

PART 4

The World from 1750 to the Present

CH 23



MANY OF THE TRENDS of the early modern period continued after 1750. Global connections continued to intensify, and science and technology advanced at an ever-faster pace. As part of their growing competition for land, natural resources, and the control of populations, governments armed themselves with more destructive weaponry. As technology developed, the variety of livelihoods expanded across the globe, and many people enjoyed the opportunity to purchase an array of consumer products. The accelerating rate of change in technology, population growth, consumerism, and the introduction of new livelihoods and forms of government marks the shift from early modern times to what historians call the late modern era, the period from about 1750 to the present.

The great empires of the early modern period—the Qing, Mughal, Ottoman, and Spanish—faced challenges as the modern period opened. Many of these challenges arose from the inroads outsiders made on their rule, but these empires also faced problems within their borders, such as the enormous costs of military supremacy. Religious dissent, natural disasters, and the social changes that accompanied modernity also undermined their security. Newly wealthy or ambitious people and those wanting more modern forms of government contested the power of traditional rulers. The

Qing, Mughal, Ottoman, and Spanish empires would all disappear in the late modern period.

Lives and livelihoods were transformed as mechanical power came to substitute for human power in the Industrial Revolution, which began in around 1750 in western Europe and spread throughout the globe. Newly created factory work moved production out of the home to mechanized workplaces, and a variety of other new occupations connected with the rise of industry developed, such as railroad builders, engineers, and conductors, and later, flight



CH 24

CH 25



CHAPTERS IN THIS PART ▼

- 23 Atlantic Revolutions and the World, 1750–1830
- 24 Industry and Everyday Life, 1750–1900
- 25 The Rise of Modern Nation-States, 1850–1900
- 26 Imperial Order and Disorder, 1850–1914
- 27 Wars, Revolutions, and the Birth of Mass Society, 1910–1929
- 28 Global Catastrophe: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929–1945
- 29 The Emergence of New Nations in a Cold War World, 1945–1970
- 30 Technological Transformation and the End of Cold War, 1960–1992
- 31 A New Global Age, 1989 to the Present

CH 26



attendants and workers in airplane plants. With the proliferation of science and technology, entirely new service work, in reproductive technology and systems analysis, for example, continued to transform work life. Nonetheless, agriculture remained a primary form of work for the vast majority of people until well into the twentieth century. That livelihood, too, was affected by farm machinery, the development of chemical fertilizers, and ultimately what was called in the late twentieth century a “green revolution” based on seeds and plants designed to flourish in particular parts of the world.

Modern industry did not displace older ways of doing things all at once. Slavery in fact gave a crucial boost to industrial growth by providing raw materials and food for industrial workers. Although a declining labor system, slavery has remained a livelihood down to the present. Women in the workforce often held the worst jobs and were paid less than men even for equivalent tasks.

Emboldened by new wealth and industrial technology, a cluster of European states, eventually joined by Japan and the United States, built cohesive, effective governments with modern military capabilities and mass armies. During this period, most of them developed constitutional governments based on the rule of law and the explicit elaboration of the rights of citizens. Constitutional government and legal rights were often gained through revolutions or other dramatic changes in rulership, but these states were backed by unified citizens. As dignified citizens, rather than servile subjects of kings, many felt empowered to join the commercial and industrial innovation that was going on around them. Historians characterize such states as “nation-states.” As they became stronger because of their citizen support, the rising nation-states sought to extend their power through what is known as the “new imperialism.” Unlike the expansionists of the early modern period, new imperialists had the “tools of empire” to take over the institutions



CH 27

CH 28





CH 29

and economies of other parts of the world more completely. Late modernity saw the imperial nations try to dominate Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world both economically and politically in the nineteenth century.

Imperial countries justified their rule by celebrating the modern ideas and institutions they would bring to the world's "backward" peoples. Local peoples both resisted and cooperated with the imperialists; some grew incredibly wealthy from trade, manufacturing, and governmental work. However, imperialism also brought devastation and death because of exploitation and outright violence. Imperialism nonetheless developed global networks of unprecedented density, as steamships, telegraphs, and other forms of communications technology circled the earth at a faster pace than ever before.

Competition and conflict among these imperial nations intensified, as did organized resistance to their rule. In the twentieth century the imperial powers waged two horrific wars—World Wars I and II—in the course of which tens of millions of people died. Eventually, colonial people took advantage of the

war-weakened imperialists, winning their freedom and setting up independent states after World War II ended in 1945. The rest of the twentieth century down to the present has been a story of these nation-states expanding their capacities and livelihoods and asserting their place in the modern world.

Our most recent modern history is filled with the struggles involved in asserting this independence, first under the conditions of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and United States that followed World War II, and then during the period of U.S. dominance after



CH 30

1989. Genocide, civil war, poverty, and an unprecedented migration of peoples globally have characterized human life in the past few decades. Terrorism, the pollution of the earth's atmosphere, and the spread of deadly diseases are also part of our most recent modernity.

Nonetheless, the world's peoples have simultaneously attempted to create new forms of world governance to eliminate the worst abuses of modern life. Writers and artists have innovatively explored modernity's difficulties. Historians and philosophers have also analyzed the consequences of growing military power on the one hand and life-enhancing developments such as medical breakthroughs and the communications revolution on the other. There is no alternative, many of these thinkers believe, to deliberate study of the past as the basis for informed decision-making in our world today.



CH 3



Americas

1750

1775–1781 North American Revolution
U.S. Constitution formally adopted 1789

1815

1816–1825 Latin American revolutions of independence
U.S. Civil War 1861–1865

1791–1804 Haitian Revolution

1846–1848 Mexican War

1880

1880–1940 Immigration from Europe surges
Spanish-American War 1898

1945

1910–1920 Mexican Revolution
1917 United States enters World War I
1929 U.S. stock market crash sparks the Great Depression
The Feminine Mystique 1963
1945–1989 Cold War
1969 U.S. astronauts land on moon
1994 NAFTA enacted
2007–2008 Global economic crisis

2010

2001 Terrorists strike the United States

1967 FCC established

AT A CROSSROADS ▶

Simon Bolivar traveled 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, Bolivar 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

Simon Bolivar (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. Bolivar'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 Bolivar'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.¹ After a visit to the newly independent United States, Bolivar 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.

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

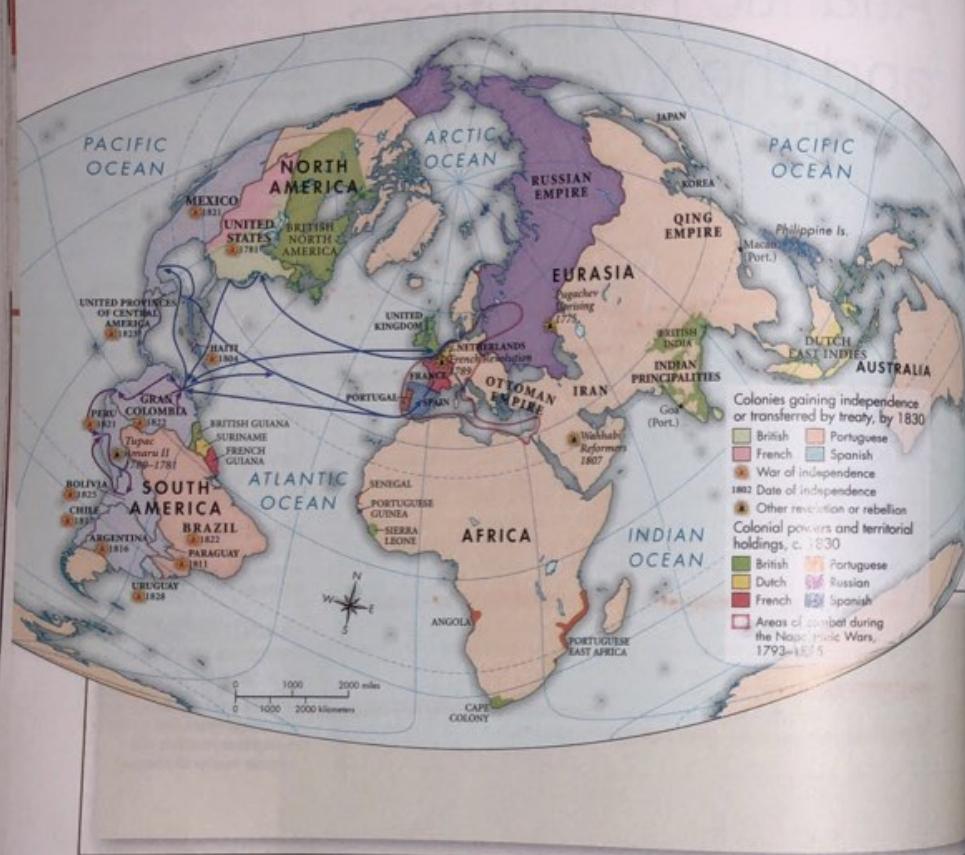
FOCUS What changes emerged from the French Revolution and Napoleon's reign?

