

Chapter 29 - Revolutions and National States in the Atlantic World

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Popular Sovereignty and Political Upheaval

- Revolutionaries drew on Enlightenment thought to form ideologies based on popular sovereignty - argued against monarchies.
- Popular sovereignty puts the political authority on the people, not the monarch.

Enlightened and Revolutionary Ideas

- Most agricultural societies were monarchical, with kings/emperors claiming divine sanction for authority and claimed sovereignty ("mandate of heaven," "divine right of kings").

Popular Sovereignty

- *John Locke* argued that individuals grant political rights to rulers, but independent rights (life, liberty, property) are for the individual. (*The Second Treatise on Civil Government*)
- If individuals withdraw consent, they have the right to replace the ruler.

Individual Freedom

- *Voltaire* and other philosophers disliked the persecution of religious minorities and government censorship.
- They were unironically censored in France and had to get books printed elsewhere, and smuggled into the country.

Political and Legal Equality

- Aristocrats make no greater contribution to society than everyone else, so they should all be equal under the law.
- *Rousseau* - Resented privileges enjoyed by elite classes, claimed that members of a society are the collective sovereign, and all individuals participate directly in forming policy and law.
- Enlightenment thought revealed interests of educated men to increase societal influence, and *only* for white educated men.

Global Influence of Enlightenment Values

- Revolutionary leaders in Europe and Americas adopted these ideas.
- Influenced organization of states and societies in the world.
- Did not come naturally; came when fought for by revolutionaries.

The American Revolution

- In 1750s, British colonists did not think of revolution, enjoyed prosperity from British rule.
- Seven Years' War (1756-1763) secured Britain's trading hegemony on global trade against French, but incurred great costs.

Tightened British Control of the Colonies

- British expected all worldwide possessions, including American colonies, to pay taxes to foot the bill.
- Colonists responded by boycotting British products, attacking British officials, mounting protests, and pushed tensions to the point of war.

Declaration of Independence

- Declared independence from British empire drawing on ideas of John Locke.
- Began a war; rebels had advantage over British, because Britain had many competitors who would

be happy to aid any threat to their world trade hegemony.

- Got military help from the French, surrounded and defeated British forces at Yorktown.
- 1783 - Treaty of Paris signed, in which British government recognized Independence.

Building an Independent State

- 1787 - Constitution of the United States reflected Enlightenment principles emphasizing rights of individuals and popular sovereignty, with full rights and legal equality only to men with property (land).
- Eventually, all of the other groups got their rights after many social movements.

The French Revolution

- French revolutionaries got inspired by Enlightenment political thought.
- This revolution was more radical than America's, America's kept British social and cultural heritage but France's wanted to throw out the "old order" (ancien regime) and replace it with new institutions.

The Estates General

- Financial issues (partially caused by helping the Americans) caused King Louis XVI to raise taxes on the nobility because taxes on the peasants weren't making ends meet.
- *Estates General* - Composed of three estates, from each political class of the population (upper i.e. clergy, middle i.e. nobles, the rest).
- Louis XVI called on them to authorize new taxes, but this went south when the representatives of the third estate demanded political and social reform; this failed.

The National Assembly

- Third estate seceded from the Estates General to become the National Assembly, charged with providing France with a new constitution.
- 1789 - Crowd attacked the Bastille (royal arsenal), inspiring uprisings throughout the country.
- Inspired by American revolutionary ideas, *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* (1789) declared all men are equal, sovereignty resides in the people, and individuals had rights to liberty, property, and security.

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity

- Assembly abolished old social order between 1789 and 1791, and abolished services and debts from peasants to landlords.
- Abolished first estate, seized church lands, clergy = civilians, clergy must be loyal to the state.
- France was now a constitutional monarchy where men had the right to vote for legislators, and the king was the chief executive but did not have the right to make laws.

The Convention

- French mobility got foreign powers to support the king and restoration of ancien regime, so the Assembly declared war on Austria, Prussia, Spain, Britain, and the Netherlands.
- Fearful of war and failure, leaders created the Convention which abolished the monarchy and made France a republic.
- *Levee en masse* - universal conscription of people and resources to use in war against invaders.
- Guillotine was used to execute domestic enemies of the Convention as "traitors," such as Louis XVI and also Marie Antoinette ("let zem eat cake") who helped to undermine the monarchy's credibility due to her personality.

