embedded within constantly changing relationships. In some parts of the world it lasted well into the nineteenth century.

When we think of capitalism, we think of wage workers, yet this prior phase of capitalism was based not on free labor but on slavery. We associate industrial capitalism with contracts and markets, but early capitalism was based as often as not on

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violence and bodily coercion. Modern capitalism privileges property rights, but this earlier moment was characterized just as much by massive expropriations as by secure ownership. Latter-day capitalism rests upon the rule of law and powerful institutions backed by the state, but capitalism's early phase, although ultimately requiring state power to create world-spanning empires, was frequently based on the unrestrained actions of private individuals—the domination of masters over slaves and of frontier capitalists over indigenous inhabitants. The cumulative result of this highly aggressive, outwardly oriented capitalism was that Europeans came to dominate the centuries-old worlds of cotton, merge them into a single empire centered in Manchester, and invent the global economy we take for granted today.

War capitalism, then, was the foundation from which evolved the more familiar industrial capitalism, a capitalism characterized by powerful states with enormous administrative, military, judicial, and infrastructural capacities. At first, industrial capitalism remained tightly linked to slavery and expropriated lands, but as its institutions—everything from wage labor to property rights—gained strength, they enabled a new and different form of integration of the labor, raw materials, markets, and capital in huge swaths of the world.[7] These new forms of integration drove the revolutions of capitalism into ever more corners of the world.

As the modern world came of age, cotton came to dominate world trade. Cotton factories towered above all other forms of European and North American manufacturing. Cotton growing dominated the U.S. economy throughout much of the nineteenth century. It was in cottons that new modes of manufacturing first came about. The factory itself was an invention of the cotton industry. So was the connection between slave agriculture in the Americas and manufacturing across Europe. Because for many decades cotton was the most important European industry, it was the source of huge profits that eventually fed into other segments of the European economy. Cotton also was the cradle of industrialization in virtually every other part of the world—the United States and Egypt, Mexico and Brazil, Japan and China. At the same time, Europe's domination of the world's cotton industry resulted in a wave of deindustrialization throughout much of the

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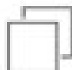
rest of the world, enabling a new and different kind of integration into the global economy.

Yet even as the construction of industrial capitalism, beginning in the United Kingdom in the 1780s and then spreading to continental Europe and the United States in the early decades of the nineteenth century, gave enormous power to the states that embraced it and to capitalists within them, it planted the seeds of further transformation in the empire of cotton. As industrial capitalism spread, capital itself became tied to particular states. And as the state assumed an ever more central role and emerged as the most durable, powerful, and rapidly expanding institution of all, labor also grew in size and power. The dependence of capitalists on the state, and the state's dependence on its people, empowered the workers who produced that capital, day in and day out, on the factory floor. By the second half of the nineteenth century, workers organized collectively, both in unions and political parties, and slowly, over multiple decades, improved their wages and working conditions. This, in turn, increased production costs, creating openings for lower-cost producers in other parts of the world. By the turn of the twentieth century, the model of industrial capitalism had traveled to other countries and was embraced by their modernizing elites. As a result, the cotton industry left Europe and New England and returned to it origins in the global South.

Some may wonder why the claims made here for the empire of cotton do not apply to other commodities. After all, before 1760, Europeans had traded extensively in many commodities in the tropical and semitropical areas of the world, including sugar, rice, rubber, and indigo. Unlike these commodities, cotton, however, has two labor-intensive stages—one in the fields, the other in factories. Sugar and tobacco did not create large industrial proletariats in Europe. Cotton did. Tobacco did not result in the rise of vast new manufacturing enterprises. Cotton did. Indigo growing and processing did not create huge new markets for European manufacturers. Cotton did. Rice cultivation in the Americas did not lead to an explosion of *both* slavery and wage labor. Cotton did. As a result, cotton spanned the globe unlike any other industry. Because of the new ways it wove continents together, cotton provides the key to understanding the modern



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world, the great inequalities that characterize it, the long history of globalization, and the ever-changing political economy of capitalism.

One reason it is hard to see cotton's importance is because it has often been overshadowed in our collective memory by images of coal mines, railroads, and giant steelworks—industrial capitalism's more tangible, more massive manifestations. Too often, we ignore the countryside to focus on the city and the miracles of modern industry in Europe and North America while ignoring that very industry's connection to raw material producers and markets in all corners of the world. Too often, we prefer to erase the realities of slavery, expropriation, and colonialism from the history of capitalism, craving a nobler, cleaner capitalism. We tend to recall industrial capitalism as male-dominated, whereas women's labor largely created the empire of cotton. Capitalism was in many ways a liberating force, the foundation of much of contemporary life; we are invested in it, not just economically but emotionally and ideologically. Uncomfortable truths are sometimes easier to ignore.

Nineteenth-century observers, in contrast, were cognizant of cotton's role in reshaping the world. Some celebrated the amazing transformative power of the new global economy. As a Manchester *Cotton Supply Reporter* put it in 1860, rather breathlessly, "Cotton seems to have been destined to take the lead among the numerous and vast agencies of the present century, set in motion for human civilization....Cotton with its commerce has become one of the many modern 'wonders of the world.' "[8]

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When you look at the cotton plant, it seems an unlikely candidate for one of the wonders of the world. Humble and unremarkable, it grows in many shapes and sizes. Prior to Europe's creation of the empire of cotton, different peoples in different parts of the world cultivated plants quite unlike one another. South Americans tended to grow *G. barbadense*, a small bushy tree that sprouted yellow flowers and produced long-staple cotton. In India, by contrast, farmers grew *G. arboretum*, a shrub about six feet in height, with yellow or purple flowers, producing a short-staple

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fiber, while in Africa the very similar *G. herbaceum* thrived. By the mid-nineteenth century, one type dominated the empire of cotton—*G. hirsutum*—also known as American upland. Originating in Central America, this variant, as described by Andrew Ure in 1836, "rises to the height of two or three feet, and then divaricates into boughs, which bristle with hairs. The leaves are also hairy on their inferior surfaces, and are three- or five-lobed. The upper leaves are entire and heart-shaped; the petioles are velvety. The flowers near the extremities of the boughs are large, and somewhat dingy in colour. The capsules are ovate, four-celled, nearly as large as an apple, and yield a very fine silky cotton wool, much esteemed in commerce."[9]

This fluffy white fiber is at the center of this book. The plant itself does not make history, but if we listen carefully, it will tell us of people all over the world who spent their lives with cotton: Indian weavers, slaves in Alabama, Greek merchants in the Nile Delta towns, highly organized craft workers in Lancashire. The empire of cotton was built with their labor, imagination, and skills. By 1900 about 1.5 percent of the human population—millions of men, women, and children—were engaged in the industry, either growing, transporting, or manufacturing cotton. Edward Atkinson, a mid-nineteenth-century Massachusetts cotton manufacturer, was essentially correct when he pointed out that "there is no other product that has had so potent and malign an influence in the past upon the history and institutions of the land; and perhaps no other on which its future material welfare may more depend." Atkinson was speaking of the United States and its history of slavery, but his argument could be applied to the world as a whole.[10]

This book follows cotton from fields to boats, from merchant houses to factories, from pickers to spinners to weavers to consumers. It does not separate the cotton history of Brazil from that of the United States, Great Britain's from Togo's, or Egypt's from Japan's. The empire of cotton, and with it the modern world, is only understood by connecting, rather than separating, the many places and people who shaped and were in turn shaped by that empire.[11]

I am centrally concerned with the unity of the diverse. Cotton,

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the nineteenth century's chief global commodity, brought seeming opposites together, turning them almost by alchemy into wealth: slavery and free labor, states and markets, colonialism and free trade, industrialization and deindustrialization. The cotton empire depended on plantation and factory, slavery and wage labor, colonizers and colonized, railroads and steamships—in short, on a global network of land, labor, transport, manufacture, and sale. The Liverpool Cotton Exchange had an enormous impact on Mississippi cotton planters, the Alsatian spinning mills were tightly linked to those of Lancashire, and the future of handloom weavers in New Hampshire or Dhaka depended on such diverse factors as the construction of a railroad between Manchester and Liverpool, investment decisions of Boston merchants, and tariff policies made in Washington and London. The power of the Ottoman state over its countryside affected the development of slavery in the West Indies; the political activities of recently freed slaves in the United States affected the lives of rural cultivators in India.[12]

From these volatile opposites, we see how cotton made possible both the birth of capitalism and its subsequent reinvention. As we explore the twinned paths of cotton and capitalism across the world, and the centuries, we are reminded again and again that no state of capitalism is ever permanent or stable. Each new moment in capitalism's history produces new instabilities, and even contradictions, prompting vast spatial, social, and political rearrangements.