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?



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 *Bolivar* 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 Bolivar, 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 reform 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.

By 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 1775 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 Bolivar, 1799-1816
- Independence campaigns of Simon Bolivar, 1817-1825

1751-1772 Publication of the *Encyclopedia*

1775-1781 Revolution in North America

- 1776 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*

Revolution begins in Haiti 1791 •
France declared a republic; Mary Wollstonecraft writes *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* 1792 •

1750

1765

- 1762 Jean-Jacques Rousseau publishes *The Social Contract and Emile*

1780

Napoleon comes to power 1799

- 1789 U.S. Constitution formally adopted; revolution begins in France

1795

- 1804 Haiti becomes independent from France

- 1822 Brazil becomes independent from Portugal

• 1815 Napoleon defeated at Waterloo; Congress of Vienna resettles the boundaries of European states

1810

- 1811 Simon Bolivar first takes up arms against Spain

- 1816 Argentina becomes independent from Spain
- 1817 Chile becomes independent from Spain

1825

- 1825 Bolivia becomes independent from Spain

1840

- 1821 Mexico and Peru become independent from Spain

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 masses, and determined leaders, but this age of revolution crushed many. Napoleon Bonaparte was condemned to exile, and even so privileged a revolutionary as Bolivar died of utter 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. Those 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.

Some Enlightenment writers hammered away at the abuses of monarchies and proposed 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, governments 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 ideas had centered on the situation in England, where citizens and the Parliament had, over the course of the seventeenth century, twice ousted their king.

John Locke

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 trained 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 reason, hard work, and opportunity in both economic life and politics.

Voltaire and Montesquieu

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 and numerous skills—in this case, artisanal and agricultural techniques that could earn 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.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Enlightenment thinkers also redesigned ideas about the economy. In 1776, Scottish philosopher Adam Smith published one of the most influential Enlightenment documents, *On the Wealth of Nations*. Citing China as an important example of how specialization of goods 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

Adam Smith

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

than the military swaggering and roughness of aristocratic lives, and he continually stressed that alongside individualism there needed to be concern for the well-being of the community as a whole. Slavery, he argued, was inefficient and ought to be done away with. Still other Enlightenment writers said that a middle-class way of life promoted sensibility, love of family, thrift, and hard work—again, in stark contrast to the unfeeling, promiscuous, and spendthrift habits these reformers saw in the behavior of the nobility.

As we have seen, Enlightenment thinkers explicitly drew on the knowledge of the world beyond Europe that global economic connections had allowed them to acquire. Such connections also made it possible for Enlightenment ideas to spread around the world. Some Japanese thinkers and officials were so interested in new ideas that they began "Dutch Studies," referring to the body of European information brought in by Dutch traders. They wanted to learn about recent breakthroughs in practical subjects as well as scientific practices based on rational observation and deduction. Chinese scholars, though not directly influenced by Enlightenment thought, were reflecting on issues of good government and the capacities of the individual within the imperial system. In contrast, future nation builders in the North American colonies—Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson—were steeped in both the practical and political sides of the Enlightenment, running businesses, designing buildings, conducting scientific experiments, and writing political documents.

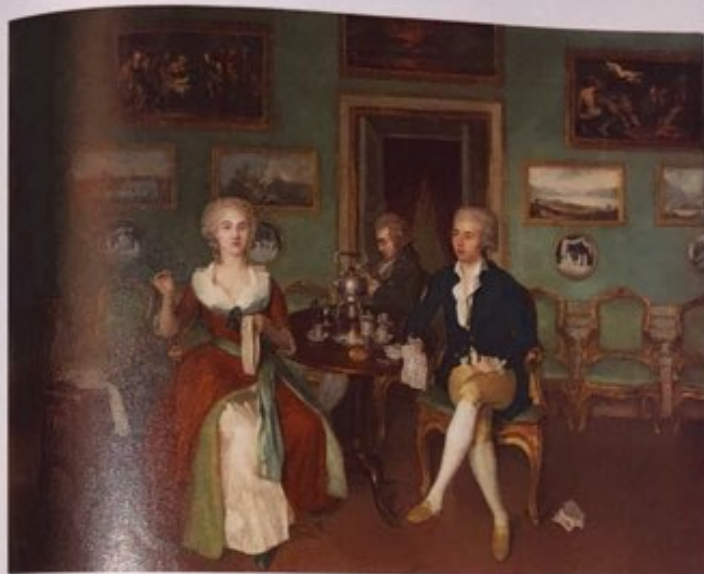
The Public Sphere

Enlightenment thought had an impact on all of Western society—high and low, male and female. Population growth in cities such as Paris strained traditional work patterns and neighborhoods, causing old social structures to weaken and new ideas to flourish. Another cause of change was the initiative of women of the wealthier classes, who conducted salons—that is, meetings in their homes devoted to discussing the most recent issues and publicizing the newest books and findings. German Jewish women, often kept at a distance from Christian society, made a name for themselves by forming such groups. Along with coffeehouses in European and colonial cities, modeled on those in the Ottoman Empire, salons created a public sphere in which people could meet outside court circles to talk about current affairs. Together with the new public libraries, reading groups, and a host of scientific clubs that dotted the Atlantic world, they built new community bonds and laid the groundwork for responsible citizenship. Instead of a monarchical government single-handedly determining public policy, ordinary people in Europe and its colonies, relying on knowledge gained from public discussion, could express their opinions on the course of events and thereby undermine government attempts at censorship and traditional ideas about society.

The ideals of the Enlightenment were well represented in the *Encyclopedia* (1751–1772) of France's Denis Diderot. The celebrated work highlighted the contributions of ordinary working people, particularly artisans, to the overall improvement of the human condition; it contained dozens of technical drawings of practical machinery that could advance prosperity. The *Encyclopedia* described the freedoms and rights nature endowed on all people, not just aristocrats or religious authorities. Like Rousseau, Diderot maintained that in a natural state all people were born free and equal. French writer Olympe de Gouges further proposed that there was no difference among people of different skin colors. "How are the Whites different from [the Black] race? . . . Why do blonds not claim superiority over brunettes?" she asked in her "Reflections on Negroes" (1788). "Like all the different types of animals, plants, and minerals that nature has produced, people's color also varies."³ Essayists in the *Encyclopedia* added that women too were born free and endowed with natural rights.