The Jacobins

- *Robespierre* led the radical Jacobin party in the 1790s, dominated the executive authority of the French Republic, believed passionately that France needed complete restructuring.
- Unleashed campaign of terror to promote this agenda by eliminating the influence of Christianity.
- "Cult of reason" was promoted as a secular alternative to Christianity. Went as far as using a new,

non-religious calendar.

- Increased rights to women (could inherit property, divorce husbands) but imprisoned anyone who disagreed with them including feminist fighter Olympe de Gouges (1748 - 1793) who fought to extend rights of freedom and equality for women.

The Directory

- Unstable revolutionary leadership led to loss of confidence in the regime; in 1794, the Convention arrested Robespierre and killed them.
- Failed to find a middle ground between ancien regime and radical revolution, and faced constant challenges.
- Ended in November 1799 when Napoleon Bonaparte seized power.

The Reign of Napoleon

- Brilliant military leader who defended the Directory until British, Russians, and Austrians formed coalition to end the French Revolution.
- He seized power, imposed a new constitution, in 1804 he declared himself emperor.

Napoleonic France

- Agreement with Roman Catholic Church (1801): French state would retain previously seized church lands, but the state must pay clerics' salaries, make Catholicism the official religion, and give Protestants and Jews religious freedom.
- Civil Code (1804): Revised body of civil law, gave political and legal equality to all adult men, established merit-based society where individuals used talent (not birth) to get education or employment.
- Napoleon was *not* into intellectual freedom or representative government - limited free speech and censored print media, established secret police and propaganda to control and manipulate public opinion.
- He also ignored elected body, instead used loyal military officers to keep assemblies at bay.

Napoleon's Empire

- Conquered Iberian and Italian Peninsulas, occupied Netherlands, and defeated Austria and Prussia - sent his family to rule them, and forced Austria, Prussia, and Russia to ally with him.
- 1812 - He invaded Russia, captured Moscow, but tsar refused to surrender, so they left and mostly died off in the horrid Russian winter ("General Winter," no one beats Russia in winter).

Fall of Napoleon

- Coalition of British, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian armies forced Napoleon to abdicate in 1814.
- French monarchy was destroyed, Napoleon was exiled, escaped and ruled for 100 more days in 1815, then was banished FARRRRR away until he naturally died in 1821.

The Influence of Revolution

- American and French revolutions inspired slave uprisings in Caribbean and Latin America (Haiti) and independence movements in Mexico, Central America, and South America.
- Inspired social reformers to extend political and legal rights to women and slaves.

The Haitian Revolution

- This was the only successful slave revolt in history.
- Took place in Hispaniola, split between Spanish Santo Domingo and French Saint-Domingue, the latter of which was the most rich of all Caribbean possessions (sugar, coffee, cotton).

Saint-Domingue Society

- Population included white French settlers, *gens de couleur* (free people of color), and mostly black slaves.
- White residents were at the top of society, followed by *gens de couleur* who farmed small plots of

land or worked as artisans, and slaves who toiled in fields with brutal conditions.

- Mortality for slaves was very high, and many maroon communities existed.
- *Gens de couleur* were sent to fight in the American revolution, came back with some ideas for their home. Whites refused to give political and legal equality to *gens* and they began a civil war in May 1791.

Slave Revolt

- Boukman, a priest, organized a slave revolt in August 1791 in which 12,000 slaves began to kill white settlers and *gens de couleur*, burned homes, and destroyed plantations.
- Slave forces eventually overcame whites, *gens*, and foreign armies that came to France's aid.
- *Louverture* led the Haitian revolution, defeated opposition by 1797, instituted a constitution that gave equality and citizenship to all Saint-Domingue residents.

The Republic of Haiti

- 1802 - Napoleon dispatched troops to restore French control of Saint-Domingue.
- 1803 - Louverture was arrested after attempting peaceful settlement in France, died in French jail. French troops got yellow fever and were driven out by black generals.
- 1804 - Declared independence, established Haiti, the second independent republic in the western hemisphere.