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Writing about cotton has a long history. Indeed, cotton might be the most fully researched of all human industries. Libraries are filled with accounts of slave plantations in the Americas, the beginnings of cotton manufacturing in Britain, France, the German lands, and Japan, and the merchants who connected one to the other. Much less common are efforts to link these diverse histories; in fact, what is perhaps the most successful such effort is now nearly two centuries old. When Edward Baines penned his *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* in 1835, he concluded that "the author may be permitted to express...that his

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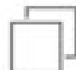
subject derives interest not merely from the magnitude of the branch of industry he has attempted to describe, but from the wonderful extent of intercourse which it has established between this country and every part of the globe."[13] I share Baines's enthusiasm and his global perspective, if not all of his conclusions.

As a Leeds newspaper editor living close to the center of the empire of cotton, Baines could not help but take a global perspective on these matters.[14] However, when professional historians turned to cotton, they almost always focused on local, regional, and national aspects of this history. Yet only a global viewpoint allows us to understand the great realignment that each of these local stories was part of—the huge global shifts in labor regimes in agriculture, the spread of state-strengthening projects by nationalist elites, and the impact of working-class collective action, among others.

This book draws on the vast literature on cotton, but places it in a new framework. As a result, it contributes to a vibrant but often stultifyingly presentist conversation on globalization. *Empire of Cotton* challenges excited discoveries of an allegedly new, global phase in the history of capitalism. It shows that capitalism has been globe-spanning since its inception and that fluid spatial configurations of the world economy have been a common feature of the last three hundred years. The book argues also that for most of capitalism's history the process of globalization and the needs of nation-states were not conflicting, as is often believed, but instead mutually reinforced one another. If our allegedly new global age is truly a revolutionary departure from the past, the departure is not the degree of global connection but the fact that capitalists are for the first time able to emancipate themselves from particular nation-states, the very institutions that in the past enabled their rise.

As its subtitle suggests, *Empire of Cotton* is also part of a larger conversation among historians trying to rethink history by looking at it within a transnational, even global, spatial frame. History as a profession emerged hand in hand with the nation-state, and played an important part in its constitution. But by assuming national perspectives, historians have often underemphasized connections that transcend state borders, settling for explanations



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that can be drawn from events, people, and processes within particular national territories. This book is intended as a contribution to efforts to balance such "national" perspectives with a broader focus on the networks, identities, and processes that transcend political boundaries.[15]

By focusing on one specific commodity—cotton—and tracing how it was grown, transported, financed, manufactured, sold, and consumed, we are able to see connections between peoples and places that would remain on the margins if we embarked upon a more traditional study bounded by national borders. Instead of focusing on the history of a particular event, such as the American Civil War, or place, such as the cotton factories of Osaka, or group of people, such as West Indian slaves growing cotton, or process, such as rural cultivators turning into industrial wage workers, this book uses the biography of one product as a window into some of the most significant questions we can ask about the history of our world and to reinterpret a history of huge consequence: the history of capitalism.[16]

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We are about to embark on a journey through five thousand years of human history. Throughout this book, we will look at a single, seemingly inconsequential item—cotton—to solve a vast mystery: Where does the modern world originate? Let's begin by traveling to a small farming village in what is today Mexico, where cotton plants bloom in a world utterly unlike our own.

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*Chapter Two*

# Building War Capitalism

Capturing global cotton networks: the British East India Company "factory" in Cossimbazar, West Bengal, c. 1795 (Credit 2.1)

Though impressive, the emergence of cotton production in twelfth-century northern Italy, and later in fifteenth-century southern Germany, did not seem world-altering. In each instance, boom was followed by bust. And the larger cotton industry, already well established on three continents, continued to hum along as it had for centuries. World production still centered on India and China, and intercontinental trade was still dominated by the products of Indian weavers. No significant technological or organizational departures characterized the European industry: Asian producers remained at the cutting edge of textile technology. To be sure, Europe's new manufacturing endeavors produced an unprecedented quantity of cotton cloth for that continent, spread a taste for cotton fabrics, and established widespread knowledge about the principles of cotton manufacturing—all factors that eventually became exceedingly

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important. But for now those small shifts were irrelevant to the global cotton industry, because Europeans lacked the ability to compete in transoceanic markets, not least because the quality of their output was much inferior to that of India. Unlike Indian or Chinese producers, moreover, Europeans depended on the import of raw cotton from distant regions of the world—regions over which they enjoyed little control. And in 1600, most Europeans continued to clothe themselves in linens and woolens.

Over the next two hundred years, however, all that was to change. The change was slow, at first hardly perceptible, but the momentum built, faster and faster and then exponentially. The ultimate result was a radical reorganization of the world's leading manufacturing industry: an explosion in how and where cotton was grown and manufactured, and a shocking vision of how the crop could yoke the world together. This recasting of cotton did not at first derive from technical advances, nor from organizational advantages, but instead from a far simpler source: the ability and willingness to project capital and power across vast oceans. With increasing frequency, Europeans inserted themselves, often violently, into the global networks of the cotton trade—within Asia as well as between Asia and the rest of the world—before using that same power to create entirely novel networks between Africa, the Americas, and Europe.[1] Europe's first incursion into the world of cotton had collapsed in the face of superior power; new generations of European capitalists and statesmen took heed and built a comparative advantage with a willingness and ability to use force to extend their interests. Europeans became important to the worlds of cotton not because of new inventions or superior technologies, but because of their ability to reshape and then dominate global cotton networks.

European capitalists and rulers altered global networks through multiple means. The muscle of armed trade enabled the creation of a complex, Eurocentric maritime trade web; the forging of a military-fiscal state allowed for the projection of power into the far-flung corners of the world; the invention of financial instruments—from marine insurance to bills of lading—allowed for the transfer of capital and goods over long distances; the development of a legal system gave a modicum of security to global investments; the construction of alliances with distant

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capitalists and rulers provided access to local weavers and cotton growers; the expropriation of land and the deportation of Africans created flourishing plantations. Unbeknownst to contemporaries, these alterations were the first steps toward the Industrial Revolution. Centuries before the "great divergence" of per capita economic output between Europe and East Asia, a small group of Europeans seized control of the heretofore episodic and gradual process of forging global economic connections, with dramatic consequences not only for the cotton industry but for human societies across the globe. The "great divergence" was at first a divergence of state power as well as a peculiar relationship between these states and capital owners. In the process, the many worlds of cotton became a European-centered empire of cotton.

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Christopher Columbus's landing in the Americas in 1492 marked the first momentous event in this recasting of global connections. That journey set off the world's greatest land grab, with Hernán Cortés attacking the Aztec Empire in 1518 and establishing vast territorial claims for the Spaniards in America, spreading into South America and also farther north. By the mid-sixteenth century, Portugal had followed suit and acquired what is today Brazil. The French set out to the Americas in 1605 and acquired Quebec; parts of the modern-day midwestern and southern United States, which were grouped into a French administrative unit called Louisiana; and a number of Caribbean islands, including, in 1695, Saint-Domingue, the western third of Hispaniola. England established its first successful American settlement in Jamestown, which became a part of the colony of Virginia, in 1607, soon to be expanded with further colonies in North America and also the Caribbean. Eventually, as we will see, controlling huge territories in the Americas allowed, among other things, the monocultural growing of large quantities of cotton.

The second momentous event in the history of cotton came five years later, in 1497, when Vasco da Gama sailed triumphantly into the port of Calicut, having pioneered a sea route from Europe to India around the Cape of Good Hope. Now Europeans could for the first time access the products of Indian weavers—the world's

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weavers who grew, spun, and wove these increasingly valuable goods. Europeans set up warehouses—so-called factories—along the coast of India, in cities such as Madras, Surat, Dhaka, Cossimbazar, and Calicut, where their agents placed orders with *banias* for cloth and received the wares ready for shipment. Hundreds of leather-bound books, many of which are still extant, recorded each one of these transactions.[5]

In 1676, the factory of the British East India Company in Dhaka detailed the mechanisms through which cloth was purchased, testifying to its dependence on indigenous traders. The English merchants subcontracted the task of securing cloth to a number of *banias* eight to ten months before the trading ships arrived, specifying the qualities, designs, prices, and delivery dates they desired. African and European consumers of cotton textiles demanded very particular goods at particular prices. *Banias* then advanced cash to various middlemen, who would travel from village to village to advance funds and contract for finished cloth with individual weavers.[6] Eventually the cloth traveled the same chain back to the English factory in Dhaka, where merchants graded and prepared it for shipment.