Many of the working people of Europe's growing towns and cities responded enthusiastically to the ideas set forth by the leading philosophers of the Enlightenment, such as Voltaire and Rousseau. The French glassworker Jacques Ménétra, for example, acquired and also distributed these new antireligious and egalitarian ideas as he moved from city to town and village, installing glass windows. With some religious schooling and then an apprenticeship in his trade, Ménétra, like his fellow journeymen artisans, led this

public sphere A cultural and political environment that emerged during the Enlightenment, where members of society gathered to discuss issues of the day.



Eighteenth-Century English Drawing Room

When drinking their tea imported from Asia, middle- and upper-class Europeans aimed for elegance, inspired by Asian tea rituals. They used porcelain, whose production European manufacturers had recently figured out, and an array of new furnishings such as the tea table on display here. These English tea-takers are wearing sparkling white muslin, probably imported from India, which produced high-quality cloth that Europeans valued above cotton from anywhere else, including, as we will see in the next chapter, the new European industrial mills. (Private Collection/Bridgeman Art Library.)

kind of mobile life as a young man before establishing his own shop in Paris. During the course of his travels, he provided news of the Parisian thinkers to artisans along his route. In his autobiography—one of the few written by an ordinary European worker—he referred to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and gossiped about aristocrats. Young journeymen like Ménétra helped spread news of politics and current ideas before the coming of mass media, making the Enlightenment an affair not only of the well-born in salons but also of many average people.

Enlightenment and the Old Order

Despite its critique of monarchs, church officials, and the aristocracy, "Enlightenment" was a watchword of some of Europe's most powerful rulers. "Enlightened" rulers came to sense that more rational government could actually strengthen their regimes, for example by increasing governmental efficiency and increasing tax revenues. Thus, instead of touting his divine legacy, Prussian king Frederick the Great (r. 1740–1786) called a ruler someone who would "work efficiently for the good of the state" rather than "live in lazy luxury, enriching himself by the labor of the people."⁴ A musician and poet, Frederick studied several languages, collected Chinese porcelain, and wrote librettos for operas, some of them about toleration. For him, Enlightenment made monarchs stronger. Spreading to Russia, the Enlightenment moved Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) to sponsor the writing of a dictionary of the Russian language, to correspond with learned thinkers such as Diderot, and to work to improve the education of girls. Additionally, Catherine's goal was to put a stop to aristocrats' "idle time spent in luxury and other vices corrupting to the morals," as she put it, and instead transform the nobility into active and informed administrators of her far-flung empire and its diverse peoples⁵ (see Seeing the Past: Portrait of Catherine the Great).

The Spanish monarchy in the eighteenth century likewise instituted a series of policy changes called the Bourbon Reforms, so named because many of them aimed to make the monarchy—headed by the Bourbon dynasty—financially sound by taxing the colonies

Enlightened Rulers

SEEING THE PAST

Portrait of Catherine the Great



Catherine the Great as the Roman Goddess Minerva (Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens, Photo by Ed Owens.)

Catherine the Great was a monarch of towering ability and ambition. Although her regime was known for smashing peasant uprisings, it also promoted the arts and knowledge. Even as her armies conquered some two hundred thousand square miles of territory and added it to the Russian Empire, Catherine commissioned the first dictionary of the Russian language and communicated with the greatest thinkers of the Enlightenment. While sponsoring education, she tried to reform her government to increase its power. In this regard, Enlightenment was not just about the fine arts but also

about generally raising the economic and political profile of the monarchy through rationally devised policies.

Although Enlightenment thinkers often referred to the excellent customs and the rational policies of non-Western monarchs of their day—especially those in China—they also prized classical Greece and Rome for their democratic and republican forms of government. In this spirit of classical enthusiasm, monarchs were sometimes depicted as mythical figures, despite the often dark side to their regimes. For this image, a skilled Parisian craftsperson of the 1760s chose Minerva—Roman goddess of both war and wisdom—as the figure closest to the celebrated Catherine. The luxurious detail on this round box assures us that it was destined for an aristocratic palace, perhaps that of the monarch herself.

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?

more efficiently. Following Enlightenment calls for rational and secular policies, Spain's rulers also attempted to limit the church's independence. Often opposing slavery and promoting better treatment of native peoples, the Jesuit order, for instance, had many followers in Spain's "New World" empire. Thus, the order was an alternate source of allegiance, and the monarchy outlawed it.

Leaders of the Spanish colonies adopted many Enlightenment ideas, including scientific farming and improvements in mining—both of them subjects dear to forward-looking thinkers who read publications such as the *Encyclopedia*. In Mexico, reformers saw the education of each woman as central to building responsible government. As one local journalist put it, under a mother's care the young citizen "grows, is nourished, and acquires his first notions of Good and Evil. [Therefore] women have even more reason to be enlightened than men."⁶⁶ In this view, motherhood was not a simple biological act but a livelihood critical to maintaining a strong national life.

Justification of Slavery

European prosperity depended on the productivity of slaves in the colonies, and wealthy slave owners used the Enlightenment fascination with nature to devise scientific explanations justifying the oppressive system. Though many Enlightenment thinkers such as Olympe de Gouges wanted equality for "noble savages," in slave owners' minds Africans were less than human and thus rightly subject to exploitation. Scientists captured Africans for study and came up with a list of their biological differences from whites and their

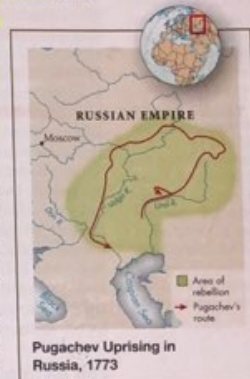
similarities to animals, contributing to a sense of racial inferiority as a "scientific fact." Others justified race-based slavery in terms of character: blacks were, one British observer explained, "conceited, proud, indolent and very artful"—a rationale for harsh plantation discipline.⁶⁷ Thus, some strands of Enlightenment thought helped buyers and sellers of Africans and native Americans argue that slavery was useful and rational, especially because slaves could produce wealth and help society as a whole make progress.

Popular Revolts in an Age of Enlightenment

Enlightened officials hoped to improve government at a time of popular uprising in many parts of the world. In Russia, people throughout society came to protest serfdom's irrationality and unfairness. One aristocrat believed that such unfairness "spread a plague in the hearts of the common people."⁶⁸ In 1773 the discontent of many serfs crystallized around Emelian Ivanovich Pugachev, once an officer in the Russian army, who claimed to be Peter III, the dead husband of Catherine. Tens of thousands of peasants, joined by rebellious workers, serf soldiers in Catherine's overworked armies, and Muslim minorities rose up, calling for the restoration of Pugachev, alias Peter, to the throne. Pugachev promised them great riches for their support. Serfs responded by plundering noble estates and killing aristocrats. They justified revolt in slogans and songs: "O woe to us slaves living for the masters. . . . how shameful and insulting / That another who is not worthy to be equal with us / Has so many of us in his power."⁶⁹ The rebellion was put down only with difficulty. Once Catherine's forces captured Pugachev, they cut off his arms and legs, then his head, and finally hacked his body to pieces—just punishment, nobles believed, for the crimes of this "monster" against the monarchy and upper classes.

Uprisings among the urban poor, farmworkers, and slaves also occurred in the Caribbean and other parts of the Western Hemisphere. Over the course of the eighteenth century the Latin American population grew rapidly and cities expanded. Rebels protested harsh conditions, which included their enslavement and only grew worse with Spain's demand for more revenue. Some native peoples envisioned the complete expulsion of the Spaniards or the overthrow of the wealthy creoles, who owned estates and plantations. Between 1780 and 1783, several different groups in Peru attempted to restore Inca power and end the increased burden of taxation under the Bourbon Reforms. The charismatic trader and wealthy landowner Tupac Amaru II (TOO-pack a-MAH-roo), an indigenous leader who took his name from the Inca leader of the late sixteenth century, led tens of thousands in the region of Tinta against corrupt local leadership and then against the administration of the region as a whole. Eventually captured by the authorities, Tupac Amaru II had his tongue cut out, was drawn and quartered by four horses, and was finally beheaded—after first watching the execution of most of his family. Rebellions continued nonetheless.