Wars of Independence in Latin America

Latin American Society

- Governed by *peninsulares* (officials from Spain/Portugal), but had way larger populations of Euro-American creoles.
- Less privileged classes included a majority black slaves, but also mixed ancestry and indigenous peoples.
- Creoles established plantations and ranches and traded with Spain and Portugal, but hated following Iberian rules.
- Between 1810 and 1825, creoles led movements replacing all Spanish colonies in the Americas with creole-dominated republics.
- Creoles were able to do this because Spain was distracted by Napoleon's conquests.

Mexican Independence

- 1810 - Revolts against Spanish rule in Argentina, Venezuela, and Mexico.
- Miguel Hidalgo led a peasant rebellion of indigenous peoples and mestizos against colonial rule and he was executed.
- 1821 - Colonial rule ended, under creole general *Iturbide* who declared himself emperor... this didn't fly for long.
- 1823 - Republic of Mexico established by creole elites. Eventually Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica seceded and became individual states.

Simon Bolivar

- Creole independence revolutionary in South America, inspired armies and campaigned against Spanish rule in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, etc.
- By 1825, creole forces won over Spanish armies and deposed South American Spanish leadership.
- Attempted to make South America a confederation like the United States, but it fell apart by 1830 and he was very frustrated (exiled himself, died on the way).

Brazilian Independence

- Brazil declared independence in 1821 after Pedro (son of Portugal's king) declared himself emperor as the Portuguese parliament (*Cortes*) attempted to limit his power.
- Able to do this for the same reason as everyone else: Napoleon caused a favorable turn of events (led to Pedro being appointed as regent).

Creole Dominance

- Brazil was a monarchy, not a republic, but creoles dominated it just as every other former Spanish colony.
- Little social change resulted, and society remained rigidly stratified.
- New states maintained slavery, supported the Catholic church, and repressed classes below creole elite.
- Latin American independence mostly benefited the creole elites.

The Emergence of Ideologies: Conservatism and Liberalism

- *Ideology* - a coherent vision of human nature, human society, and the larger world that proposes some particular form of political and social organization as ideal.
- Some seek to justify current state of affairs, others criticize the status quo.
- All ideologists want to design a political and social order appropriate for their communities.

Conservatism

- Viewed society as an organism changing slowly over generations.
- *Burke* - conservative that said society is a compact between the past generations, present generation, and future generation. He said we need gradual change, but condemned radical or revolutionary change.
- Endorsed the American revolution (natural change resultant of North American development), condemned French revolution (chaotic and irresponsible assault on society).

Liberalism

- Liberals take change as normal and welcome it as the agent of progress.
- Conservatism is an effort to justify status quo and maintain elite privileges, as well as ignore inequality in society.
- Liberals believed in written constitutions, equality for all citizens, and republican forms of governance (vote for representatives) - saw democracy and mass participation as dangerous initially (1800s).
- *John Stuart Mill* - Prominent liberal philosopher, economist, social reformer who advocated universal suffrage in the 1800s, as well as taxation of business profits.
- He was an anomaly for liberals, wanted to extend rights of equality and freedom to women and working people.

Voting Rights and Restrictions

- Suffrage was important because it contributed to public sense of democracy and political sovereignty.
- Revolutionaries originally viewed voting to be a privilege and not a right, so they restricted it to white males with property only.
- Women fought for suffrage, but this was only recognized in the 20th century.
- Black men also fought for suffrage (in the U.S.) but while non-landed white men got suffrage, they did not.

Testing the Limits of Revolutionary Ideals: Slavery

Summary of Revolutions

- Enlightenment ideals of freedom and equality were present in all Atlantic Ocean basin revolutions, but meant different things to each group.
- United States: Led to political independence, individual freedoms, and legal equality of adult white men.
- France: Destroyed hierarchical order (ancien regime); temporarily gave political and legal rights to all citizens but Napoleon curbed some rights.
- Haiti: Brought independence and end of slavery.
- South America: Independence and societies dominated by creole elites.

Movements to End the Slave Trade

- Anti-slavery movement existed in the 1700s but only got attention after American, French, and Haitian revolutions.
- British Parliament banned slave trade in 1807 after campaigner William Wilberforce argued against it on religious and moral grounds and after everyone feared another slave rebellion like in Haiti.
- British pressured the end of the slave trade in the United States (1808), France (1814), Netherlands (1817), and Spain (1845).
- British navy patrolled west Africa to ensure no slave ships left, but the illegal trade continued till 1867.