In this system of production, the weavers themselves had control over the rhythm and organization of their work, owned their tools, just as they had for centuries, and even retained the right to sell their products to whomever they pleased. As European demand grew, weavers were able to increase production and raise prices, which was clearly beneficial to them. In fact, the arrival of European traders in the Gujarati town of Broach, just as much as in Orissa and Dhaka, gave a new impetus to the regional cotton industry. Weavers were still poor, yet they could take advantage of competition for their cloth, as did indigenous *banias* and even Indian rulers, who quickly established taxes and duties on the production and export of cotton cloth.[7] The power of European merchants in India was hence significant, but far from all-encompassing: The English complained that the system was frequently disrupted by "Arabians and Moguls who trade in Dacca cloth carrying yearly very considerable quantities of the same overland some so far as the great Turks Dominions," as well as by the "contest, trouble and Charge" of the weavers and local *banias*.[8]

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This "factory" system, with its continuing dependence on local traders and local capital, persisted for roughly two centuries. As late as 1800, the British East India Company agreed to purchase piece goods from Pestonjee Jemsatjee and Sorabje Jevangee, two merchants in Bombay, for more than 1 million rupees, while the Surat *bania* Dadabo Monackjee entered into contracts with weavers north of the city to deliver cloth for the British. Indeed, at first, Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French traders were merely the latest arrivals to an old and vibrant market, taking their place alongside hundreds of merchants from all over South Asia and the Arabian Peninsula. In Dhaka, as late as the 1700s, European traders acquired only about one-third of all the cloth traded. And the trading capacity of Europeans in India remained dependent on South Asian bankers and merchants who financed cotton growing and manufacturing.[9]

The insertion of armed European merchants into the Asian trade, however, slowly marginalized these older networks, as they muscled the once dominant Indian and Arab traders out of many intercontinental markets. In 1670, one British observer could still note that Middle Eastern merchants "carried off five times as many calicoes as the English and the Dutch." Yet with bigger, faster, and more reliable boats, and more damaging firepower, "the old pattern of the Indian-Levant trade as the principal artery for world exchange underwent a complete structural change," one historian concludes, with "the Ottoman Empire...the chief loser." Gujarati merchants trading with East Africa also began facing European competition. Just as European merchants became increasingly common in India, they also established themselves in the East African markets; as a result, on both sides of the Indian Ocean, Europe's dominance grew. With the eighteenth-century decline of Surat and the rise of British Bombay, merchants in western India became even more dependent on British power.[10]

The growing influence of European merchants and their sponsoring states in India eventually began to have important repercussions in Europe itself. As much larger quantities of Indian cottons traveled to Europe, new markets and fashions emerged. Beautiful chintzes and muslins attracted the attention of the growing class of Europeans who had the money to purchase them and the desire to flaunt their social status by wearing them. As

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Indian cottons became ever more fashionable in the eighteenth century, the desire to replace these imports was a powerful incentive to ramping up cotton production in England and eventually to revolutionize it.[11]

Moreover, domination in Asia dovetailed with expansion into the Americas. As Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch powers captured huge territories in the Americas, they took away the continent's movable wealth: gold and silver. It was indeed some of these stolen precious metals that had funded the purchase of cotton fabrics in India in the first place.

Eventually, however, European settlers in the Americas could not discover sufficient gold and silver and they invented a new road to wealth: plantations growing tropical and semitropical crops, sugar in particular, but also rice, tobacco, and indigo. Such plantations needed large numbers of workers, and to secure these workers, Europeans deported at first thousands and then millions of Africans to the Americas. European merchants built fortified trading stations along the western coast of Africa—Goree in present-day Senegal, Elmina in present-day Ghana, Ouidah in present-day Benin. They paid African rulers to go on a hunt for labor, exchanging captives for the products of Indian weavers. In the three centuries after 1500, more than 8 million slaves were transported from Africa to the Americas, first mostly by Spanish and Portuguese traders, to be joined in the seventeenth century by the British, French, Dutch, Danish, and others. During the eighteenth century alone, they deported more than 5 million people, mostly from west-central Africa, the Bight of Benin, the Gold Coast, and the Bight of Biafra.[12] Slaves arrived almost daily on Caribbean islands, as well as along the coasts of both Americas.

Such trade increased the demand for cotton fabrics, since African rulers and merchants almost always demanded cotton cloth in exchange for slaves. Although it is often imagined that the slave trade was animated by simple exchanges of guns and gewgaws for human export, slaves were more frequently traded for a far more banal commodity: cotton textiles. One study of 1,308 barters of British merchant Richard Miles between 1772 and 1780 for 2,218 Gold Coast slaves found that textiles constituted over half of the value of all traded goods. Portuguese imports to

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Luanda in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tell a similar story: Woven goods constituted nearly 60 percent of imports.[13]

African consumers became notorious for their discerning and dynamic tastes, much to the consternation of European merchants. Indeed, one European traveler observed that African consumer tastes were "most varied and capricious," and that "scarcely two villages concur in their canons of taste." When the slave ship *Diligent* sailed from its French port in 1731, it carried in its hold a careful assortment of Indian textiles to cater to the particular demands at the Guinea coast. In the same way, Richard Miles sent very specific instructions on what colors and types of textiles were currently in demand on the Gold Coast to his British suppliers, down to the very manufacturers that should be utilized. "Mr Kershaw's [manufactures] are by no means equal to [Knipe's]," he told a British contact in one 1779 letter, "at least not in the eyes of the Black traders here, & it is them that are to be pleased."[14]

European trade in cotton textiles tied together Asia, the Americas, Africa, and Europe in a complex commercial web. Never before in the four millennia of the history of cotton had such a globe-spanning system been invented. Never before had the products of Indian weavers paid for slaves in Africa to work on the plantations in the Americas to produce agricultural commodities for European consumers. This was an awe-inspiring system, speaking clearly to the transformative powers of a union of capital and state power. What was the most radical was not the particulars of these trades, but the system in which they were embedded and how different parts of the system fed upon one another: Europeans had invented a new way of organizing economic activity.

This expansion of European trade networks into Asia, Africa, and the Americas did not rest primarily on offering superior goods at good prices, but on the military subjugation of competitors and a coercive European mercantile presence in many regions of the world. Depending on the relative balance of social power in particular places, there were variations on this central theme. In Asia and Africa, Europeans settled coastal enclaves and

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dominated transoceanic commerce, without at first much involvement in cultivation and manufacturing. In other parts of the world, most prominently the Americas, local populations were expropriated and often displaced or killed. Europeans invented the world anew by embarking upon plantation agriculture on a massive scale. Once Europeans became involved in production, they fastened their economic fortunes to slavery. These three moves—imperial expansion, expropriation, and slavery—became central to the forging of a new global economic order and eventually the emergence of capitalism.

They combined with one other feature of this new world: states that backed these merchant and settler ventures, but that only weakly asserted their sovereignty over the places and peoples in distant territories. Instead, private capitalists, often organized in chartered companies (such as the British East India Company) asserted sovereignty over land and people, and structured connections to local rulers. Heavily armed privateering capitalists became the symbol of this new world of European domination, as their cannon-filled boats and their soldier-traders, armed private militias, and settlers captured land and labor and blew competitors, quite literally, out of the water. Privatized violence was one of their core competencies. While European states had envisioned, encouraged, and enabled the creation of vast colonial empires, they remained weak and thin on the ground, providing private actors the space and leeway to forge new modes of trade and production. Not secure property rights but a wave of expropriation of labor and land characterized this moment, testifying to capitalism's illiberal origins.

The beating heart of this new system was slavery. The deportation of many millions of Africans to the Americas intensified connections to India because it increased pressure to secure more cotton cloth. It was that trade that established a more significant European mercantile presence in Africa. And it was that trade that made it possible to give economic value to the vast territories captured in the Americas, and thus to overcome Europe's own resource constraints. This multifaceted system certainly showed variation and changed over time, but it was sufficiently different from the world that came before and the world that would emerge from it in the nineteenth century that it

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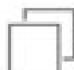

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geographic dispersal throughout ever larger areas of the countryside. This was the classic putting-out system, quite similar to its incarnations across Asia centuries earlier, or to the British woolens industry. The countryside became ever more industrial and its inhabitants ever more dependent on putting-out work for distant merchants.[18]

Unlike Indian cotton spinners and weavers, the growing class of English cotton workers had no independent access to raw materials or to markets. They were entirely subordinated to the merchants—indeed, they enjoyed less independence and power than their Indian counterparts.[19] British putting-out merchants, as a result, had far more power than Indian *banias*. The British cotton men were part of a rising global power whose navy increasingly dominated the world's oceans, whose territorial possessions in the Americas and in Asia—India foremost among them—grew rapidly, and whose slavers created a plantation complex that rested in various ways on the manufacturing capacity of spinners and weavers thousands of miles away in the remote uplands of Lancashire and the plains of Bengal.