Pugachev Rebellion



Pugachev Uprising in Russia, 1773

Latin American Uprisings

Revolution in North America

The Atlantic world was part of a global trading network. Thus, Europeans in North America, participating in global livelihoods as merchants, fishermen, and sailors, were exposed to ideas and goods from around the world. A Boston newspaper in the 1720s advertised the sale of Moroccan leather, Indian chintz and muslin fabrics, South American mahogany, and Asian tea. Sending out lumber, dried fish, tobacco, and furs, the British colonies grew prosperous and cosmopolitan, interesting themselves in all facets of the Enlightenment and commercial growth.

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 to tax and rule 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 wealth and intellectual ferment, North American colonists along the Atlantic seaboard came 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 debt, as in the case of France, financial disaster loomed. The expense 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.

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 70 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.

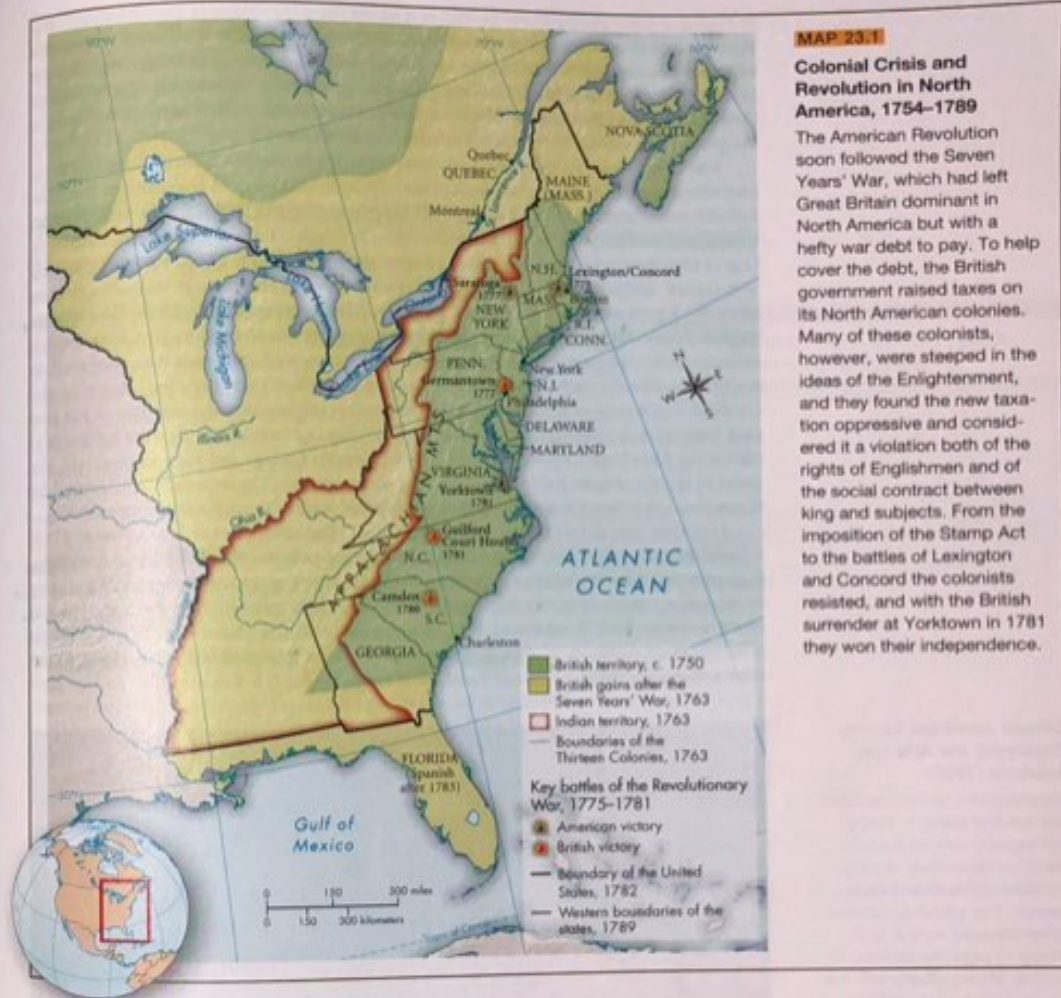
Tensions escalated. In April 1775 artisans and farmers in Lexington and Concord fought British troops sent to confiscate a stockpile of ammunition from rebellious colonists. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress issued its "Declaration of Independence," a short, dramatic document written largely 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 British sent a powerful army and navy to defeat the colonists. British forces burned 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 fed armies in their vicinity, knitted and sewed clothing and cared for the wounded. Critical help arrived from countries interested in blocking

Taxation Without Representation

U.S. Declaration of Independence

The War of 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).

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 **federation**, 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.¹⁰ In 1787, a Constitutional Convention met

The U.S. Constitution

federation 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 educated 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 the 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."¹¹

Hamilton was to lose this argument. The new Constitution, formally adopted in 1789, 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 promised 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 by 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.)



law inspired this burst of activity, 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

In 1780, 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."¹² 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."

FOCUS

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

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.

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, governmental 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 this 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."¹³ 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.

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.

Formation of the National Assembly

Storming of the Bastille

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

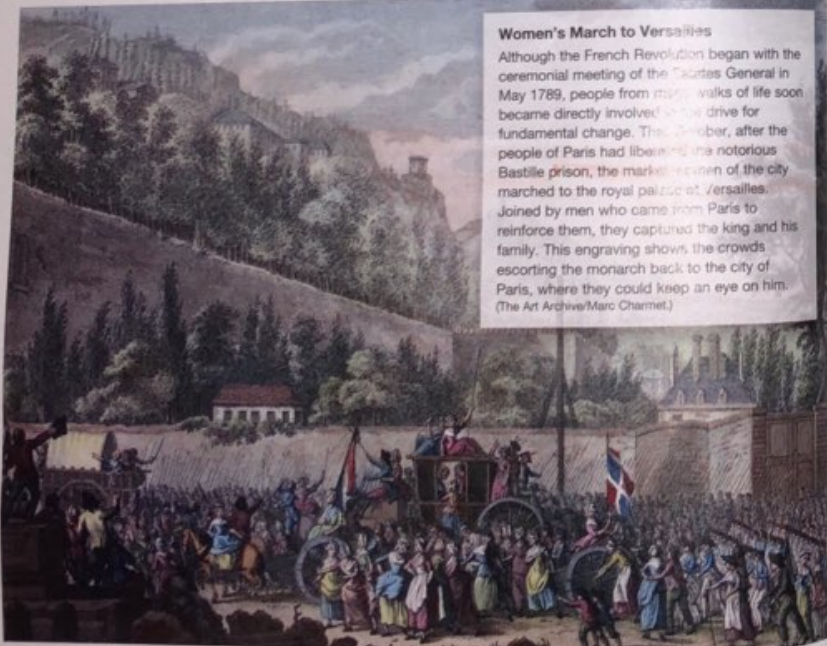
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

In its first years, the revolution was shaped by Enlightenment principles. Strong citizen protest also motivated 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 food, 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. The next year, 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 Charniel.)

wife was eliminated. Across the English Channel, poet William Wordsworth captured the rush 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.

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 protested that the legal privileges of men allowed them to impoverish women.

Mary Wollstonecraft

War, Terror, and Resistance 1792–1799

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.

War Against France and Execution of the King

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 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.