Movements to Abolish Slavery

- Planters and merchant elites resisted efforts to abolish slavery due to the inexpensive labor they provided.
- South American slavery ended after independence due to Simon Bolivar's efforts, and Mexico abolished slavery in 1829 to stop American planters from crossing the border with slaves.
- British ended slavery in 1833, providing compensation to owners.
- Other states followed: France (1848), United States (1865), Cuba (1886), and Brazil (1888).

Freedom without Equality

- Abolition gave African-Americans freedom but not political equality; aside from Haiti, blacks had little influence in society.
- Prevented from voting by property requirements, literacy tests, poll taxes, and intimidation campaigns.
- White creole elites owned most property and forced blacks to accept low-paying work, keeping them in subordination.

Testing the Limits of Revolutionary Ideals: Women's Rights

- After slave abolition, women's movement gained traction.
- Women had same issues as slaves: little access to education, no professional occupations, and could not vote.
- Drew on Enlightenment thought to make their case, but didn't get success until the 1900s.

Enlightenment Ideals and Women

- Enlightenment philosophes had conservative views for women, thought they should be educated to be good wives and mothers.
- Social reformers saw Enlightenment ideals as useful for arguing for women's rights: absolute sovereignty no more appropriate in a family than in a state (Mary Astell).
- *Mary Wollstonecraft*: Self-educated woman who published an influential essay (*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* - 1729), arguing that women had all the rights Locke granted to men, said that they should get educated to be better mothers and wives...

Women and Revolution

- Women supported revolutions in the 1700s and 1800s by producing uniforms and bandages, and managing men's businesses while they were away.
- Some women directly participated in protests, such as in France.
- *Olympe de Gouges* was a feminist who was killed by the Jacobins, showing that revolutionary women could not hope to hold official positions or play a role in public affairs.
- French revolution brought increased rights for women, such as free public education for both genders, property for wives, and legalized divorce; but they could not vote.
- Napoleon made sure women lost those rights, but this was more than they were given in any other land; in other lands (Americas), men retained patriarchal authority over family.

Women's Rights Movements

- *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*: Held Seneca Falls Convention, 1848, which passed 12 resolutions demanding lawmakers to women rights equal to men's rights.
- Specifically called for rights to vote, attend public schools, enter professional occupations, and participate in public affairs.
- Limited success in 1800s: women received more education than before American/French revolutions, and they did participate in academic, literary, and civic organizations, but did not get the right to vote or enter professions.
- They did lay the groundwork for large-scale social change in the 1900s.

The Consolidation of National States in Europe

- By 1800s, national identities were strong enough for people to respond with enthusiasm to nationalist ideologies.
- These ideologies promised glory and prosperity to those who worked in interests of their national communities.

Nations and Nationalism

- *Nation* - type of community, people began to associate strongly with them.
- Members of nations considered themselves a distinctive people in a unique community with common language, customs, values, and historical experiences.
- Nations must be the focus of political loyalty, boundaries of national states should include the members of the nation, governments promote the interests of the national group.

Cultural Nationalism

- Early cultural nationalists focused attention on individual communities and their uniqueness.
- Put emphasis on historical scholarship, thinking it would highlight distinctive national characteristics.
- Also put emphasis on literature, including popular poetry, songs, and tales.

Political Nationalism

- Political nationalists wanted independent states to protect and advance interests of national communities.
- Encouraged political leaders to work to establish national states.
- Also caused conflict between different groups; as nationalists became more identified with national communities, they distinguished themselves from other lands *and* minorities in their societies :((Still a problem)

Nationalism and Anti-Semitism

- *Zionism* - Jewish people constitute a nation and should have their own national homeland.
- Jews didn't have a specific state but were minorities throughout Europe and experienced discrimination and pogroms (1800s-1900s) - this influenced a Zionist movement.
- Eventually got their own state in 1948, which displaced Palestine... Palestinians felt resentful nationalism to their displacement by Jewish settlers and the conflict continues today.