Despite these beginnings, their significance emerged only in retrospect. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europe's cotton industry was not particularly prominent. In England, but also elsewhere in Europe, the "manufacture of cotton remained almost stationary." Even after 1697, it grew only slowly; for example, it took sixty-seven years for the amount of raw cotton worked up into thread and cloth to approximately double, to 3.87 million pounds. That was the amount of cotton used in an entire year. By 1858, in contrast, the United States would export this amount of cotton on average on a single *day*. France was similar, and, outside Britain and France, European cotton demand was even less significant.[20]

One reason for the relatively slow growth of European cotton manufacturing was the difficulty of accessing raw cotton. As cotton was not grown in Europe itself, the industry's essential raw material had to be brought from distant locations. The modest demand for raw cotton among European manufacturers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before the heyday of the new machines that would by 1780 revolutionize cotton

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manufacturing, was largely met through established and diversified trade channels, in which cotton remained one commodity among many. In 1753, twenty-six ships arrived in the port of Liverpool from Jamaica with cotton, of which twenty-four had less than fifty bags of the fiber on board.[21] There were neither merchants nor ports nor regions of the world that specialized in cotton production for export.

Since the twelfth century the most important source of cotton imports to Europe, as we have seen, was the Ottoman Empire, especially western Anatolia and Macedonia. Throughout the seventeenth century, cotton from Izmir and Thessaloniki (Ottoman Salonica) continued to dominate local markets, arriving in London and Marseille alongside other products of the East, such as silk and mohair yarn. As European demand for raw cotton slowly expanded in the eighteenth century, Ottoman cotton still filled a significant share: one-quarter of all British imports between 1700 and 1745, and a similar quantity shipped to Marseille.[22]

Small quantities of raw cotton also arrived from other regions of the world, such as the Indian cotton that found its way to London in the 1690s, courtesy of the East India Company. Similarly, in the 1720s, the Royal African Company reported selling "At Their House in Leaden-Hall-Street by the Candle, on Thursday the 12th Day of September 1723, at Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon... Cotton from Gambia." A year later, they offered "Casks of Fine Silk Cotton...from Whyday," and the subsequent year "Bags of Guinea Cotton." But such minor sales paled in comparison to these merchants' more important trade items like elephant tusks.[23]

More important, however, was a new source of cotton: the West Indies. Though cotton remained a marginal crop compared to sugar on these islands, a number of small farmers, with fewer resources to invest than the sugar lords, did grow the "white gold." The production of these *petits blancs*, as they were called on the French islands, remained rather static until 1760. Yet for the British and French cotton industries, even this small amount of West Indian cotton supplied a significant share of their needs. And more important, as we will see, its way of production pointed

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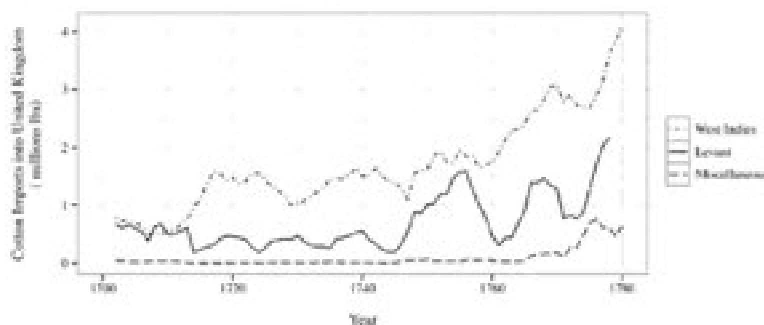
to the future.[24]

Before 1770, therefore, European merchants secured the valuable fiber through well-established trade networks from a wide variety of locations. With the exception of the West Indies, their influence did not go much beyond the port cities themselves, as they had neither the power to tinker with how cotton was cultivated in the hinterland nor the inclination to advance capital for additional cotton growing. Cotton came to them thanks to the prices they were willing to pay, but they had no influence on how the cotton came into being. Local growers and merchants remained powerful actors within this global raw cotton nexus, not least because they neither specialized in cotton production for export nor in northern European markets.[25]




Cotton imports into the UK, 1702–1780, by source, in millions of pounds, five-year trailing averages (Credit 2.2)

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As small quantities of raw cotton came to Europe to feed the expanding but in global terms still puny European cotton industry, demand for cotton cloth grew in Europe, as well as in Africa and on the slave plantations of the Americas. Yet European production was insufficient to meet it. In response, English, French, Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese traders, all with a similar feverish energy, tried to secure greater quantities of cotton textiles in India under ever more favorable conditions. While in 1614 British merchants had exported 12,500 untailored pieces of cotton cloth, between 1699 and 1701 that number spiked to 877,789

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pieces annually. Exports of cloth by the British had increased by a factor of seventy in less than a hundred years.[26]

To obtain these fabulous quantities of textiles from India at favorable prices, representatives for the European East India companies began to insert themselves even more into the production process within India itself. For decades, representatives of the chartered European East India companies had complained about the ability of Indian weavers to sell their goods to competing European companies, competing Indian *banias*, traders from other regions of the world, or even to private European merchants who operated independently of the companies, creating competition that raised prices. Profitability could be increased only if Europeans could force weavers to work for their respective company alone. Monopolizing the market became the way to drive down weavers' incomes and drive up the selling price of particular goods.[27]

European traders were helped in securing cotton cloth in the quantity and quality they needed, and at the price they desired, because their business practices were reinforced with political control of increasingly extensive Indian territories. They came not just as traders, but increasingly as rulers. By the 1730s, the Dhaka factory, for example, hosted a contingent of military personnel and arms to protect the company's interests. Most dramatically, by 1765 the British East India Company—a group of merchants—ruled Bengal, and in the decades thereafter expanded its control over other South Asian territories. Such territorial dreams were furthered by British merchants' increasing investment in the raw cotton trade between India and China by the late eighteenth century, which made them hope for the integration of western Indian cotton tracts into East India Company territories as well. This assertion of private political power by a state-chartered company over distant territories was a revolutionary reconceptualization of economic might. States shared sovereignty over territory and people with private entrepreneurs.[28]

Among many other things, this new combination of economic and political power enabled European merchants to gain greater control over textile manufacturing, especially by increasing control over weavers.[29] Along the Coromandel coast the

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influential Indian merchants who acted as brokers between Indian weavers and European exporters increasingly were replaced by agents who were under much greater control of the European companies already in the seventeenth century. In Surat, which, like Bengal, would fall under company rule in 1765, the Board of Trade of the governor-general expressed in 1795 its dissatisfaction with

> the system in practice hitherto of having a Contractor who has not himself any immediate connection with the manufacturers or weavers, but engages in subordinate contracts with a large number of the Native Merchants of little property or probity and though bound in responsibility, are not competent to pay a penalty if forfeited, and that in fact the goods never came into their possession, and apprehend that the difficulties now existing, will not be removed but with its abolition or very material alteration.[39]

Removing the Indian middlemen promised the foreign merchants better control over production and the ability to secure a greater quantity of piece goods. To that end, the East India Company tried to bypass the independent Indian *banias* who had historically connected them to the weavers by giving that responsibility to Indian "agents" whom they put on their own payroll. The Board of Trade in London instructed the governor-general in great detail how to recast the system of purchasing cotton cloth, hoping thereby to "recover to the Company that genuine knowledge of the business," and thus acquire more cloth at cheaper prices by implementing the "grand Fundamental principle of the Agency System." Through its Indian agents the company now made direct advances to weavers, something the British had not done in earlier years, which was greatly aided by territorial control and the attendant political authority. While weavers had always depended on credit, the novel insertion of Europeans into these credit networks along with the efforts of European merchants to monopolize economic control of particular parts of India made them ever more dependent on the company. Already by the middle of the eighteenth century,

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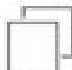

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peace following the Seven Years War, beautifully summarizes what was at the core of the revolutionary reconceptualization of the global economy.[37]