The Terror

By 1794, largely because the war was turning in France's favor, moderate and proper-tied politicians were able to regain public support and overthrew 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 pride, based on a belief in the superiority of a republican form of government and full, equal citizenship for men, blossomed,

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.

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 1799 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 Collector/Roger-Viollet, Paris/Bridgeman Art Library.)



To some among these elites, the Atlantic revolutions provided a wealth of ideas for reform. 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 innovations, 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."¹⁵ 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 Simon Bolivar 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 30 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, these 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 entreated 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 1790, "more committed than ever to uphold [our rights] with the last drop of our blood."¹⁶

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 Pierre-Dominique Toussaint Louverture (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 23.3 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.

Impact of the Napoleonic Wars

Junta A ruling council.

workers, and slaves, along with rivalries among creoles and Spanish-born officials sent from the 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.

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 their colonies as cash cows, milking them dry to pay for a lavish way of life in Europe. In leaders in Spain, colonial leaders saw an opportunity to end these heavy burdens

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. In 1800 Toussaint defeated them too 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 profit 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.¹⁷ 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

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—both 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 23.4).

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 viceroy, was a "robber, 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 reborn. These armies—most notably that under the humbly born mestizo priest, Father José Maria 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 in the 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 Vicente the creole leader Augustin de Iturbide (ee-tur-BEE-deh) allied his forces with Vicente the Guerrero (goo-RER-eh), 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 his new nation on French ideals of freedom and citizenship, Louverture re-enslaved many Haitians. He died in a French prison in 1803. (Private Collector/Bridgeman Art Library.)

MAP 23.4

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 unearned 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 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* (kauh-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

peacekeeper. 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. Simon Bolivar mustered caudillo support to liberate Venezuela in 1811, but at the time he firmly believed that slavery could be maintained in the fight for national independence.

Nonetheless, with the Spanish monarch'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). Bolivar 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. Increasing Spanish oppression and the appeal to all "Americans" did some good, enabling Bolivar, 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 Bolivar, whose armies finally took Lima in 1823 and upper Peru or Bolivia in 1825 (see again Map 23.4). Both San Martín and Bolivar had originally seen no conflict between their own freedom and the existence of slavery, but as the need for slave support became obvious, Bolivar declared it "madness that a revolution for liberty should try to maintain slavery."²⁰ 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.

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 bureaucracy 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. (J. Bedmar/Iberfoto/The Image Works.)

Independence for Peru

Independence for Brazil

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. (i&ig-images.)

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.

For Further Information:

Loy, R. Philip. *Westerns and American Culture, 1930–1955*. 2001.
Oliven, Ruben George. *Tradition Matters: Modern Gaucho Identity in Brazil*. 1996.
Peding, Nick. *The Last Cowboys at the End of the World: The Last Gauchos of Patagonia*. 2001.
Slatta, Richard W. *Gauchos and the Vanishing Frontier*. 1983.

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 the reform 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?

against Portuguese foreigners, there was widespread rejoicing at independence even without major social change. A frontier society like the United States, Brazil beckoned entrepreneurs, adventurers, and exiles from around the world as a land of opportunity. For the most part, however, the new Latin American countries had been so devastated

by years of exploitation, misrule, banditry, and armed uprising that except in Brazil, economic initiative, most new governments worked to ensure creole dominance, often refusing the promised slave emancipation. 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.”²¹ Independence did not transform this situation, and thus the popular forces that would have promoted innovation and increased activity at the grassroots did not materialize as effectively as in the newly independent United States.

Consequences of Independence

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 indentured 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: Simon 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—for instance, 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.”²² 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 Simon 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.”²³ 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, ambition, vindictiveness, and greed. . . .

South Americans have tried to create liberal, even 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 *Escritos políticos*, Selección e introd., de Graciela Soriano (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969). Translated by Donald R. Kelley.

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 religion—flourished, 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 fervor, converted churches into "temples of reason." But secular-

ism 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 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 worshipers literally weeping at the perils of damnation in the words of one, the Great Awakening was "horrible beyond expression."²⁴ Nonetheless, in the middle colonies of British North America alone, some 550 new Protestant congregations were organized between 1740 and 1770.

Beginning in around 1800, the United States experienced a Second Great Awakening, where 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 fervent believers, 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.

The Great Awakening

New Churches and the State

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-Wahhabi developed a strong alliance with Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, the head of a small market town. Ibn Abd al-Wahhabi 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-

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 overturning 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, Damascus/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library)



READING THE PAST

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

Born in Senegal in 1763, 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, 1802-1807

Wahhabi-Sa'ud Alliance

in the region fortified the Sa'uds and the Wahhabis along with them.²⁵

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 ambition 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. Simon Bolívar was one such secular-minded revolutionary and state-builder. Other political actors, such as the Sa'ud family 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; women, free blacks, and other people of color were usually disqualified from participating in politics. As representative government developed, it too 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.

→ closer to religion (counterpoint)

NOTES

1. Luis Peró de Lacroix, *Diario de Cucurmaguá* (Caracas: Comité ejecutivo del Bicentenario de Simón Bolívar, 1982), 67, quoted in Charles Minguet, ed., *Simón Bolívar: Unidad imposible* (Paris: La Découverte, 1983), 15.
2. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 3:179.
3. Quoted in Hilda L. Smith and Berenice A. Carroll, eds., *Women's Political and Social Thought* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 133.
4. "Political Testament," in George I. Mosse et al., eds., *Europe in Review* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1957), 111-112.
5. Quoted in Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy, From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 130.
6. *Seminario Económico de México*, 1811, quoted in Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 18.
7. Edward Long, quoted in Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in the Caribbean, 1650-1838* (London: Heinemann, 1990), 15, 51.
8. Quoted in Paul Dukes, ed. and trans., *Russia Under Catherine the Great: Select Documents on Government and Society* (Newtonville, MA: Princtal Research Partners, 1978), 112.
9. Dukes, *Russia Under Catherine the Great*, 112, 115.
10. Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist Papers*, Number 15.
11. Letter to John Jay, March 14, 1779, http://www.c250.columbia.edu/c250_celebrates/remarkable_columbians/alexander_hamilton.html.
12. Quoted in Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 316.
13. Quoted in Lynn Hunt, *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 1996), 65.
14. Quoted in Annie Jourdain, *Napoleon: Héros, Imperator, Mécène* (Paris: Aubier, 1998), 34.
15. Quoted in Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), "Address to the National Assembly, to Our Lords the Representatives of the Nation," quoted in Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, eds., *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2005), 69.
16. Quoted Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution*, 77.
17. "Notes [from Napoleon Bonaparte] to Serve as Instructions to Give to the Captain General Leclerc," quoted in Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution*, 176.
18. "Proclamation of 1809," quoted in Peter Bakewell, *A History of Latin America: Empires and Sequels, 1450-1930* (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1997), 362.
19. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, quoted in Richard Boyer and Geoffrey Spurling, eds., *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 305.
20. Quoted in George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 57.

21. Quoted in John Lynch, "The Origins of Spanish American Independence," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3:32.
22. Quoted in Martyyn Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 232.
23. Quoted in Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, v.
24. William Briggs, quoted in Phyllis Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2.
25. John Esposito, *Islam, the Straight Path* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH

The Promise of Enlightenment

The Enlightenment had a global reach, sparking interest in South America and Japan as well as in Europe. Scientific curiosity among a range of people, as featured in Schiffer's book, led to ongoing experimentation.

- Dalton, Susan. *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres*. 2003.
- Gorbatov, Inna. *Catherine the Great and the French Philosophers of the Enlightenment: Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and Grimm*. 2005.
- Rowe, William T. *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth Century China*. 2001.
- Schiffer, Michael B. *Drawing the Lightning Down: Benjamin Franklin and Electrical Technology in the Age of Enlightenment*. 2003.
- Stein, Stanley J., and Barbara H. Stein. *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789*. 2003.