The Emergence of National Communities

- Nationalism increased in Europe due to French Revolution.
- French nation felt a lot of patriotism and public defense of revolutionaries, and even a national anthem.
- Opposition to Napoleon and his imperial motives inspired national feeling in the lands he attacked as well as Britain.

Congress of Vienna

- Conservative political leaders thought high nationalism would lead to further experimentation with revolution and therefore instability.

- Members of those that defeated Napoleon (Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia) tried restoring prerevolutionary order in Congress of Vienna (1814-1815).
- Dismantled Napoleon's empire, restored royal families' sovereignty and thrones, and created balance of power system that lasted until 1914 (Great War).
- Limited success in restoring ancien regime: censored publications and relied on spies to quell efforts of nationalist and republican activists, but popular sovereignty was impossible to suppress at this point.

Nationalist Rebellions

- Nationalist rebellions swept through Europe from 1820s to 1840s.
- Greece won independence from Ottoman Empire through support from Western Europe.
- France, Spain Portugal, and some German principalities called for constitutional government with popular sovereignty.
- Belgium, Italy, and Poland called for independence and formation of national states and popular sovereignty.
- 1849 - Conservative rulers put down the last of the European rebellions, but national independence and popular sovereignty advocates remained active.
- (Side note: this really reminds me of the Arab Spring, a similar collection of rebellions in the past 15 years that mostly failed too).

Unifications of Italy and Germany

- Italy and Germany had not been united since the fall of the Roman empire.
- Italy was ruled by regional kingdoms and city-states, and Germany was ruled by princes that split it into 300 jurisdictions... the Holy Roman Empire claimed most of these lands but never got strong enough to enforce it.
- This kind of changed in this time period.

Cavour and Garibaldi

- *Count Camillo di Cavour* - Prime minister of Piedmont and Sardinia under King Vittorio Emanuele, cunning diplomat who allied with nationalist forces and France, expelled Austrian authorities from northern Italy in 1859
- *Giuseppe Garibaldi* - took over southern Italy, not ambitious to rule and handed it over to King Emanuele... this transformed Piedmont and Sardinia into the Kingdom of Italy! (formed between 1859-1870).
- The takeaway: Germany and Italy unified when political leaders appealed to nationalism. Germany was split up by Congress of Vienna and rulers put down nationalist movements, causing frustration in Germany.

Otto von Bismarck

- *Otto von Bismarck* - Prime minister of Prussia under King Wilhelm I.
- Used *realpolitik* to unify Germany, saying blood and iron, not majority votes, would be used to unify Germany.
- Bolstered Prussian Army, provoked war with neighbors, allowed Prussian king to declare himself German Emperor (Second Reich) (formed between 1864-1871), encompassing all German-speaking peoples outside of Austria and Switzerland under a powerful, dynamic national state.

Conclusion of this Section

- Unification of Italy and Germany showed that nationalism, alongside strong political/diplomatic/military leadership, could mobilize people who felt national kinship.
- National states adopted flags, anthems, and holidays to unite the national community.
- Established bureaucracies to manage national censuses, schools, and armies.
- National states became a powerful political organization model for Europe, and became almost universal by the 1950s.

Summary:

The Enlightenment ideals of freedom, equality, and popular sovereignty inspired revolutionary movements throughout much of the Atlantic Ocean basin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In North America colonists threw off British rule and founded an independent federal republic. In France revolutionaries abolished the monarchy, established a republic, and refashioned the social order. In Saint-Domingue rebellious slaves threw off French rule, established an independent Haitian republic, and granted freedom and equality to all citizens. In Latin America creole elites led movements to expel Spanish and Portuguese colonial authorities and to found independent republics. During the nineteenth century, adult white men were the main beneficiaries of movements based on Enlightenment ideals, but social reformers launched campaigns to extend freedom and equality to Africans, African-Americans, and women.

Meanwhile, as they fought each other in wars sparked by the French revolution, European peoples developed strong feelings of national identity and worked to establish states that advanced the interests of national communities. Nationalist thought was often divisive: it pitted national groups against one another and fueled tensions especially in large multicultural states. But nationalism also had strong potential to contribute to state-building movements, and nationalist appeals played prominent roles in the unification of Italy and Germany. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, peoples throughout the world drew inspiration from Enlightenment ideals and national identities when seeking to build or restructure their societies.