> Since the Peace the Slaving Trade to the Coast of Africa has greatly encreased, in course the Demand for Goods proper for that Market is very large; & as We are very desirous of contributing so far as lyes in Our Powers to the Encouragement of a Trade on which the well-being of the British plantations in the West Indies so much depends, & considering the same therefore in a National View, We expect & positively direct that you conform as near as possible can, not only to the Provision in general of the several Articles ordered in the abovementioned List of Investment [i.e., cloth], but those marked A which are more immediately for that Trade.[38]

As this message makes clear, cotton from India, slaves from Africa, and sugar from the Caribbean moved across the planet in a complex commercial dance. The huge demand for slaves in the Americas created pressure to secure more cotton cloth from India. Not surprisingly, Francis Baring of the East India Company concluded in 1793 that from Bengal an "astonishing Mass of Wealth has flowed...into the Lap of Great Britain."[39]

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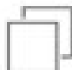
European merchants' increasing control over the production process in India would seem to threaten Europe's own not particularly important or dynamic infant cotton industry. How could the English, French, Dutch, and other producers possibly compete against India's fabrics, which were both superior in quality and cheaper? And yet it appears that the European industry expanded even as India exported more cloth. Ironically, imports from India helped the European cotton textile industry by creating new markets for cotton fabrics and by continuing Europe's appropriation of relevant technologies from Asia. In the long run, moreover, imports from India influenced Europe's political priorities. As we will see, Great Britain, France, and



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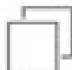
others emerged as newly powerful states, with a vocal group of capitalists; for states and individuals alike, replacing Indian cotton cloth imports with domestically manufactured cloth became an important, albeit difficult-to-realize priority.

Protectionism played a key role in this process, testifying again to the enormous importance of the state to the "great divergence." By the late seventeenth century, with both cotton imports and domestic cotton manufacturing expanding, Europe's woolen and linen manufacturers pressured their respective governments to protect them from upstart cotton manufacturers in general and Indian imports in particular. Textiles were Europe's most important manufacturing industry: Dislocation of the sector by cotton imports and manufacturing seemed to endanger profits and threaten social stability.[40]

As early as 1621, only a little more than two decades after the creation of the East India Company, London wool merchants protested against the growing importation of cotton cloth. Two years later, in 1623, Parliament debated Indian textile imports, calling them "injurious to the national interests." Indeed, agitation against cotton imports became a constant feature of the English political landscape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A 1678 pamphlet, "The Ancient Trades Decayed and Repaired Again," warned that the woolen trade was "very much hindered by our own people, who do wear many foreign commodities instead of our own." In 1708, *Defoe's Review* printed a bitter editorial that looked "into the real Decay of our Manufactures," ascribing the decline to the import of ever increasing quantities of "Chints and painted Callicoes" by the East India Company. The result was that "the Bread taken out of [the people's] Mouths, and the East-India Trade carry away the whole Employment of their People." Usually it was woolen and linen manufacturers who agitated against Indian imports, but sometimes cotton manufacturers chimed in as well: In 1779, calico printers, fearful that the East India Company would ruin their business, wrote to the Treasury that "if there is not a Prohibition put to the East India Company's going on with their printing Manufactory in the East Indies a great many more must also leave off this Branch of Business."[41]

Such agitation led to protectionist measures. In 1685, England



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imposed a 10 percent duty on "all calicoes and other Indian linen and all wrought silks which are manufactures of India." In 1690, the tariff was doubled. In 1701, Parliament outlawed the import of printed cottons, leading to the importation of plain calicoes for further processing in England, giving a huge boost to British calico printing. A 1721 law went so far as to ban people from wearing printed calicoes if the white calicoes themselves originated from India, a measure that gave an impetus to calico fabrication in Britain. Selling Indian cottons was eventually criminalized altogether: In 1772 Robert Gardiner of London rented an apartment to one W. Blair, who "brought illegal goods into his house," namely Indian muslins. He was sent to jail. In 1774, Parliament decreed that cotton cloth for sale in England had to be made exclusively of cotton spun and woven in England. Only goods destined for reexport were permitted from the East Indies. The Indian cotton goods not subject to these bans, such as plain chintz and muslins, were subject to heavy tariffs. In the end, all of these protectionist measures did not help the domestic woolen and linen industry, but did spur domestic cotton manufacture.[42]

Like Britain, France took pains to outlaw the import of Indian cottons. In 1686, in response to pressure from silk and wool industrialists, it outlawed the manufacture, use, and sale of cottons. Over the next seventy years, no fewer than two royal edicts and eighty rulings of the king's council attempted to repress cottons. Penalties were made ever more severe, with imprisonment and, starting in 1726, even the death penalty awaiting offenders. In 1755, France again outlawed the import of Indian printed textiles for consumption in France, and in 1785 the king reconfirmed the prohibitions in order to protect a "national industry." Twenty thousand guards worked on enforcing these laws, sending as many as 50,000 violators to forced labor on French galleys. Explicitly excluded from the long list of prohibited Indian textiles, however, were those destined for Guinée, that is, textiles used in the slave trade. Slaves, after all, could only be gotten by exchanging them for the cottons from India.[43]

Other European countries followed suit: Venice disallowed the import of Indian cottons in 1700, as did Flanders. In Prussia, a 1721 edict of King Friedrich Wilhelm outlawed the wearing of printed or painted chintz and cottons. Spain outlawed the import

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of Indian textiles in 1717. And in the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Abdulhamid I prohibited subjects from wearing certain Indian cloths.[44]

What began as a policy to protect domestic wool, linen, and silk makers evolved toward an explicit program of encouraging the domestic production of cotton textiles. "The prohibition that the industrial nations imposed on printed textiles in order to encourage their own national production," the French traveler François-Xavier Legoux de Flaix argued in 1807, provided European manufacturers who could not yet freely compete with Indian weavers with a sense of how promising the market for cottons would be. Domestic as well as export markets were potentially huge and extremely elastic. And just as protectionist measures limited access to European textile markets for Indian producers, European states and merchants increasingly dominated global networks that allowed them to capture markets for cotton textiles in other parts of the world. These markets, in fact, provided an outlet for cottons secured in India as well as for domestic producers. Thus Europeans could both increase cloth purchases in India *and* protect their own uncompetitive national industries—a miraculous feat possible only because war capitalism had allowed Europeans to dominate global cotton networks while at the same time constructing new kinds of ever more powerful states whose constant warfare demanded ever greater resources and thus embraced domestic industry.[45]

Imperial expansion and the increasing dominance of Europeans in the global cotton trade allowed, furthermore, for an increasing transfer of Asian knowledge to Europe. Manufacturers in Europe felt more and more pressure to appropriate these technologies in order to compete both on price and on quality with Indian producers. Europe's movement toward manufacturing cotton textiles was based, in fact, on what might be considered one of history's most dramatic instances of industrial espionage.

One reason that Indian textiles were so popular among European and African consumers was their superior design and brilliant colors. In order to match the fabulous qualities of their Indian competitors, European manufacturers, supported by their various national governments, collected and shared knowledge

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about Indian production techniques. French cotton manufacturers, for example, devoted great effort to copying Indian techniques by closely observing Indian ways of manufacturing. In 1678, Georges Roques, who worked for the French East India Company, wrote what quickly became an invaluable report on Indian woodblock printing techniques, based on his observations in Ahmedabad. Forty years later, in 1718, Le Père Turpin followed suit, and in 1731 Georges de Beaulieu, the second lieutenant on a French East India Company ship, reached Pondicherry to investigate how Indian artisans produced chintz. As a result of these and other efforts, by 1743 French manufacturers were capable of copying all but the very finest Indian textiles. Yet despite this rapid appropriation of Indian techniques, even in the late eighteenth century cloth from the subcontinent still defined quality. Legoux de Flaix admired in 1807 the qualities of Indian yarn and cloth ("a degree of perfection far beyond what we are familiar with in Europe") and once again reported in minute detail on Indian manufacturing techniques, in the hopes of enabling French artisans to copy them: "All the weaving combs in France should be made according to the model used in Bengal," he advised, among other things. "Then we will succeed in equaling the Indians in the manufacture of their muslin."[46]

Other European manufacturers followed suit. In the late eighteenth century, Danish travelers ventured to India to understand and appropriate Indian technology. And throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English cotton printers collected and then copied Indian designs using Indian cotton printing expertise. Publications such as the "Account of the Manufactures carried on at Bangalore, and the Processes employed by the Natives in Dyeing Silk and Cotton," or the similarly oriented "The Genuine Oriental Process for giving to Cotton Yarn, or Stuffs, the fast or ingrained Colour, known by the Name of Turkey or Adrianople-Red," exemplified a persistent interest in technology transfer. Just as was the case with the spinning wheel and the horizontal treadle loom in the centuries prior, Asia from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century remained the most important source of cotton manufacturing and, especially, printing technology. As European domination of the