Revolution in North America

The revolution in North America engaged the European powers, not only Britain but also France and Spain, as Elliott's masterful work shows. Linda Kerber highlights the many aspects of North American women's involvement as participants as well as symbols of liberty and rights.

- Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*. 2004.
- Elliott, John H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. 2006.
- Kerber, Linda. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in the American Revolution*. 1986.
- Middlekauff, Robert. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*. 2005.
- Wood, Gordon S. *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different?* 2006.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire

More than the American Revolution, this was the uprising heard round the world, and it has given rise to exciting studies of many kinds. The Web site at George Mason University has one of the

most comprehensive online presentations of documents, images, and songs from the French Revolution.

- French Revolution: <http://chm.gmu.edu/revolution/>, Hunt, Lynn. *Inventing Human Rights: A History*. 2007.
- Marsot, Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. 1984.
- Napoleonic Empire: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/bonaparte_napoleon.shtml.
- Shorlin, John. *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution*. 2006.
- Todd, Janet. *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Life*. 2000.

Revolution Continued in the Western Hemisphere

As revolution continued in the Atlantic world, the Caribbean and Latin America saw a wave of uprisings. Dubois movingly describes the causes and conduct of revolution in Haiti; the State University of New York/Albany maintains an excellent Web site on it.

- Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*. 2004.
- Haitian revolution: <http://www.albany.edu/~gs2980/haitian-revolution.html>.
- Masur, Gerard. *Simón Bolívar*. 2006.
- Morgan, Jennifer. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. 2004.
- Van Young, Eric. *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810-1821*. 2001.

COUNTERPOINT: Religious Revival in a Secular Age

The religious fervor that accompanied the age of reason is well chronicled in the works below.

- Mack, Phyllis. *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism*. 2008.
- May, Cedrick. *Evangelism and Resistance in the Black Atlantic, 1760-1835*. 2008.
- Qadhi, Abu Ammar Yasir. *A Critical Study of Shirk: Being a Translation and Commentary of Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab's Kashf al-Shubhat*. 2002.
- Vassiliev, Alexei. *A History of Saudi Arabia*. 1998.

► 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 Atlantic revolutions and their short- and long-term significance.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

1751-1772	Publication of the <i>Encyclopedia</i>
1762	Jean-Jacques Rousseau publishes <i>The Social Contract</i> and <i>Emile</i>
1775-1781	Revolution in North America
1776	Adam Smith, <i>The Wealth of Nations</i>
1789	U.S. Constitution formally adopted; revolution begins in France
1791	Revolution begins in Haiti
1792	France declared a republic; Mary Wollstonecraft writes <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i>
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
1817	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. 762)
federation (p. 769)
general will (p. 773)
junta (p. 778)

laissez faire (p. 763)
liberalism (p. 763)
nationalism (p. 783)
public sphere (p. 764)
republic (p. 771)
romanticism (p. 783)

CHAPTER OVERVIEW QUESTIONS

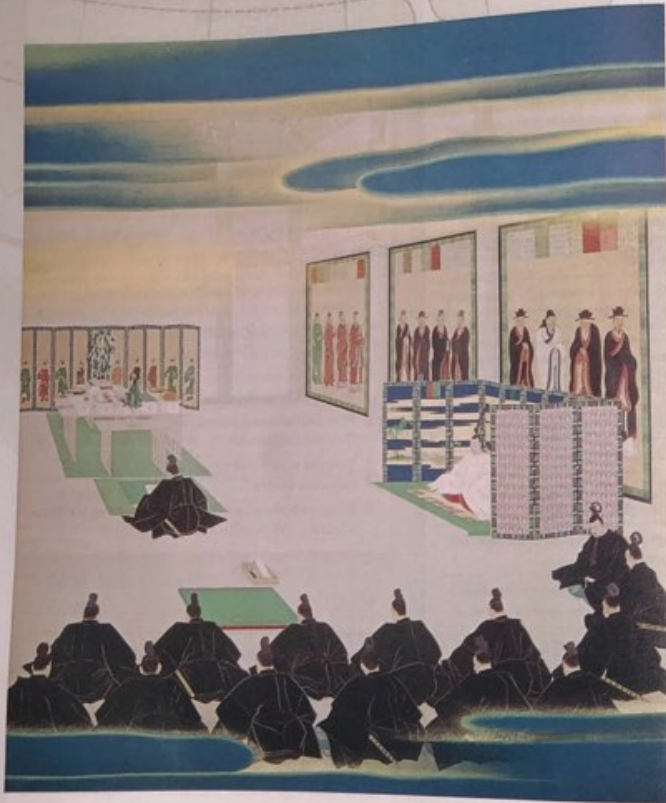
1. What role did the Scientific Revolution and expanding global contacts play in the cultural and social movement known as the Enlightenment?
2. Why did prosperous and poor people alike join revolutions in the Americas and in France?
3. Why were the Atlantic revolutions so influential, even to the present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



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

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.

Modernizing Nations

FOCUS How did some states transform themselves into modern nations?

Emerging Powers: The United States and Japan

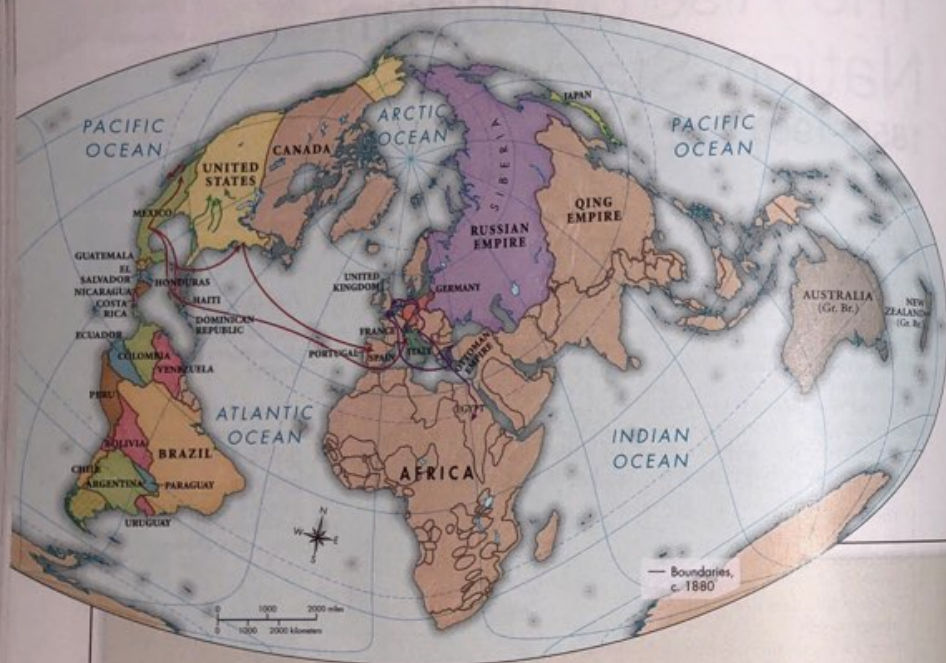
FOCUS How did the United States and Japan make their governments politically and economically powerful in the nineteenth century?

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?



Boundaries,
c. 1890

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 opponents, 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 propertied 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 nation-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, 1832–1835
- 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

1859–1870 Unification of Italy

1861–1865 U.S. Civil War

• 1863 Emancipation Proclamation in the United States

1840

1850

Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*
1855 •

1860

1860s Height of opera singer Angela Peralta's career

Emancipation of the serfs in Russia 1861 •

Meiji Restoration of Japan 1868 •

Unification of Germany 1866–1871

1870

1880s Popular uprisings in Japan

• 1889 Brazilian emperor Pedro II abdicates and republic is installed

1880

• 1881 Young rebels assassinate Alexander II of Russia

1890

• 1888 Emancipation of slaves in Brazil

1900

1872–1876 Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Encouragement of Learning*

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

Other once-powerful states labored unsuccessfully to meet the challenges of global trade, rising population, and the growing industrial power of Europe. The Ottoman sultans found it difficult to modernize their administration of a complex empire; local governors such as the rulers of Egypt modernized cities, transportation, and other facilities on their own. China likewise failed to reform its governmental structures sufficiently to fight off the inroads made by the European powers, even though segments of its population 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 rid Japan of outside influence. Although she was a peasant, she was well educated. Broader education 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 new institutions, but also by a common culture. However, modern nation-states also denied certain people within their borders full citizenship. Immigrants, women, and the conquered local peoples of Australia and the United States worked and paid taxes, for example, 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”—that is, a wide arena of concerns and values that went 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 slower to

thrive, 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 active 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 outlying 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. There 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

After 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 self-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’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 resulting from birth and chance,” he claimed. “It is my duty to use it for the welfare, the progress, and the liberty of my people.”² Pedro II tried to centralize government by gaining dominance over the wealthy landowning families and factions that controlled the countryside. As the capital of Rio de Janeiro prospered, Brazil fought a war against Paraguay

Brazil Takes the Lead

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, Joaquim Machado de Assis (ma-KA-do-day 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 moneyed classes, the new bureaucracies of the rising nation-state, and the outsider status of women—all shaped by the legacy of slavery.

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 billed themselves as "federalists" and "liberals"

Nation Versus Region



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 1890 of the takeover, "In Brazil there are no more citizens; we are all slaves!"³

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.

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 gathered 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. In Mexico, the General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was the quintessential caudillo. In Mexico, the period from the 1830s to 1855 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, free trade, and investment. During their disputes Santa Anna, who was called "Defender of the Homeland," was summoned some dozen times to head the government and stabilize the country 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

Caudillos

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, and at times even rescued nations from dissolution.

Although caudillos could mobilize masses of workers and peasants to political causes, gradually governments built state institutions such as national armies and military schools to train nationally oriented officers. Governments also took control of infrastructure such as railroads and ports along Latin America's extensive coastline. In the second half of the nineteenth century, state bureaucracies grew as the educated middle class came to fill government offices. Regional economic interests gave way to national economic interests; for instance, local tariffs exacted by the different regions of a nation gave way to tariffs collected at national borders.

A Sense of Citizenship

During the struggles to construct new, centralized governments, many people in individual 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 supported 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."⁴ Paz Soldán wanted solidarity among citizens of all classes. Employers, he urged, should give laborers "a salary and good treatment."⁵ 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."⁶ 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 commonality 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 professors 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."⁷ 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 1855. "They have provided the government with a way to become acquainted with public opinion, and this is the reason we support them."⁸ People became immersed 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, inefficiencies, 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 1800s, Russia continued its centuries-old expansionism 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 25.2).

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 battlefield 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.

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.

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 son 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 returning alive 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



MAP 25.2 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.

Serfdom in Russia



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. (©Govfoto.)

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 use my 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 by his owner, a great landowner. Enraged at 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 fumed 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 1830s, 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 celebrated, 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 time. 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: Alexander Nikitenko, *Up from Serfdom: My Childhood and Youth in Russia 1804–1824*, trans. Helen Saltz Jacobson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 54–56, 75.

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* (*mihir*), **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."¹⁰ **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 had tilled under serfdom, forced them to "redeem" or pay the government for this land in long-term loans, and in fact awarded the best land to the nobility. Although some landowners experimented with modern farming techniques, which made Russia the largest grain-exporting nation by 1900, the conditions of emancipation held Russian agriculture back. Nevertheless, idealistic reformers believed the emancipation of the serfs, whom the nobility once 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 look, the walk, the speech, everything is changed."

Other Nation-Building Reforms

The state also reformed local administration, the judiciary, and the military. The government set up *zemstvos* (ZEHMST-vohs), regional councils through which aristocrats could revive neglected public institutions for education, public health, and welfare. As aristocrats gained responsibility for local well-being, some became invested in Russia's 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 fitness 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 gain 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 *nikhilists* (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 their 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.

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 massacred 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.

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 businessmen's enthusiasm for the profits to be gained from a single national market. The newly unified Germany prospered, continuing to consolidate its economic might as business people small and large enjoyed 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, he was interested in only one course, the young Bismarck had gambled and womanized; he was interested in only one course, 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



Unification of Italy, 1859–1870

Germany

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 ram through programs to build the army despite the opposition's belief in parliamentary control. His brand of nation building was based on *realpolitik*—a political strategy of hard-headed realism, armed might, and rapid industrial and commercial development. "Germany looks not to Prussia's liberalism, but to its 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 victory over Austria-Hungary, which claimed to be the leader of the disunited 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 deals 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

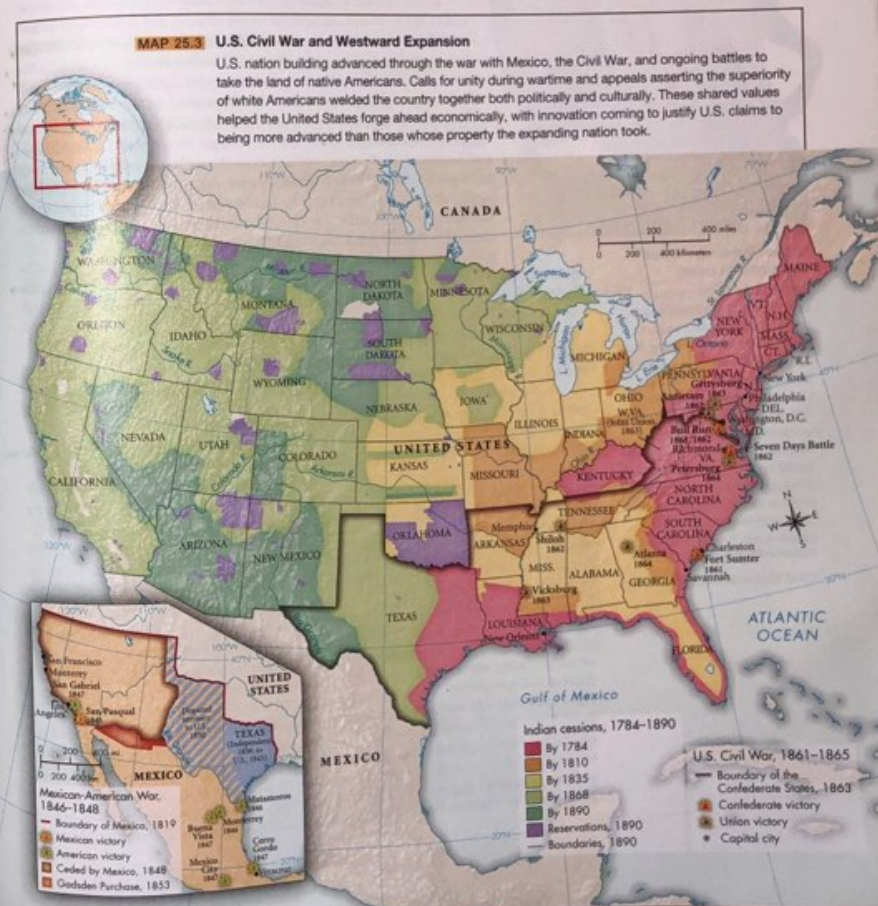
The United States went from a cluster of states hugging the eastern seaboard in the eighteenth century to a growing power in the nineteenth century. Like Germany and Italy, it did so through warfare. Confronted with the pressures of migration and the demands for raw materials, it fought Mexico and Indian 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, wielded most famously by Otto von Bismarck in Germany.