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merchants, in turn, who sold the yarn and cloth coming from British producers advanced credit to Lancashire manufacturers. In fact, they provided the very important and very significant working capital, as profits from trade were redirected toward manufacturing, "a flow of capital inwards from commerce." Moreover, as these merchants gained wealth in long-distance trade, they could demand political protections from a government increasingly dependent on extracting revenue from them.[53]

Last but not least, war capitalism also nourished the emerging secondary sectors of the economy such as insurance, finance, and shipping, sectors that would become exceedingly important to the emergence of the British cotton industry, but also public institutions such as government credit, money itself, and national defense. These institutions originated in the world of war capitalism "as advanced industrial techniques and commercial practices" migrated from export businesses into the domestic economy.[54]

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European—and especially British—merchants, with the willing partnership of the British state, had inserted themselves in unique ways into the global networks of cotton production, between growers and spinners, between spinners and weavers, between producers and consumers. Long before the advent of new cotton-producing technologies, they had in fact already rearranged the global cotton industry and global cotton networks. These networks were dominated by the joint venture of private capital and increasingly robust states. Together their commitment to armed trade, industrial espionage, prohibitions, restrictive trade regulations, domination of territories, capturing of labor, removal of indigenous inhabitants, and the state-sponsored creation of territories that were then left to the far-reaching domination of capitalists had created a new economic order.[55]

From these abundant exertions by merchants, manufacturers, and government bureaucrats alike, Europe by the eighteenth century enjoyed a fundamentally new place in the global networks of cotton. Most of the world's cotton production was still located in Asia, and vibrant cotton industries remained throughout Africa

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and the Americas, but Europeans now decisively dominated its transoceanic trade. In the New World, they had built a regime for the production of agricultural commodities based on slave labor, a system of production that would ultimately make more and more Europeans into cotton growers, even though little cotton grew on European soil. Strong European states had simultaneously created barriers to the import of foreign textiles just as they built a system for the appropriation of foreign technology. By orchestrating economic processes in Asia, Africa, and the Americas as well as in Europe, Europeans gained the paradoxical ability to direct the global trade in Indian textiles while at the same time keeping Asian cloth increasingly out of Europe, instead trading the products in Africa and elsewhere beyond Europe's shores. A globalized textile industry had emerged and Europeans, for the first time, had grasped the vast scope of the global demand for cotton goods.

What set European statesmen and capitalists apart from their counterparts elsewhere was their ability to dominate these global networks. Whereas trade in Africa, Asia, and the Americas had been characterized by networks fueled by the mutually advantageous exchange of goods, Europeans built transcontinental production systems that exploded existing social relations on their continent and elsewhere. The significance of this early history of global interaction was not global trade as such (which remained of limited quantitative importance to all economies), but instead the reshaping of how things were produced, both in time and in space, and the social and political ramifications of that production.[56] India and China, or, for that matter, the Aztec and Inca empires, had not even come close to such global dominance, and even less so to reinventing how people produced things in the far-flung corners of the globe. And yet starting in the sixteenth century, armed European capitalists and capital-rich European states reorganized the world's cotton industry. It was this early embrace of war capitalism that was the precondition for the Industrial Revolution that eventually created an enormous further push toward global economic integration and continues to shape and reshape our world today.

What happened was a swift transition from the older world of cotton—discontinuous, multifocal, horizontal—to an integrated,

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centralized, and hierarchical empire of cotton. As late as the mid-eighteenth century, it would have seemed unlikely to contemporary observers that Europe, and especially Britain, would very soon turn into the world's most important cotton manufacturer. Indeed, even in 1860, James A. Mann, a fellow at the Statistical Society of London and a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, could still remember:

> Our own condition, at a period very recent, would but ill-compare with the then inhabitants of the New World or of India; our moral condition with all the advantages of climate, was absolutely below the latter, and the position of the manufacturing art in America, at the date of its discovery, or in India, surpassed even that of our woolen manufacture; and to this day, with all our appliances, we cannot surpass in fineness the muslins of the East, or the solidity and elegance of the *Hamaca's*, the Brazilians and Carribees were wont to weave. When our people were in primeval darkness, East and West were in comparative light.
>
> India...is the source whence we received indirectly our ideas of trade; it was the manufactures of that country, as of China, that inspired the minds of our forefathers with the wish for luxuries according to the received notions of the times. The period in which the manufacture was carried on in India, formed comparatively speaking, the dawning of our day; the sun was then traveling from another and past era in the world's commerce. The Indian manufacture was the forecast of that light, which, intensifying on its road hither, gained the needful warmth to dispel the early mists of morn, and develop the embryo state; and strengthened by the energy of the European, it has given rise to a new era of commercial splendour never before witnessed.[57]

As the sun was made to rise over a small part of Europe, as enterprising Europeans sucked the discontinuous, multifocal, and horizontal worlds of cotton slowly into their orbit, they invented

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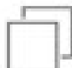

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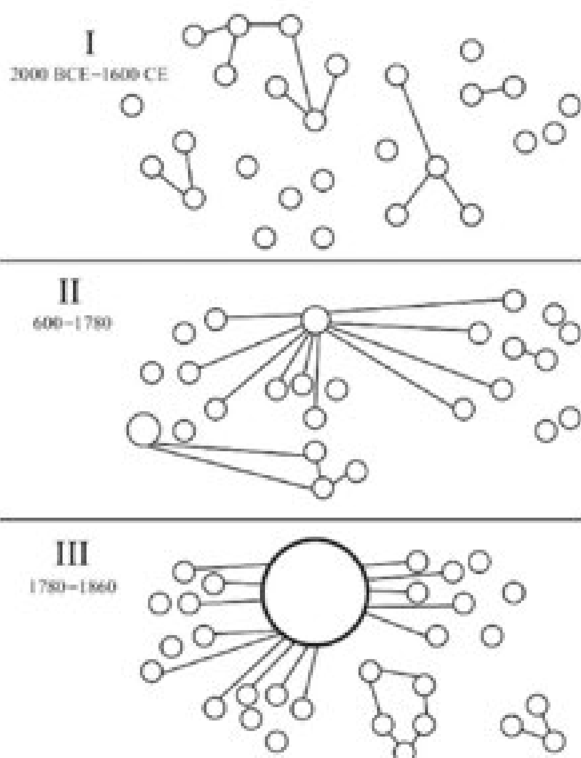


The changing spatial arrangements between growers, manufacturers, and consumers of cotton in the world, 2000 BCE–1860 CE. Phase I: Multipolar, disconnected. Phase II: After 1600, networks focused increasingly on Europe, but production remained dispersed. Phase III: After the Industrial Revolution, production networks focused on Europe, and a multicentric industry became unipolar. (Credit 3.2)

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"This Land of Long Chimneys": The Industrial Revolution in the United Kingdom, 1780–1815

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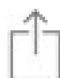
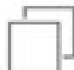
Samuel Greg was important to this story; he and his contemporaries shaped the future. But like most successful revolutionaries, they relied on the past, on the networks constructed by British merchants, planters, and the state during the previous two hundred years. In other words, the power they harnessed in water was only possible because of the power harnessed by war capitalism. Slavery, colonial domination, militarized trade, and land expropriations provided the fertile soil from which a new kind of capitalism would sprout. Greg's genius lay in realizing that risk-taking English entrepreneurs like him





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could build upon this material and institutional heritage and generate unprecedented wealth and power by embracing the heretofore ungentlemanly world of manufacturing.

Greg had deep roots in war capitalism, its violent appropriation of territory and slave labor, as well its reliance on the imperial state to secure new technologies and markets. He had secured his part of the family fortune through Hillsborough Estate, a profitable sugar plantation on the Caribbean island of Dominica, where he held hundreds of enslaved Africans until the final abolition of slavery in British territories in 1834. Greg's uncles Robert and Nathaniel Hyde, who had raised him from age nine and also provided much of the capital for the building of Quarry Bank Mill, were also textile manufacturers, West Indian plantation owners, and merchants. Greg's wife, Hannah Lightbody, was born into a family involved in the slave trade, while his sister-in-law's family had moved from the slave trade into the export of cloth to Africa.[1]

Most of Greg's fellow cotton manufacturers came from considerably less prosperous circumstances, without Caribbean slave plantations. They had accumulated only modest amounts of capital, but had a wealth of tinkering spirit and technical aptitude —as well as a hunger for the huge profits that might be generated by manufacturing. Yet they, too, drew their essential raw material —cotton—from slave labor. Even they catered to markets that had first been opened by the trade in Indian cotton textiles, textiles that had been kept out of many European markets in order to protect noncompetitive European producers. And they, too, drew on Indian technologies captured through British imperial expansion on that continent. Many, moreover, used capital accumulated via the Atlantic trade and catered to Atlantic markets —especially in Africa and in the Americas, economies fueled almost exclusively by slave labor. And for them, war capitalism had also provided many learning opportunities—how to organize long-distance trade, for example, how to run domestic industries; an understanding of the mechanisms to move capital across oceans—lessons that informed the development of domestic financial instruments. Even modern labor cost accounting had emerged from the world of the slave plantation and only later migrated into modern industry. And British entrepreneurs'

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incentive and ability to reinvent radically the production of cotton textiles was protected by a powerful imperial state, a state that itself had been the product of war capitalism.[2]

Bringing war capitalism home: Hannah Lightbody, Samuel Greg's wife, and daughter of a Liverpool merchant family (Credit 3.4)

Most crucially, by the second half of the eighteenth century, that heritage allowed British merchants to assume commanding roles at many vital nodes of the global cotton industry—even though British workers produced only a tiny percentage of global output and Britain's farmers grew no cotton whatsoever. England's domination of these global networks, as we will see, was essential to recast production and become the unlikely source of the cotton-fueled Industrial Revolution. While certainly still revolutionary, industrial capitalism was the offspring of war capitalism, the previous centuries' great innovation.[3]

Samuel Greg and his fellow innovators knew that the global reach and power of the British Empire gave them a tremendous advantage over their fellow merchants and artisans in Frankfurt, Calcutta, or Rio de Janeiro. Having started out as a merchant in the employ of his uncles, he had already organized a large putting-out network of cotton spinners and weavers in the Lancashire and Cheshire countryside before investing in his new machines. In addition to the profits and labor from this putting-out network, Greg had easy access to abundant capital from his wife's family. And the Rathbone family, which would become one of the

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dominant players in the nineteenth-century cotton trade, stood ready in 1780 to supply raw cotton to Greg. He knew firsthand that the market for cotton fabrics—in continental Europe, along the coast of Africa, and in the Americas—was rapidly expanding.[4]

And while the upside was tremendous, the risks of these first ventures were modest. In the 1780s, Greg invested at first a fairly small amount of capital into his Quarry Bank Mill: £3,000, the equivalent of about half a million U.S. dollars today. Then he recruited ninety children between the ages of ten and twelve from nearby poorhouses, attaching them for seven years to his factory as "parish apprentices." By 1800 he supplemented these children with 110 adult workers who received wages. Greg sold his cloth first mostly to Europe and the West Indies, and, after the 1790s, increasingly to Russia and the United States. Thanks to those expanding markets, the new factory, like others, was spectacularly profitable from the beginning, returning annually 18 percent on his original investment, four times as much as UK government bonds.[5]

Contemporary observers as well as modern historians have found many reasons that explain Greg's venture, and with it why the much broader Industrial Revolution, "broke out" in this place, in northern England, and at this time, in the 1780s. The genius of British inventors, the size of the British market and its unusually deep integration, the geography of Britain with its easy access to waterborne transport, the importance of religious dissenters for thinking outside the box, and the creation of a state favorable to entrepreneurial initiative have all been cited.[6] While none of these arguments are unimportant, they omit a core part of the story of the Industrial Revolution: its dependence on the globe-spanning system of war capitalism.

As a result of all these factors, for the first time ever, a new character, the manufacturer, strode onto the scene, an individual who used capital not to enslave labor or conquer territory, though that remained essential, but to organize workers into great orchestras of machine-based production. Manufacturers' efforts to reorganize production rested on new ways of mobilizing land, labor, and resources—and called, among other things, for a new connection between capitalists and the state. It was this nexus of

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significant way. Protectionism had been a workable answer to a point, and was deployed to great success, but the tantalizing possibility of global exports could not be preserved by such prohibitions. What British cotton capitalists needed was a dynamic combination of new technologies to lower costs, the further growth of elastic markets that already had begun to expand on the tails of British expansion, and a supportive state with the ability not just to protect global empire but to transform society in Britain itself.[10]

Since labor costs were the primary obstacle to grasping the new tantalizing opportunities, British merchants, inventors, and budding manufacturers—practical men all—focused on methods to increase the productivity of their high-cost labor. In the process, they effected the most momentous technological change in the history of cotton. Their first noteworthy innovation came in 1733 with John Kay's invention of the flying shuttle. This small wooden tool in the shape of the hull of a ship allowed weavers to attach the weft thread and then propel it to "fly" from one side of the loom to the other through the warp threads. The shuttle doubled the productivity of weavers. At first it spread only slowly, but its spread was unstoppable: After 1745, despite resistance from weavers who feared for their livelihoods, it was widely adopted.[11]

This tiny piece of wood propelled in novel ways prompted a cascade of further innovations that would gradually but permanently change cotton manufacturing. The spread of more productive weaving techniques put huge pressure on spinning, as ever more spinners were needed to supply one weaver with sufficient yarn to keep the looms working. Despite more women in ever more households working longer hours on the spinning wheel, the supply was insufficient. After Kay's invention it took four spinners to supply one weaver. Many artisans tried to find ways to circumvent this bottleneck, and by the 1760s productivity increases became possible with James Hargreaves's invention of the spinning jenny. The jenny consisted of a hand-operated wheel that would rotate a number of spindles within a frame, while the spinner would use her other hand to move a bar back and forth to extend the thread and then to wind it on the spindles themselves. This machine was at first able to spin eight separate threads, later

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sixteen or more, and as early as 1767 it had tripled a spinner's speed. It spread rapidly, and by 1786 there were about twenty thousand in use in Britain.[12]

As early as 1769, however, spinning was already seeing further improvements thanks to Richard Arkwright's water frame, a machine that anticipated Greg's mill by relying on falling water. Consisting of four rollers that drew out the cotton strands before a spindle twisted them into thread, it allowed for continuous spinning, and unlike the jenny, which had at first been mostly employed in people's homes, the water frame required larger amounts of energy, thus concentrating production in factories. A decade later, in 1779, Samuel Crompton's mule was the capstone of these inventions, combining elements of the jenny with those of the water frame (hence its name). The mule was a long machine with two parallel carriages: Bobbins of roving (lightly twisted cotton fibers) lined one side, and spindles ready to accept spun yarn lined the other. The exterior carriage, mounted on wheels, was pulled out about five feet, stretching multiple lengths of roving simultaneously. The number of rovings spun depended on the number of spindles mounted to the mule: Although two hundred was the norm in the 1790s, the number would climb to more than thirteen hundred over the ensuing century. The stretched roving was then twisted into yarn and wound onto the spindles as the carriage was pushed back in. Unlike with the water frame, which operated continuously, yarn was produced in five-foot bursts, but was stronger and finer than yarn produced on water frames. The mule was first powered by water (which remained the dominant source of power until the 1820s), but later mostly by steam engines (which James Watt patented in 1769).[13]

With spinning no longer a laggard, pressure shifted back to weaving. First came a vast expansion of home-based weaving. With new machines and an abundant supply of thread, this was a golden age for weavers all over the Lancashire and Cheshire countryside, as tens of thousands of cottagers spent endless hours on their looms working up the rapidly increasing output of British spinning factories. While Edmund Cartwright had patented a water-powered loom as early as 1785, productivity improvements in weaving at first proved modest, and technical problems with power looms great.[14]

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Britain's growing class of manufacturers, despite issues with looms, were acutely aware that these new machines allowed them to increasingly dominate the one node in the global cotton complex whose control had eluded them: manufacturing. In eighteenth-century India, spinners required 50,000 hours to spin a hundred pounds of raw cotton; their cohorts in 1790 Britain, using a hundred-spindle mule, could spin the same amount in just 1,000 hours. By 1795 they needed just 300 hours with the water frame, or, with Roberts's automated mule after 1825, only 135 hours. In just three decades, productivity had increased 370 times. Labor costs in England were now much lower than in India.[15]