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 Mexican territory in the continent's southwest, 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.

Westward Expansion and Manifest Destiny

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.



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 odd 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

Politicians and citizens alike argued over the status of the new western lands. The greatest quarrels came over the expansion of slavery to the new territories, and the main issue was livelihoods. Should the West be settled by free white farmers, or could southern plantation owners bring in their slaves, against whose unpaid labor white farmers could not compete? Like some Latin American nation builders, many saw equal legal status of citizens as essential to a thriving nation, but others disagreed so strongly that the country became polarized. In the North, where abolitionists had a strong organization to fight against slavery, the new Republican Party called for "free soil, free labor, free men." However, few Republicans backed the abolitionists' demand for an immediate end to slavery in the South. In the months following Republican Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860, most of the southern slaveholding states seceded to form the Confederate States of America.

Under Lincoln's leadership the North fought the South in a civil war from 1861 to 1865 to uphold the union. Lincoln did not initially aim to 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 industrialization flourished: "Believe me," remarked one Pennsylvania industrialist, "I am not eager for peace."¹³ The North's superior industrial strength and military might ultimately overpowered the South, and in April 1865 the prostrate 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 various 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 1820s the state of Georgia simply took the land of the Cherokees, 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 far earlier in farming communities. 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 villages," one Crow woman remembered of her people's mid-nineteenth-century prosperity.¹⁴

All that was before Europeans moved onto the Plains themselves in the nineteenth century, wiping out the buffalo and spreading European diseases widely, through Indian traders and interpreters. 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 right to vote or to participate in U.S. institutions (see again Map 25.3). As one Apache survivor described it, whites considered reservations "a good place for the Apaches—a good place for them to die."¹⁵ For white Americans at the time, the conquest of native

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 suspected, and they resented the Tokugawa shogun's control of trade with the foreigners and thus his monopoly on profits. More conservative leaders found the break with the tradition of 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, as well as tales of native American "savagery" became staples of U.S. nation-building lore. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, photo by C.G. Morledge, Call number X-31445.)

Meiji Restoration

The restoration of power to the emperor did not, however, bring with it a straightforward return to Japanese isolation as conservatives such as Matsuo Taseko had hoped. Although a series of shoguns had recognized the importance of relationships with the West, Emperor Komei had been against it. Conveniently for the modernizers, he fell ill and died as the shogunate collapsed, leaving the throne to his fifteen-year-old son, Mutsuhito (r. 1868–1912). The resulting new government revived the imperial house and gave priority to Westernization and the shogun's more open, global policies—largely to protect Japan from further inroads by foreigners. Having fought to gain influence, the victorious, reform-minded elites crafted an assembly of high-ranking men such as themselves to determine the laws, making imperial rule much less than absolute. The government announced the “Meiji Restoration”—*Meiji* means “enlightened rule”—as a combination of “Western science and Eastern values” offering both innovation and restoration. Thus, 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 Westernization 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 overturning 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 roughhousing. The government bought them off with pensions and later with government bonds. The samurai's status further declined 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 mass 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. 1860–1889

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.

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 respecting 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 groans of poverty / Flutter like flags in the wind.”¹⁶ 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 smashed 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.

Social Unrest and Rebellion

The Culture of Nations

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 fast-paced 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 experiences of a growing number of citizens, uniting them around shared knowledge and artistic achievement.

FOCUS

What part did culture play in forging a national identity?

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 koto cannot be quick / but I ask you not to listen gladly / to this barbarian harp / no matter how clever it is.”¹⁷ Taseko's nationalism was built on imitating the past and indeed protecting it from outside influences and from cultural mixture 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

Leaders 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
(Tetra Images/Corbis)

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 selected to portray a nation's strength and magnificence. In the 1880s, as China, Russia, and Japan greedily eyed Korea for conquest, the kings of Korea adopted the more impressive title of emperor, and they also designed a flag. Its central figure represents the balance of yin and yang in the cosmos, while the four corners indicate the elements—fire, water, earth, and air—and the four seasons. After Japan had defeated both China and Russia (discussed in Chapter 26), it established a protectorate over Korea in 1905 and then annexed it in 1910, 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 many nations were actually quite new. Official histories 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, coins, and other treasure, but also native artifacts such as baskets, arrowheads, and beadwork to illustrate the "primitive" condition before the nation took shape.

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 Meiji Restoration, and the U.S. Civil War as glamorous, heart-throbbing adventures. Towering heroes such as Simon Bolivar and their selfless 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 Englishman 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.

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 operas 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 renditions 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

Romanticizing the Past

Recasting Western Culture

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 Divine Providence, respected noble sentiments, admired the arts, appreciated science, and helped their husbands, and if husbands and wives mutually loved and respected each other.

Aside from the matter of equal rights, the training of men and women should be equal and not of two types. If we desire to preserve an extremely high and extremely pure level among human beings as a whole, we should accord both men and women the same type 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* (or oral poet) 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 religious 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

Defining who was a true Brazilian, Russian, Japanese, or other citizen was an essential part of the process of nation building. Nation-states saw no 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.

FOCUS

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

People of Color

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.”²¹ 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.”²²

Native Peoples

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 tattoos 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 the 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.

them.²⁶ In the United States the leading activists among a wide variety of mostly white women's organizations were Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton; black feminists included Sojourner Truth and Maria Cooper, who worked for the more complicated ends of both racial and gender equality. In 1903 the most militant of suffrage movements arose in England; there Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters founded the Women's Social and Political Union in the belief that women would accomplish nothing unless they threatened men's property. In 1907, WSPU members staged parades in English cities, and 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

1. Anne Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 98, 107.
2. Quoted in John Armstrong Crow, *The Epic of Latin America*, 4th ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 542.
3. Quoted in George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 113.
4. Quoted in Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 234–235.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Quoted in *ibid.*, 184.
7. Quoted in Andrews, *Afro-Latin America*, 107, 181.
8. *El Republicano*, October 29, 1855, quoted in Carlos Froment, *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900: Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 155.
9. Quoted in Richard Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 38.
10. "Alexander Nikitenko Responds to the Emancipation of the Serfs, 1861." <http://arts1.shu.edu/reep/documents/nikitenko.htm>.
11. Quoted in Jasper Ridley, *Garibaldi* (London: St. Martins, 2001), 443.
12. *Ibid.*, 448.
13. Quoted in James L. Roark et al., *The American Promise: A History of the United States*, 4th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009), 537.
14. Quoted in Frank Linderman, *Pretty-shield, Medicine Woman of the Crows* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 83.
15. Daklogie quoted in Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, 3d ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2008), 312.
16. Quoted in Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 24.
17. Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman*, 269.
18. Quoted in Ronald H. Dolkart, "Angela Peralta: A Mexican Diva," in Judith Ewell and William H. Beezley, eds., *The Human Tradition in Latin America: The Nineteenth Century* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1989), 165, 167, 173.
19. Quoted in Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, ed. and trans. Marius B. Jansen (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 56.
20. Quoted in Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts*, 58.
21. Quoted in Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in an Age of Industrialization* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 339.
22. *Ibid.*, 347.
23. "The Race Problem: An Autobiography: A Southern Colored Woman," *The Independent* 56 (1904): 586–589.
24. Quoted in Stephen Oates, *A Woman of Valor: Clara Barton and the Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 157–158.
25. Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 49.
26. Grete Meisel-Hess, *The Sexual Crisis*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: The Critic and Guide Company, 1917), 6.

RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH

Modernizing Nations

Nations modernized and built their strength in different ways, but one common trend involved upgrading the education and general welfare of a wider segment of the population. Froment'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.

Froment, Carlos. *Democracy in Latin America, 1760–1900: Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru*. 2003. *Mexican-American War, 1846–1848*. Kera. 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.