Prices for British yarn fell accordingly, and soon were lower than those manufactured in India. In 1830, British cotton merchant Edward Baines cited the price of one pound of Number 40 yarn (the number reflects the quality of the yarn—the higher the number, the finer the thread) in England as 1 shilling, 2.5 pence, while in India the same quality and quantity of yarn would cost 3 shillings, 7 pence. Manchester spinners McConnel & Kennedy reported that the prices for its high-quality 100-count yarn fell by 50 percent between 1795 and 1811, and, despite various ups and downs, continued to fall further throughout the nineteenth century. While yarn prices, especially of fine yarns, fell the most rapidly, the cost of finished cloth also declined. A piece of muslin in the early 1780s cost (in deflated prices) 116 shillings per piece; fifty years later the same piece could be had for 28 shillings.[16]

The resulting boom in cotton manufacturing was unprecedented. After nearly two centuries of slow growth in Europe, British cotton manufacturing expanded by leaps and bounds. Between 1780 and 1800, output of cotton textiles in Britain grew annually by 10.8 percent, and exports by 14 percent; already in 1797 there were approximately nine hundred cotton factories. In 1788, there had been 50,000 mule spindles, but thirty-three years later that number had increased to 7 million. While it had been cheaper to produce cotton cloth in India before 1780, and its quality had been superior, after that year English manufacturers were able to compete in European and Atlantic markets, and after 1830 they even began to compete with Indian

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producers in India itself. Once Indians began using British-manufactured yarn and cloth, it signaled to all that the world's cotton industry had been turned on its head.[17]

As ever larger numbers of cotton factories began to dot northern England to accommodate the new spinning and weaving machines, it might come as a surprise that the inventors, who had enabled this departure, had started in distinctly unspectacular ways. They created a world radically different from anything ever seen before without recourse to theoretical science, often even without much education. They were skilled men in tiny workshops, with little formal education. Among the inventors, Kay came from the most prosperous family, as his father was a modestly successful woolens manufacturer. He might have received some formal education in France. Hargreaves, on the other hand, was a handloom weaver from Blackburn, who probably never had any formal schooling—much like Arkwright, the youngest of seven children born to poor parents, who learned how to read first from his uncles and then educated himself. Crompton grew up in dire poverty: After his father died, Crompton began to spin cotton, perhaps as early as age five, while his mother tried to make ends meet by spinning and weaving. All four were tinkerers, people who breathed and lived with their machines, trying to solve practical problems with simple tools and insights that emerged from their day-to-day efforts to improve production.[18]

But they were far from local heroes. Their innovations sometimes even brought down the wrath of their neighbors, who dreaded the job losses the innovators caused. Fear of mob violence drove Kay and Hargreaves away from the places they had made their inventions. Neither translated their inventions into wealth; after losing their efforts to defend their patents, they lived modestly. When Hargreaves died in Nottingham in 1778, he owned little more than a prize from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, and his children were destitute. Only Arkwright profited from his invention—establishing cotton factories in numerous locations. Yet a rapidly growing number of British manufacturers did embrace the new technologies, a British state valued them so highly that it criminalized their export for nearly half a century after 1786.

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From then on, technical progress became a constant: Profits were made by increasing the productivity of human labor. This would in fact become a defining feature of industrial capitalism.

These new machines, the "macro inventions" celebrated by historians Joel Mokyr, Patrick O'Brien, and many others, not only accelerated human productivity, but also altered the nature of the production process itself: They began to regulate the pace of human labor.[19] Dependent on central energy sources and requiring large spaces, production moved out of the home and into factories. Along with the machines, workers assembled in unprecedented numbers in central locations. While putting-out merchants had traversed the countryside searching for laborers, now workers sought out manufacturers in search of employment.

The mechanization of cotton spinning created a novel entity: the cotton mill. Although mills could vary tremendously in size, they shared one attribute: a nearby source of running water. To harness its energy, either a dam was constructed or an inlet was cut from a steep section of river and diverted through a waterwheel. The waterwheel drove shafts that ran through the length of the mill, upon which large leather belts could be engaged or disengaged in order to run the various machines. Unlike its predecessors, the mill's primary function was not to simply aggregate and control labor, but to house a complex array of machinery. And by the 1780s, some mills were taking on gargantuan proportions; at two hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, and four to six stories in height, they dominated the surrounding countryside.[20]

Yarn production in these mills entailed three basic steps: willowing, carding, and spinning. The first step had workers, generally women, spread the raw cotton upon meshed tables and beat it with sticks to remove any twigs, leaves, and dirt that the ginning had failed to remove. Since the process pushed so much fire-hazardous cotton dust into the air, it was often completed in adjoining buildings rather than within the main mill complex. After the cotton was cleaned, a series of machines centralized in the bottom floors of the mill would transform the raw cotton into "roving," a thin cord of lightly twisted, parallel fibers ready to be spun. First, the cotton was fed into a carding engine, a spinning

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first mill in 1784, new mills blossomed, and in the decades thereafter existing mills expanded, sometimes quite significantly. Greg himself employed 2,084 workers in five mills in 1833, and the number of spindles at his Quarry Bank Mill had quadrupled, to 10,846. In 1795, cotton manufacturer Robert Peel expanded operations into twenty-three different mills, all owned and managed by him. In other instances, new producers entered the industry, often people with little capital but the right kinds of connections. When Irish merchant William Emerson wanted to help a relative start a spinning mill, he wrote to his business partners McConnel and Kennedy in Manchester, informing them in a letter "that a relation of mine has a desire to acquire a knowledge of Carding and Spinning, and for which purpose, I wd willingly send him to you for Six Mo and pay you any reasonable price for his instruction, you d be so good to say if you could with convenience have him Instructed Either in your own House or any other and on what terms."[25]

As factories multiplied, many remained small and their owners were often not wealthy by the standards of Liverpool merchants, Somerset landowners, or London bankers. In 1812, 70 percent of all firms had fewer than ten thousand spindles and were valued at less than £2,000. The entrepreneurs who entered the industry came from a variety of backgrounds. Many had been merchant-manufacturers, others manufacturers in different industries, while others had started out as well-off farmers, or even as apprentices with unusual mechanical abilities. There were certainly examples of extraordinary social mobility, such as Elkanah Armitage, who began work at a cotton factory at age eight as a spinner's helper and fifty-nine years later owned mills that employed 1,650 workers.[26]

Others, however, started with more substantial resources, such as Samuel Oldknow, who was born in 1756 in Anderton, Lancashire. His father already owned a successful muslin manufacturing operation worked entirely by handlooms. Following his father's premature death, Oldknow was apprenticed to his uncle, a draper, before he returned to his hometown in 1781 to rebuild the family muslin business. It was auspicious timing. The introduction of the spinning mule in 1779 made high-quality, mass-produced yarn available on an unprecedented scale,

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allowing Oldknow to break into a market previously dominated by Indian manufacturers. Oldknow also partnered with two London firms to secure wide access to British and overseas markets. As he put it in a draft of a 1783 letter, "The prospect is at present very propitious." By 1786, he was the most successful muslin manufacturer in Britain. Oldknow continued to build mills and expand his enterprises, at one point controlling some twenty-nine mills. By 1790, he was branching out into spinning with the construction of a steam-powered factory in Stockport; by 1793, an even larger six-story spinning mill in Mellor began production.[27]

Cotton manufacturing, even if engaged in on a small scale, was astonishingly profitable in the 1780s and 1790s. The firm of Cardwell & Birle had average annual returns on their capital of 13.1 percent, N. Dugdale 24.8 percent, and McConnel & Kennedy 16 percent. Such profits allowed them to expand without much recourse to formal capital markets. Indeed, "the favorite source of capital [for expansion] was retained profits." Yet such capital was often augmented by merchants who invested in mills that they did not run themselves, and, more important, by London and Liverpool merchants' credit for the purchase of raw cotton and the sale of yarn and cloth. This additional working capital was crucial: While in 1834 fixed capital investments in factories and machines in the British cotton industry may have amounted to £14.8 million, working capital invested in raw cotton and wages equaled £7.4 million—a very significant share. Access to such capital rested often on personal connections, and as the need to secure significant amounts of circulating capital increased, it became more difficult for people outside the middle class to join the ranks of cotton capitalists. High profits from production in turn made manufacturing an ever more attractive field for further investments.[28]

One example of the rapid growth of cotton mills was the Manchester cotton manufacturers McConnel & Kennedy. They founded their partnership in 1791, focusing on the production of spinning machines, a business that came naturally to machine maker James McConnel. One day, however, McConnel produced two mules that his customer could not pay for, and this seeming bad luck led him to begin using them himself. His partner, John Kennedy, and two other investors expanded both the production

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